SCRIBNER'S

POPULAR HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES

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CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS.

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SCRIBNER'S
POPULAR HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES

FROM THE EARLIEST DISCOVERIES OF THE WESTERN HEMISPHERE BY THE NORTHMEN TO THE PRESENT TIME

BY
WILLIAM CULLEN BRYANT
SYDNEY HOWARD GAY
NOAH BROOKS

WITH MORE THAN SIXTEEN HUNDRED ILLUSTRATIONS AND MAPS

LELIA ALEXANDER

VOLUME I

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LELIA ALEXANDER

PUBLISHERS' INTRODUCTION.

THE plan of the Popular History of the United States, now finally completed, was laid before Mr. William Cullen Bryant in 1874, and actual work was begun in the following year. It was Mr. Bryant's ambition and the purpose of the publishers to produce not only the best but the most comprehensive history of the country that had been or could be written in a popular form.

Under the supervision and leadership of Mr. Bryant, Mr. Sydney Howard Gay, long Mr. Bryant's chief assistant in the editorial management of the "Evening Post," was selected as the best equipped of all known to him to undertake the actual writing of such a work. Mr. Bryant's editorial supervision was to be constant and active throughout the entire preparation of the history, and the clear and vigorous Preface which he wrote (still retained in the completed work) laid down the lines of what he had in mind. In fact, however, he was able to read the proofs only of the first and second volumes before his death. Mr. Gay carried on the work to the completion of the original scheme. He had several assistants in the collection and preparation of material, and one important contributor in the Rev. Edward Everett Hale, who wrote the chapters in the second volume upon the Spanish Colonization in the Southwest.

Because of the very nearness of the Civil War and its consequences to the time at which the history was begun, much less space was accorded to the latter half of this century than its importance now calls for. Since the rise of the great literature concerning the Civil War, it has been possible to give to that passage of the great narrative a scale equal to that of the rest, and to take advantage of the invaluable material ungathered or uncodified at the time when Mr. Gay ended his work. Finally, as it has become evident that the

quarter-century following the war is also to rank as one of the most momentous, — perhaps materially the most momentous of our history, — it has been felt that no book can now fulfil what this originally aimed to do without bringing the narrative to a very much later time than was at first thought of.

It was therefore decided a year or two ago by the publishers to remake the History beyond the chapters in the fourth volume which treat of the beginning of the war, and to confide the work of completing the book from that time to the present, and upon a greatly enlarged scale, to Mr. Noah Brooks, whose qualifications for such an undertaking need no attestation. The plan adopted, besides the rewriting of a portion of the fourth volume, has involved the addition of a fifth, and the narrative is now continued down to within a year or two of the actual present with a fulness not attempted, it is believed, in any other history of the same comprehensive scope.

A feature of the history to which from the beginning great care and expenditure have been devoted is its illustration, with which the greatest pains have been taken, not only as to historical accuracy but as to the quality of its art. The illustrators of the original history were the best men of the day, and the same standard is followed in the new portion, with the additional advantage of the improved processes for reproduction and perfected printing. The complete work contains over 1600 illustrations, which represent practically every illustrator who has been favorably known for the last twenty years.

PREFACE.

THERE are several excellent histories of the United States of North America in print, and it will naturally be asked what occasion there is for another.

The title of this work is in part an answer to the question. It is intended to be a popular history — a work for that large class who have not leisure for reading those narratives which aim at setting forth, with the greatest breadth and variety of circumstance, the annals of our nation's life. At the same time it is the design of the present work to treat the subject more at large than is done in those compends, some of them able in their way, which are used as text-books in the schools. Unlike these latter, it is not a compilation from histories already written, but in its narrative of events and its representation of the state of our country at different epochs, has derived its materials through independent research from original sources. It is also within the plan of this work to rely in part for its attraction on the designs with which it is illustrated — likenesses of men conspicuous in our annals, views of places and buildings memorable in our history, and representations of usages and manners which have had their day and have passed away.

But in saying this, we state but a small part of our plan. It is our purpose to present within a moderate compass a view of changes, political and social, occurring within our Republic, which have an interest for every nation in the civilized world, and the history of which could not be fully written until now. In the two centuries and a half of our existence as an off-shoot of the great European stock, a mighty drama has been put upon the stage of our continent, which, after a

series of fierce contentions and subtle intrigues, closed in a bloody catastrophe with a result favorable to liberty and human rights and to the fair fame of the Republic. Within that time the institution of slavery, springing up from small and almost unnoticed beginnings, grew to be a gigantic power claiming and exercising dominion over the confederacy, and at last, when it failed in causing itself to be recognized as a national institution and saw the signs of a decline in its political supremacy, declaring the Union of the States dissolved, encountering the free States in a sanguinary five years' war, and bringing upon itself overthrow and utter destruction.

We stand, therefore, at a point in our annals where the whole duration of slavery in our country, from the beginning to the end, lies before us as on a chart; and certainly no history of our Republic can now be regarded as complete which should fail to carry the reader through the various stages of its existence, from its silent and stealthy origin to the stormy period in which the world saw its death-struggle, and recognized in its fall the sentence of eternal justice. It is instructive to observe how in its earlier years slavery was admitted, by the most eminent men of those parts of the country where it had taken the deepest root, to be a great wrong; and how afterward, when the power and influence of the slave-holding class were at their height, it was boldly defended as a beneficent and just institution, the basis of the most perfect social state known to the world, — so powerfully and surely do personal interests pervert the moral judgments of mankind. The controversy assumed a deeper interest as the years went on. On the side of slavery stood forth men singularly fitted to be its champions; able, plausible, trained to public life, men of large personal influence and a fierce determination of will nourished by the despotism exercised on their plantations over their bondmen. On the other side was a class equally able and no less determined, enthusiasts for liberty as courageous as their adversaries were imperious, restlessly aggressive, ready to become martyrs, and from time to time attesting their sincerity by yielding up their lives. So fierce was the quarrel, and so general was the inclination

even in the free States to take part with the slave-owners, that the name of Abolitionist was used as a term of reproach and scorn; and to point out a man as worthy of wearing it, was in some places the same thing as to recommend him to the attentions of the mob. Yet even while this was a name of opprobrium, the hostility to slavery was gathering strength under a new form. The friends of slavery demanded that the authority of the master over his bondman should be recognized in all the territory belonging to the Union not yet formed into States, — in short, that the jurisdiction of the Republic, wherever established, should carry with it the law of slavery. A party was immediately formed to resist the application of this doctrine, and after a long and vehement contest elected its candidate President of the United States. Meantime the rapid settlement of our Pacific coast by a purely free population, in consequence of the opening of the gold mines, showed the friends of slavery that they were to be hereafter in a minority, the power of which would diminish with every successive year. They instantly took the resolution to revolt against the Union, declared it thenceforth dissolved, and rushed into a war, in which their defeat carried with it the fall of slavery. It fell, dragging down with it thousands of private fortunes, and leaving some of the fairest portions of the region whence it issued its decrees ravaged and desolate, and others, for a time, given over to a confusion little short of anarchy.

Writers who record the fortunes of nations have most generally and wisely stopped at a modest distance from the time in which they wrote, for this reason among others, that the narrative could not be given with the necessary degree of impartiality, on account of controversies not yet ended, and prejudices which have not had time to subside. But in the case of American slavery the difficulty of speaking impartially both of the events which form its history and of the characters of its champions and adversaries, is far less now than it ever was before. Slavery has become a thing of the past; the dispute as to its rights under our Constitution is closed forever. The class of active and vigilant politicians

who, a few years since, were ever on the watch for some opportunity of promoting its interests by legislation, is now as if it had never been; slavery is no longer either denounced or defended from the pulpits; the division of political journals into friends and enemies of slavery exists no longer, and when a candidate for office is presented for the suffrages of his fellow citizens, it is no longer asked, "What does he think of the slavery question?" So far, indeed, does this fierce contest seem already removed into the domain of the past, and separated from the questions and interests of the present moment, that when a person is pointed out as having been a distinguished Abolitionist he is looked at with somewhat of the same historical interest as if it had been said, "There goes one who fought so bravely at Lundy's Lane;" or, "There is one who commanded a company of riflemen at the battle of New Orleans." The champions of slavery on one side — able men and skilled in the expedients of party warfare, and in many instances uncorrupt and pure in personal character, — and the champions of the slave on the other, fearless and ready for the martyrdom which they sometimes suffered, their faculties exalted by a sense of danger, — can now, as they and their acts pass in review before the historian, be judged with a degree of calmness belonging to a new era of our political existence.

But the great conclusion is still to be drawn that the existence of slavery in our Republic was at utter variance with the free institutions which we made our boast; and that it could not be preserved in the vast growth which it had attained without altering in a great degree their nature, and communicating to them its own despotic character. Where half the population is in bondage to the other half there is a constant danger that the subject race will rise against their masters, who naturally look to repression and terror as their means of defence. The later history of slavery in our country is full of examples to show this — severe laws against sedition in the slave States, an enforced silence on the subject of human liberty, an expurgated popular literature, and visitors to the slave States chased back by mobs across the fron-

tier which they had imprudently crossed. It is remarkable that, not very long before the civil war, certain of the southern journals began to maintain in elaborate leading articles that the time had arrived for considering whether the entire laboring class of whatever color should not be made the serfs of the land-owners and others of the more opulent members of society.

A history like this would have been incomplete and fragmentary had it failed to record the final fate as well as the rise and growth of an institution wielding so vast an influence both in society and politics, with champions so able and resolute, organized with such skill, occupying so wide and fertile a domain, and rooted there with such firmness as to be regarded by the friends of human liberty with a feeling scarcely short of despair. To have broken off the narrative before reaching the catastrophe, would have been like rising from the spectacle of a drama at the end of the fourth act. Few episodes in the world's history have been so complete in themselves as this of American slavery. Few have brought into activity such mighty agencies, or occupied so vast a theatre, or been closed, although amid fearful carnage, yet in a manner so satisfactory to the sense of natural justice.

Here is the place to speak of another important conclusion to be drawn from the result of our late civil war. It has proved the strength of our political system. When the slave States first revolted it is wonderful with what unanimity the people of the Old World, even those who wished well to the Northern States, adopted the conclusion that the Union could endure no longer, and that the bond once broken could never be reunited. Those powers which had regarded the United States as a somewhat uncomfortable neighbor, rapidly becoming too strong to be reasonable in its dealings with the monarchies of Europe, fully believed that thereafter there would exist, on the North American continent, two rival commonwealths of the same origin, yet so diverse from each other in their institutions as to be involved in frequent disagreements, and thus to prove effectual checks upon each other, relieving the European powers from the danger of aggression in this

quarter. It was sometimes said by Englishmen who thought that they were speaking in the interest of humanity: "All the interest we feel in your quarrel is this, that you should go to pieces as quickly and with as little bloodshed as possible." The steps taken by Great Britain and France were in accord with the expectation of which I have spoken; Britain instantly declaring the slave States a belligerent power, — a virtual acknowledgment of their independence, — and France posting a dependent Prince in Mexico, with the view of intervening in that quarter as soon as it might appear politic to do so. Till the close of our civil war the armed cohorts of France hung like a thunder-cloud over our southwestern border, but the hour never came when the signal might be given for the grim mass to move northward.

The period of time at which the nation inhabiting the domain of our Republic came into being is so recent, that we may trace its growth with as much distinctness as if we were the contemporaries of its birth. The records of its early existence have been preserved as those of no other nation have been which has risen to any importance in the annals of the world. To the guidance of these the historian may trust himself securely, with no danger of losing his way among the uncertain shadows of tradition. It is with a feeling of wonder that he sees colonies, planted in different parts of the North American continent so remote from each other, under such different circumstances, and so entirely without concert on the part of the adventurers who led them thither, united at last in a political fabric of such strength and solidity. The columns of the great edifice were separately laid in the wilderness amid savage tribes, by men who apparently had no thought of their future relation to each other; but as they rose from the earth it seemed as if a guiding intelligence had planned them in such a manner that in due time they might be adjusted to each other in a single structure. Those who at the outbreak of our civil war administered the governments of Europe had, it is certain, little confidence in the stability and duration of a political fabric so framed. It was loosely and fortuitously put together, they thought, of ele-

ments discordant in themselves, whose imperfect cohesion a shock like that of the southern revolt would destroy forever.

It survived that shock, however, and, in part at least, for the very reason of its peculiar structure. It survived it because every man in the free States felt that he was a part of the government;, because in our system of decentralized power a part of it was lodged in his person. He felt that he was challenged when the Federal Government was defied, and that he was robbed when the rebels took possession of the forts of the Federal Government and its munitions of war. The quarrel became his personal concern, and the entire people of the North rose as one man to breast and beat back this bold attack upon a system of polity which every man of them was moved to defend by the feeling which would move him to defend his fireside. Perhaps out of this fortuitous planting of our continent in scattered and independent settlements has arisen the strongest form of government, so far as respects cohesion and self-maintenance, that the world has seen. Certainly the experience of the last few years, beginning with the civil war, gives plausibility to this idea.

All the consequences of that war have not been equally fortunate with this. It may be admitted that, in some instances, the influence of a military life on the young men who thronged to our camps was salutary, in bringing out the better qualities of their character and moulding it to a more manly pattern, by overcoming the love of ease and accustoming the soldier to endure suffering and brave danger for the common cause. Yet it is certain that in other men it encouraged brutal instincts which had been held in check by the restraints of a peaceful order of things; that it made them careless of inflicting pain, and indifferent to the taking of life. Accordingly, after the close of the war, crimes of violence became fearfully numerous, men more often carried about deadly weapons, quarrels more often led to homicide, robberies accompanied by assassination were much more frequent, and acts of housebreaking were perpetrated with greater audacity. It would seem invidious to say that these crimes were most frequent in the region which had been the

seat of the war; but it is certain that there the peace was often deplorably disturbed by quarrels between the white race and the colored which led to bloodshed. Thus the state of society left by the war may be fairly put to the account of the great error committed in allowing slavery to have a place among our institutions.

But while men were watching with alarm these offences against the public peace, it was discovered, with no little surprise, that crimes of fraud had become as numerous, and were equally traceable to the war as their cause. So many opportunities had presented themselves of making easy bargains with the agents of the government, and so many chances of cheating the government offered themselves in the haste and confusion with which most transactions of this kind were accomplished, that hundreds of persons of whom little was known save that they had become suddenly rich, flaunted in all the splendor of exorbitant wealth, and exercised the influence which wealth commands. The encouragement which their success and the mystery with which it was accompanied gave to dishonest dealings was felt throughout the community, and the evil became fearfully contagious. The city of New York was a principal seat of these enormities. In that busy metropolis men are so earnestly occupied with their private affairs, so absorbed in the competitions of business, that it is not easy to fix the attention of the greater proportion, even of the most intelligent, upon matters of public and general interest as long as the chances of individual success are left open. But the boundless waste of those who had possession of the public funds, the sudden increase of the city debt, and the enormous taxation to which the citizens were subjected, at length alarmed the entire community; the tax-payers consulted together; they called in the aid of the most sagacious and resolute men, who with great pains tracked the offenders through all their doublings and laid their practices bare to the public eye. The infamy of those who were concerned in these enormities followed their exposure.

I have already spoken of the contagious nature of these examples of corruption. The determination to effect a reform

and drag the offenders to justice, when once awakened, spread with equal rapidity. It is remarkable how, immediately after the exposure of the enormous knaveries committed in New York, the daily journals were filled with accounts of lesser villainies in less considerable places. It seemed for a while as if peculation had been taken up by a large class as a profession, so numerous were the instances of detection. The public vigilance was directed against every person in a pecuniary trust; some who had never before been suspected found themselves suddenly in the custody of the law, and others, fearing that their turn might soon come, prudently ran away. There never has been a time when it was so dangerous for a public man to make a slip in his accounts. Investigation became the order of the day, and a considerable part of the contents of every daily paper consisted of the proceedings of committees formed for examining into the accounts of men who held pecuniary trusts. At first sight it seemed as if the world had suddenly grown worse; on a second reflection it was clear that it was growing better. A process of purgation was going on; dishonest men were stripped of the power of doing further mischief and branded with disgrace, and men of whom better hopes were entertained put in their place. The narrative of these iniquities could not properly stop short of the punishment which overtook the offenders, and which, while it makes the lesson of their otherwise worthless lives instructive, vindicates to some extent the character of the nation at large.

In reviewing the history of the last hundred years there is one question which stands out in special prominence: the policy of encouraging domestic manufactures by high duties on goods imported from other countries. It was recommended in the early years of our Republic by Hamilton, whose authority had great weight with a large class of his fellow-citizens; and afterwards, under the name of the American System, was made the battle-cry of a great party under a no less popular leader, Henry Clay. But after a struggle of many years, during part of which the protective system seemed to have become thoroughly incorporated into our revenue laws,

a tendency to freedom of trade began to assert itself. The tariff of duties on imported commodities became from time to time weeded of the provisions which favored particular manufactures, and, although still wanting in simplicity of proceeding and far more expensive in its execution than it should have been, was in the main liberal and not unsatisfactory to all parties. The manufacturers had ceased from the struggle for special duties, and seemed content with those which were laid merely for the sake of revenue. The question of protection was no longer a matter of controversy.

But the war revived the old quarrel, and left it a legacy to the years which are yet to come. When the southern members at the beginning of the war withdrew from Congress, there were found, among those whom they left in their seats, a majority who had been educated in the Henry Clay school of politics, and were therefore attached to the protective system. In laying taxes to supply the necessities of the Treasury, they enacted a tariff of duties more rigidly restrictive and of more general application than the country had ever before known. This opened again the whole controversy. The struggle of forty years, which had ended as we have already related, is revived under circumstances which strongly imply that we have the same ground to go over again. The manufacturers are not likely to give up without a struggle what they believe so essential to their prosperity; and the friends of free trade, proverbially tenacious of their purposes, are not likely to be satisfied while there is left in the texture of our revenue laws a single thread of protection which their ingenuity can detect or their skill can draw out.

The history of our Republic shows that a nation does not always profit by its own experience, even though it be of an impressive nature. Our government began the first century of its existence with a resort to paper money and closed it with repeating the expedient. In the first of these instances slips of paper with a peculiar stamp were made to pass as money by the authority of Congress, and were known by the name of Continental money, which soon became a term of opprobrium. The history of this currency is a sad one: a his-

tory of creditors defrauded, families reduced from competence to poverty, and ragged and hunger-bitten soldiers who were paid their wages in bits of paper scarcely worth more than the coarse material on which their nominal value was stamped. The more of this Continental money was issued the lower it sank in value. The whole land was filled with discontent, and the leaders of the Revolution were in the utmost perplexity. The injustice inflicted and the distress occasioned by this policy are not merely recorded in our annals, there are many persons yet living who have heard of them in their youth at the firesides of their fathers.

Eighty years afterwards, in the midst of our late civil war, when the necessity of raising money for the daily expenses of maintaining and moving our large armies from place to place upon the vast theatre of our war, began to press somewhat severely upon our government, the question was again raised whether the government notes should not be made a legal tender in the payment of debts, and the Treasury relieved from the necessity of providing for their redemption in coin. The Secretary of the Treasury applied to some of the most eminent bankers and men of business, English and American, for their opinions. Certain of the wisest of these vehemently dissuaded him from a resort to paper money. They pointed to the disasters which experience had shown to have invariably attended the measure, and urged him to trust to the loyalty of the country, of which he had seen such gratifying proofs already given, for obtaining the necessary supplies of money for the war. This could be done by issuing debentures payable at a somewhat distant date, and for such moderate sums as persons of moderate means could conveniently take. At all events they urged that the expedient of resorting to paper money should be postponed till every other was tried and the necessity for it became imminent and unavoidable. These wise counsels were not followed. Others had given their opinion that a resort to paper money was unavoidable, and after some hesitation it was resolved to take the step immediately. The moment that the project was brought before Congress, it found eager champions, both on the floor of the two chambers and in the lobbies;

for whenever a measure is proposed which involves a change of nominal values, there spring up in unexpected quarters hundreds of patriotic persons to assist in hurrying it through Congress. The government was relieved of the obligation of paying its notes; but a solemn pledge was given that they should be paid at the earliest practicable moment. While the war lasted, we went on making issue after issue of these notes, with no provision for their payment. Meantime the prices of every commodity rose, and with them the expenses of the war, — and speculation flourished.

For eight years after the war no approach had been made towards the fulfilment of the solemn pledge of which I have spoken, although in that time many millions of the national debt had been paid off in our depreciated currency. So vast was the mass of promises to pay, and so small the accumulations of gold within the reach of the government, that not one of those who within that period administered the Treasury Department ventured to propose any plan for returning to specie payments, but, averting his eyes from the difficulty, allowed our finances to drift toward an uncertain future. Then came the panic of 1873, which swept so many large banking and commercial houses to their ruin. Immediately a loud call was heard for a new issue of paper money, from those who fancied that they saw in the measure a remedy for their own pecuniary embarrassments. The question was hotly debated in Congress; a majority of both houses was found to be in its favor; the pledge which bound the country to return to specie payments was scouted, as given in ignorance of the true interests of the country; and a bill was passed, adding, as President Grant observed in his message, a hundred millions to our depreciated currency. Fortunately for the country he sent back the bill with his objections, and it failed to become a law; else the mischiefs and disasters of the days of Continental money might have returned upon us, with a violence proportioned to the growth which our commercial interests had in the meantime attained.

It is not likely that this question will again be raised in our day, and the bitter experience which we have had of the

mischiefs of paper money in these two instances will remain as a warning to the coming times; — though who shall say with any confidence that the warning will be duly heeded? But there is another controversy bequeathed to us by the late civil war, which will probably lead to acrimonious and protracted disputes, and perhaps be made to some extent the basis of party divisions. Of that I would now speak.

Before the war the boundaries of the powers assigned to the National Government, and those which remained with the several States, were pretty sharply defined by usage, and attempts were but rarely made to go beyond them. The leaders of opinion in the Southern States deemed it necessary to the security and permanence of slavery, that any encroachment of the National Government on the rights reserved to the States should be resisted to the utmost; and it must be admitted that, although many of them pushed the claim of State sovereignty to an absurd extent, they did good service in keeping the eyes of the people fixed upon that limit beyond which, under our Constitution, the National Government has neither function nor power. When the civil war broke out it was apparent that the majority of those who remained in Congress had not been trained to be scrupulous on this point. One of their early measures, — the creation of a system of national banks, — would, twenty years before, have been regarded by a majority of the people of the United States as a direct violation of the Constitution. Other measures were adopted in the course of the war for which it was impossible to find any authority in the Constitution, and of which the sole justification was military necessity. As compared with the state of opinion which prevailed before the war, it is manifest that a certain indifference to the distinction between the Federal power and that of the States has been creeping into our politics. Schemes for accumulating power in the government at Washington, by making it the owner of our railways, for administering telegraphic communication by Federal agency, for cutting canals between river and river, and for an extensive system of national education with a central bureau at Washington, show this tendency. These and kin-

dred projects will most certainly give ample occasion for protracted disputes on the floor of Congress and in the daily press. On one hand will be urged, and plausibly, the public convenience; and on the other the danger lest our government of nicely balanced powers should degenerate into a mere form, and the proper functions of the States be absorbed into the central authority, — a fate like that predicted by some astronomers for our solar system, when the orbs that revolve about the sun, describing narrower and narrower circles, shall fall into the central luminary to be incorporated with it forever.

In looking over this vast array of important questions settled, and of new ones just arising on the field of vision, it is difficult to resist the conclusion that the historian of our Republic would perform his office but in part who should stop short of the cycle of a hundred years from the birth of our nation. In that period great interests have been disposed of and laid aside forever; with the next hundred years, we have a new era with new responsibilities, which we are to meet with what wisdom we may. It is matter of rejoicing that among the latest events of this first century, and following close upon our great civil war, we are able to record a great triumph of the cause of peace and civilization in the settlement of our collateral quarrel with Great Britain, a quarrel which in other times might easily have been nursed into a war. Let us hope that this example will be followed by all the nations of the earth in their future controversies.

To what has been said of the plan of the present history in the first paragraph of this Introduction, I have yet something to add. The works of the Mound Builders, which lie scattered by thousands over our territory, from the Gulf of Mexico to Oregon, and which within the last thirty years have been even more carefully examined than ever before, prove clearly, what was previously doubted by many, the existence of a semi-civilized race dwelling within our borders, who preceded the savage tribes found here by the discoverers from the Old World, and who disappeared at some unknown era, leaving behind them no tradition, nor any record save

these remarkable monuments. With what we have learned of this race, since any history of this country has been published, and what has been discovered by modern science of the pre-historic existence of man, pertaining to our continent as well as to those of the other hemisphere, the present history naturally begins, and it has been thought important to record, briefly but clearly and comprehensively, the present state of our knowledge of the Mound Builders, as well as of the savage tribes by whom they were succeeded, as preliminary to the discovery and settlement of the country by another race.

The history of the early voyagers and colonists of our continent, both before and after Columbus, is made up of incidents which have often been wrought into connected narratives, but not in such a manner as to deprive other historians of the power of giving them, by a due selection of circumstances, something of a new interest. The adventures of those whose explorations preceded the permanent settlement of our territory during three generations of mankind were of a nature to call into exercise qualities which command our admiration, — courage, perseverance, patient endurance of hardship, and ready resources in times of great emergency. The recital of these adventures brings us down to the period when our country began to be peopled from the Old World, by colonists establishing themselves at different points along our coast, — companies of men and women seeking a home in the New World for different purposes, but all of them courageous and adventurous, unapt to quail before discouragement, and prepared to encounter disaster. It was perhaps owing in part to a conformity of character in these respects, that, as they grew in population, these settlements coalesced so readily into one nation, and presented so united a front in resistance to the tyrannical pretensions of the mother country. In giving the history of these colonies, in tracing their origin and growth, and delineating their character, it will be seen that here, like the future oak wrapped up in the acorn, lay the peculiar form of government which distinguishes our republic among the nations, and that from what may be called the

accidental formation of these communities, small at first, distant from one another, and organized independently of each other, grew the composite structure of our national polity, which we regard as so important to our liberties. The events of this period of adolescence and immaturity in our political institutions, lasting for a century and a half, must, of course, be given in a condensed form; but this has been done, it is hoped, with sufficient fulness to enable the reader to see how naturally, from the beginnings of which we have spoken, arose the confederated Republic now so great and powerful.

The attention of the reader, neither in this part of the work nor elsewhere, will be occupied with the growth of our population and our political progress to such an extent as to neglect the advancement made in the arts of peace and the refinements of life. The customs and usages of past generations, their modes of living and ways of thinking, their occupations and amusements, their condition in respect of public and private morals, will be found described in these pages, and a portraiture given, so far as its true outlines, its lights and shades, can now be discerned, of society in the past. The changes which these at different periods have undergone will be carefully noted.

The history of the United States naturally divides itself into three periods, upon the third of which we lately, at the close of our civil war, entered as a people, with congruous institutions in every part of our vast territory. The first was the colonial period; the second includes the years which elapsed from the Declaration of Independence to the struggle which closed with the extinction of slavery. The colonial period was a time of tutelage, of struggle and dependence, the childhood of the future nation. But our real growth, as a distinct member of the community of nations, belongs to the second period, and began when we were strong enough to assert and maintain our independence. To this second period a large space has been allotted in the present work. Not that the mere military annals of our Revolutionary War would seem to require a large proportion of this space, but the various attendant circumstances, the previous controversies with

the mother country, in which all the colonies were more or less interested, and which grew into a common cause; the consultations which followed; the defiance of the mother country, in which they all joined; the service in an army which made all the colonists fellow-soldiers; the common danger, the common privations, sufferings, and expedients, the common sorrow at reverses and rejoicing at victories, require to be fully set forth, that it may be seen by how natural a transition these widely scattered communities became united in a federal Republic, which has since rapidly risen to take its place among the foremost nations of the world, with a population which has increased tenfold, and a sisterhood of States enlarged from thirteen to thirty-seven.

So crowded with events and controversies is this second part of our history, and the few years which have elapsed of the third; so rapid has been the accumulation of wealth and the growth of trade; so great have been the achievements of inventive art and the applied sciences; with such celerity has our population spread itself over new regions, and so vehement have been the struggles maintained against abuses, moral and political, that it has not been easy to give due attention to all of them, without exceeding the limits prescribed for this work. But we have aimed to preserve a due proportion in the recital of events and the analysis of causes, — treating the most important with a certain fulness of recital, and passing rapidly over the rest, and in the meantime not permitting ourselves in any part of the work to indulge a boastful vein, nor to overlook the faults and mistakes, the national sins and wrongs of which we may have been guilty. We have endeavored to divest ourselves, while engaged in this task, of all local prejudices, and every influence which might affect the impartiality of the narrative.

In writing the history of the only great nation on the globe, the beginnings of which are fully recorded in contemporary writings, and for which we are not compelled, as in other cases, to grope in the darkness of tradition, the authors of this work have ascended to the proper sources, the ancient records themselves. The narrative has been drawn imme-

diately from these writings, and by them has every statement and date of our early history been verified. For the later periods, the materials are of course voluminous and circumstantial, even to embarrassment. We are not without the hope that those who read what we have written will see in the past, with all its vicissitudes, and with all our own shortcomings, the promise of a prosperous and honorable future, of concord at home and peace and respect abroad, and that the same cheerful piety which leads the good man to put his personal trust in a kind Providence, will prompt the good citizen to cherish an equal confidence in regard to the destiny reserved for our beloved country.

WILLIAM CULLEN BRYANT.

New York, 1876.

CONTENTS.

CHAPTER I.

THE PRE-HISTORIC MAN.

PAGE

MAN COEVAL WITH EXTINCT ANIMALS. — THE CAVE-PEOPLE. — SCANDINAVIAN SHELL-HEAPS. — LAKE-DWELLINGS OF SWITZERLAND. — HABITS OF THE PRIMITIVE MAN. — TWO STONE AGES. — RESEMBLANCE BETWEEN STONE RELICS OF TWO HEMISPHERES. — AMERICA THE OLDEST CONTINENT. — A ZONE OF PYRAMIDS. — TRADITIONS OF A LOST CONTINENT. — SHELL-HEAPS IN UNITED STATES. — A PRE-HISTORIC HUNT IN MISSOURI. — HUMAN REMAINS IN GOLD-DRIFT OF CALIFORNIA. — SUPERIOR ANTIQUITY OF MAN IN AMERICA 1

CHAPTER II.

THE MOUND BUILDERS.

PROGRESS IN CIVILIZATION OF NORTH AMERICAN INDIAN. — PRE-HISTORIC RACE IN THE WESTERN HEMISPHERE. — EARTHWORKS IN THE MISSISSIPPI VALLEY. — BIG ELEPHANT MOUND. — GARDEN-BEDS. — MILITARY WORKS. — TEMPLE AND ALTAR MOUNDS. — RELICS FOUND IN THESE TUMULI. — ANCIENT COPPER-MINING AT LAKE SUPERIOR. — CONNECTION BETWEEN THIS AND LATER CIVILIZATIONS. — REMAINS IN MEXICO AND CENTRAL AMERICA. — SKULLS FOUND IN THE MOUNDS 19

CHAPTER III.

THE NORTHMEN IN AMERICA.

EARLY VOYAGES. — DISCOVERY OF ICELAND. — GREENLAND COLONIZED BY ERIC THE RED. — BJARNI HERJULFSON DISCOVERS AMERICA. — SONS OF ERIC THE RED. — LEIF'S VOYAGE TO VINLAND THE GOOD. — EXPEDITION OF THORVALD. — HIS DEATH. — COLONY OF THORFINN KARLSEFNE. — FIGHT WITH SKRÆLLINGS. — SUPPOSED IRISH SETTLEMENTS IN AMERICA. — COLONY OF FREYDIS. — THE MASSACRE. — GLOOMY WINTER AT VINLAND. — ROUND TOWER AT NEWPORT. — DIGHTON ROCK. — THE ICELANDIC SAGAS 35

CHAPTER IV.

PRE-COLUMBIAN VOYAGES WESTWARD.

Arabian Sailors on the Sea of Darkness. — Welsh Tradition of American Discovery. — Voyage of Madoc, Prince of Wales. — Evidence adduced. — Supposed traces of Welsh among Doegs, Mandans and Mound Builders. — Narrative of the Brothers Zeni. — Shipwreck of Nicolo Zeno at Frisland. — His Account of Engroneland. — Adventures of a Frisland Fisherman. — The Western Voyage of Prince Zichmni. — Chinese Discovery of Fusang. — State of Nautical and Geographical Knowledge before Columbus 64

CHAPTER V.

INDIA — THE EL DORADO OF COLUMBUS.

The Kingdom of Cathay. — Efforts in Europe to find a Sea-way to India. — Prince Henry the Navigator. — Birth and Early Life of Christopher Columbus. — His Design of a Western Voyage to India. — Faith in his Divine Mission. — The Theories of Contemporary Geographers. — His Life in Spain. — The Council at Salamanca. — His First Voyage. — His belief that he has discovered India. — The Delusion of his Life. — His Brief Honor and Final Disgrace 92

CHAPTER VI.

COLUMBUS, VESPUCCI, AND THE CABOTS.

Third Voyage of Columbus. — His Discovery of the Main Land. — The Voyage of Amerigo Vespucci. — First Printed Account of the New World. — Publications of St. Dié College. — The Printer-Monks, Waldseemüller and Ringmann. — Expedition of the Cabots from England. — North America discovered. — Map of Sebastian Cabot. — John Cabot's Patents from Henry VII. — First English Colony sent to the New World. — Sebastian Cabot sails down the American Coast . . . 118

CHAPTER VII.

SPANISH DISCOVERIES AND EXPLORATIONS.

Designs for the Discovery of a Northwest Passage to India. — The Cortereal Voyages. — Vasco Nuñez de Balboa reaches the Pacific Ocean. — Search for the Fountain of Youth. — Florida discovered. — Gulf of Mexico sailed over. — Explorations on the Atlantic Seacoast. — Estavan Gomez on the Borders of the United States. — Expedition of Pamphilo de Narvaez to Florida. — Adventures of Cabeça de Vaca. — The Enterprise of Hernando de Soto. — The Discovery of the Mississippi River. — Death and Dramatic Burial of De Soto. — Return of the Troops of De Soto. — Tristan de Luna's Attempt to found a Colony 139

CHAPTER VIII.

FRENCH DISCOVERIES AND ATTEMPTS AT COLONIZATION.

Breton Fishermen on Newfoundland Banks. — Giovanni da Verrazano first enters New York Harbor. — Jacques Cartier sent on an American Expedition. — Exploration of the St. Lawrence River. — Cartier's Visit to the Indian Town of Hochelaga. — Voyage of Francis de la Roque, Lord of Roberval. — The Huguenots seek an Asylum in America. — The Colony of Admiral Coligny. — John Ribault goes to Florida. — Setting up the Arms of France. — Laudonnière commands a Second Enterprise. — Building of Fort Caroline. — Progress of the Colony 174

CHAPTER IX.

FRENCH AND SPANISH COLONISTS IN FLORIDA.

Plots against the French Governor Laudonnière. — Open Mutiny in his Colony. — Fight with Indians. — Visit of an English Fleet to Port Royal. — Arrival of Ribault with a Fleet of Seven Ships. — Crusade of Pedro Menendez against Heretics. — His Attack on Fort Caroline. — Slaughter of Ribault and his Men by the Spaniards. — Founding of the First Permanent Settlement in the United States. — Indignation of the French at the Spanish Atrocities. — Dominique de Gourgues goes to Florida. — He makes Allies of the Savages. — Attack on the Spanish Fort. — The Bloody Retaliation. — A Spanish Mission on the Rappahannock 200

CHAPTER X.

ENGLISH VOYAGES AND ATTEMPTS AT SETTLEMENT.

First Impulse in England toward American Colonization. — Unsuccessful Voyages. — Theories of a Northeast Passage. — Voyage of Sir Hugh Willoughby and Richard Chancellor. — Frobisher and Davis in the Northwest. — Sir Humphrey Gilbert's Plan for American Settlements. — His Departure from England and Arrival at Newfoundland. — Loss of Sir Humphrey on his Return. — Walter Raleigh sends two Ships to explore in America. — His First Colony reaches the Coast of North Carolina. — Tobacco introduced into England. — New Plantation begun under Governor John White. — Mysterious Disappearance of the Settlers. — Unsuccessful Search for the Lost Colony. — Raleigh's Attempt at Colonization ended by Imprisonment . . 224

CHAPTER XI.

FIRST ENGLISH SETTLEMENT IN AMERICA.

Gosnold's Expedition. — Patent granted to London and Plymouth Companies. — A Colony sets out for Virginia. — Discord on Shipboard. — The Building of Jamestown. — Newport's Exploration of the River. —

Governorship of Edward Wingfield. — Discontent and Suffering among the Colonists. — The Indian Chief Powhatan. — Accounts of Smith's Capture by the Savages. — Discrepancies in Smith's Own Story. — Return of Newport from England. — Coronation of Powhatan. — Services of Smith to the Colony. — The New Charter. — Expedition of Gates and Somers. — The Tempest and the Shipwreck. — Opportune Coming of Lord de la Warre. — Code of Laws for the Colony. — Administration of Gates and Dale. — Cultivation of Tobacco. — Marriage of Pocahontas. — Sandys and Yeardley. — The Colony firmly established. — White and Black Slavery. — The First American Legislature 262

CHAPTER XII.

COLONIZATION UNDER THE NORTHERN COMPANY.

The Sea-coast of Maine. — The Early Fishermen. — French Traders. — Pontgravé and Poutrincourt. — George Weymouth's Voyage. — Colony of Chief Justice Popham. — Samuel Champlain in New York. — Settlement on Mt. Desert. — Argall's Destruction of the French Colony. — John Smith in New England. — Expeditions of Ferdinando Gorges. — Second Charter of the Plymouth Company. — Nova Scotia given to Sir William Alexander. — Grant of the Plymouth Company to Gorges. — First Towns in New Hampshire and Maine. — The Breaking up of the Plymouth Company. — Character of Gorges 308

CHAPTER XIII.

DUTCH EXPEDITIONS TO NORTH AMERICA. — SETTLEMENT OF NEW AMSTERDAM.

Commercial Enterpise and Prosperity of the Dutch. — Their Interest in a Short Route to India. — Early Northeast Voyages. — Henry Hudson employed by East India Company. — His First Voyage to America. — Entrance into New York Bay and Discovery of the Hudson River. — His Return to England. — Voyage to Hudson's Bay. — The Dutch establish Trading-posts at Manhattan Island. — Dutch West India Company chartered. — Emigration of Walloons. — Settlements on Sites of Albany and New York City 339

CHAPTER XIV.

THE PURITANS.

The Puritans under James I. — Social Condition of the English at the Beginning of the Seventeenth Century. — The Separatists of North Nottinghamshire. — Brewster and the Episcopal Residence at Scrooby. — Persecution of the Puritans. — Their Attempts to escape from England. — Long Exile in Holland. — Motives for a Proposed Removal to America. — Petition to King James. — Negotiations with the Dutch. — Embarkation of the Pilgrims at Delft-Haven. — Final Departure of the "May Flower" from England. — Arrival at Cape Cod. — Form of Government adopted. — Explorations along the Coast. — Site for a Colony selected. — Confusion of Facts and Dates as to the Landing at Plymouth. — The First Winter. — Sufferings and Deaths . 370

CHAPTER XV.

THE PILGRIMS AT PLYMOUTH.

The Coming of Friendly Indians. — Samoset and Squanto. — Captain Dermer's Previous Visit to Plymouth. — Standish's Visit to Boston Harbor. — Reinforcements from England. — The First Christmas at Plymouth. — Hostile Message from the Narragansetts. — Arrival of Weston's Colonists. — Their Settlement at Wessagusset. — An Indian Conspiracy. — Standish's Expedition and the Plot defeated. — The Grief of Pastor Robinson. — Arrival of Robert Gorges. — First Allotment of Land in Plymouth. — John Peirce's Patent. — The Lyford and Oldham Conspiracy. — Their Banishment. — Breaking up of the London Company. — The Pilgrims thrown on their own Resources. — The Fishing Station at Cape Ann. — Encounter between Captain Standish and Mr. Hewes. — The Dorchester Settlement at Cape Ann. — Conant's Charge of it, and his Removal to Naumkeag. — Settlements about Boston Harbor. — Morton of Merry Mount. — Standish's Arrest of Morton 400

CHAPTER XVI.

PROGRESS OF DUTCH COLONIZATION.

The Order of Patrons established in New Netherland. — Division and Monopoly of Lands. — The Company overreached by the Patroons. — Massacre of the Colonists of Swaanendael. — Wouter van Twiller appointed Governor. — Weakness and Absurdities of his Administration. — Superseded by William Kieft. — Popular Measures of the Council at Amsterdam. — Purchase of Lands from Patroons. — Increase of Immigration. — Promise of Prosperity to the Colony. — Portents of Coming Calamities. — A Council of Twelve appointed 429

CHAPTER XVII.

WAR WITH THE INDIANS. — THE SWEDES ON THE DELAWARE.

Change of Policy toward the Indians. — Kieft's Cruel and Stupid Obstinacy. — Massacre of Indians by the Dutch at Pavonia. — Retaliations by the Natives. — Murder of the Hutchinson Family at Annie's Hoeck. — Disastrous Condition of the Colony. — Appeal of the People of New Amsterdam to the States General. — End of the War. — Kieft removed from Office. — Territorial Encroachments of Rival Colonies. — The English at the East. — A Swedish Settlement on the Delaware. — Fort Christina. — The Swedish Governor, John Printz . . 450

CHAPTER XVIII.

VIRGINIA AND MARYLAND.

Jealousy of James I. of the Virginia Company. — Earl of Southampton elected Treasurer. — Progress of the Colony. — Massacre of 1622. — Dissensions in the London Council. — Charter of the Company taken away. — Rapid Succession of Governors of the Colony. — Lord Bal-

TIMORE, AND HIS VISIT TO VIRGINIA. — CHARTER OF MARYLAND. — CECIL CALVERT'S COLONY. — ITS LANDING IN MARYLAND. — THE FIRST TOWN. — ST. MARY'S BLUFF. — PURCHASE FROM THE INDIANS. — THE FIRST CATHOLIC CHAPEL. — FRIENDLY RELATIONS WITH THE INDIANS 476

CHAPTER XIX.

MARYLAND UNDER LEONARD CALVERT.

THE COLONY FIRMLY PLANTED. — HOSTILITY OF THE VIRGINIANS. — DISPUTE WITH CLAYBORNE. — ENGAGEMENT BETWEEN CLAYBORNE AND CORNWALLIS. — GOVERNOR HARVEY DEPOSED AND SENT TO ENGLAND. — MEETINGS OF THE MARYLAND ASSEMBLY. — TROUBLE WITH THE INDIANS. — DISSENSIONS BETWEEN PAPISTS AND PURITANS. — REVOLUTION IN ENGLAND. — A PARLIAMENTARY SHIP SEIZED IN MARYLAND. — CLAYBORNE'S RECOVERY OF KENT ISLAND. — HIS RULE IN MARYLAND. — RESTORATION OF BALTIMORE. — DEATH OF GOVERNOR CALVERT. — MISTRESS MARGARET BRENT 499

CHAPTER XX.

MASSACHUSETTS BAY.

FRESH EMIGRATION TO MASSACHUSETTS. — A NEW CHARTER. — ARRIVAL OF HIGGINSON AND SKELTON. — THE FIRST CHURCH AT SALEM. — THE CASE OF JOHN AND SAMUEL BROWNE. — THEY ARE ORDERED BACK TO ENGLAND BY ENDICOTT. — THE COUNCIL'S REBUKE. — PROPOSED TRANSFER OF THE GOVERNMENT OF THE COLONY TO NEW ENGLAND. — PROBABLE MOTIVES OF THE COUNCIL IN PROCURING THE PATENT. — THE CAMBRIDGE CONFERENCE. — WINTHROP CHOSEN GOVERNOR. — DEPARTURE FOR NEW ENGLAND. — HIS FAREWELL ADDRESS TO ENGLISH CHURCHMEN. — OLDHAM AND BRERETON'S PATENTS. — SETTLEMENTS IN AND ABOUT BOSTON. — OLD SETTLERS ABOUT THE BAY. — THE COMING OF ROGER WILLIAMS 517

CHAPTER XXI.

NEW ENGLAND COLONIES.

LAWS, ECCLESIASTICAL AND POLITICAL. — JOHN ELIOT'S WORK AMONG THE INDIANS. — JOHN COTTON ARRIVES IN BOSTON. — THE RED CROSS IN THE KING'S BANNER. — PERSECUTION AND BANISHMENT OF ROGER WILLIAMS. — THE FIRST SETTLEMENT OF RHODE ISLAND. — SETTLERS FROM PLYMOUTH ON THE CONNECTICUT RIVER. — JOHN WINTHROP, JR., FIRST GOVERNOR OF CONNECTICUT. — HOOKER'S EMIGRATION TO HARTFORD. — ANNE HUTCHINSON AND HER DOCTRINES. — MURDER OF JOHN OLDHAM. — BEGINNING OF THE PEQUOD WAR 538

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS, VOLUME I.

STEEL PLATE.

Title.	*Engraver.*	*To face*
CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS	S. Hollyer	Title

From Herrera's History of America.

FULL-PAGE ENGRAVINGS.

Title.	*Designer.*	*Engraver.*	*To face page*
SIR WALTER RALEIGH			1
After the painting attributed to Federigo Zuccero.			
A PRE-HISTORIC MAMMOTH HUNT	E. Bayard	Hildibrand	16
MOUNDS NEAR MARIETTA, OHIO	J. D. Woodward	Meeder & Chubb	24
COLUMBUS BEFORE THE COUNCIL AT SALAMANCA	E. A. Abbey	J. Miller	108
SEARCH FOR THE FOUNTAIN OF YOUTH	E. Bayard	Ch. Barbant	146
RIBAULT'S PILLAR ON THE RIVER MAY	W. L. Sheppard	J. Karst	196
THE LOST COLONY	W. L. Sheppard	W. J. Linton	254
SITE OF GOSNOLD'S FORT	A. Bierstadt	W. H. Morse	264
From a picture in the possession of Miss Emma Hathaway, Boston.			
LAKE CHAMPLAIN	T. Moran	E. Bookhout	320
THE SABBATH ON CLARK'S ISLAND	G. H. Boughton	W. J. Linton	392
From a picture in the possession of Robert Hoe, New York.			
LANDING OF SWEDES AT PARADISE POINT	T. Moran	J. A. Bogert	466
GEORGE CALVERT, LORD BALTIMORE			485
After a copy, in the possession of the Maryland Historical Society, of the painting by Daniel Mytens.			

Title.	*Designer.*	*Engraver.*	*Page.*
The Mulberry Tree at St. Mary's Point	T. Moran	Robert Varley	496
Endicott cutting the Cross from the King's Banner	E. A. Abbey	J. G. Smithwick	542

ILLUSTRATIONS IN TEXT.

Title.	*Designer.*	*Engraver.*	*Page.*
Primeval America	Runge	Winham	1
Long-haired Elephant	"	"	2
Carving on Bone (Long-haired Elephant)	Hosier	McDonald	3
Carving on Bone (Group of Reindeer)	"	"	3
Lake-dweller's Village (Restored by Keller)	"	Miller	4
Savage of the Stone Age	Runge	Karst	5
Stone Implements	Hosier	Walker	6
Flint Awl. — Swiss Stone Axe. — Spear Head. — Stone Celt. — Stone Scraper. — Bone Awl. — Stone Dagger.			
Earliest Pottery	"	McDonald	6
Drinking-cup	"	"	7
The Age of Ice	Runge	Miller	8
Bronze Implements	Hosier	McDonald	9
Celt. — Bronze Hair-pin (Swiss). — Bronze Razor Knife-blade (Dennak). — Bronze Knife-blade (Danish).			
Sculptured Stone	"	McDonald	9
Lake-dweller's Loom	"	Miller	10
Arrow-heads from Different Countries	"	Karst	11
Ireland. — France. — North America. — Terra del Fuego. — Japan.			
A Zone of Pyramids	"	Karst	12
Egypt. — Central America. — India. — North America.			
Dr. Koch's Arrow-head	"	McDonald	17
Earthworks in Ohio	"	Karst	20
Animal Mounds	"	McDonald	22
Big Elephant Mound	"	"	22
Temple Mound in Mexico	"	Miller	26
Altar Mounds	"	McDonald	27

Title.	*Designer.*	*Engraver.*	*Page.*
POTTERY FROM MOUNDS		Karst	28
STONE AND COPPER RELICS FROM MOUNDS. Axe.— Bracelets.— Stone Arrow Points. — Stone Axe. — Bronze Knife.	Hosier	Eastmead	29
COPPER IMPLEMENTS RECENTLY DISCOVERED IN WISCONSIN. *From photographs of specimens in collection of Wisconsin Historical Society. Selected from photographs taken under the direction of* ***Lyman C. Draper and J. D. Butler.*** Adzes. — Arrow-heads. — Chisel. — Knife. — Awl. — Spear-head.		Bobbett	30
POTTERY AND SUPPOSED IDOLS RECENTLY FOUND WITH HUMAN REMAINS IN BURIAL MOUNDS IN SOUTHEAST MISSOURI. *From photographs taken under the direction of A. J. Conant of St. Louis.*		Roberts	31
MINING TOOLS	Hosier	McDonald	30
CARVED PIPES		Eastmead	32
SCULPTURED HEADS. Mound Builders. — Central America.		Juengling	32
CLOTH FROM MOUNDS		McDonald	33
DISCOVERY OF GREENLAND	A. R. Waud	Miller	35
FLOKKO SENDING OUT RAVENS		Anthony	37
NORSE SHIPS ENTERING BOSTON HARBOR		Linton	43
BURIAL-PLACE OF THORVALD		Anthony	45
NORSE RUINS IN GREENLAND	Hosier	Nugent	46
SCOUTS RETURNING TO THE SHIP	A. R. Waud	Anthony	48
ESQUIMAUX SKIN-BOAT	Hosier	Speer	51
LEIF'S BOOTHS	A. R. Waud	Anthony	55
NEWPORT TOWER	Hosier	Miller	59
CHESTERTON MILL		Roberts	60
DIGHTON ROCK		Eastmead	61
STEUBENVILLE ROCK		Roberts	61
THE SEA OF DARKNESS	A. R. Waud	Anthony	64
WELSH BARD		Bookhout	67
DAVID, PRINCE OF WALES. *From Powell's History of Cambria.*		Eastmead	68
MADOC LEAVING WALES	A. R. Waud	Linton	69
WELSHMAN	Hosier	Miller	71
MANDAN BOATS. *From Catlin's North American Indians.*		Karst	73
WELSH CORACLE	A. R. Waud	Miller	74
MANDAN INDIAN	Hosier	"	75
SHIPWRECK OF NICOLO ZENO	A. R. Waud	Anthony	77

Title.	*Designer.*	*Engraver.*	*Page.*
GREENLAND GEYSER	Hosier	Juengling	79
AZTEC CITY	A. R. Waud	Miller	82
CHINESE JUNK	Hosier	"	86
THE "FAR CATHAY"	T. Moran	Linton	92
ASTROLABE	Hosier	Karst	96
PRINCE HENRY THE NAVIGATOR		Nichols	97
From General Collection of Voyages and Discoveries by Spanish and Portuguese, London, 1789.			
SHIP OF FIFTEENTH CENTURY	Hosier	Eastmead	100
THE CHRIST-BEARER		Aikens	102
From a Map of Juan de la Cosa.			
COLUMBUS ON SHIPBOARD	A. R. Waud	Bobbett	105
ISABELLA, QUEEN OF CASTILE		Nichols	109
THE FLEET OF COLUMBUS	Hosier	Miller	110
RECEPTION BY SOVEREIGNS	A. R. Waud	Anthony	115
COLUMBUS ENTERING THE ORINOCO			119
COLUMBUS IN CHAINS	G. G. White	Varley	120
AMERIGO VESPUCCI		Nichols	122
From a portrait in Herrera's Historia General de las Indias.			
VESPUCCI AT THE CONTINENT			123
From De Bry's Duae Navigationes Americi Vespucci, 1619.			
PRINTING OF VESPUCCI'S BOOK	G. G. White	Anthony	125
JOHN CABOT IN LONDON	Sheppard	Karst	135
SEBASTIAN CABOT		Nichols	138
From the N. Y. Historical Society's copy of the original by Holbein.			
FAC-SIMILE OF SIGNATURE OF AMERIGO VESPUCCI		McDonald	138
From Verhagen.			
CORTEREAL AT LABRADOR	T. Moran	Bogert	140
VASCO NUÑEZ ON SHIPBOARD	E. A. Abbey	Bobbett	143
THE SOUTH SEA	A. R. Waud	Varley	144
FIRST EMBARKATION ON THE SOUTH SEA	"	Bogert	145
JUAN PONCE DE LEON		Miller	147
From a portrait in Herrera's Historia General de las Indias.			
STRAITS OF MAGELLAN	A. R. Waud	Hitchcock	150
CLAVOS AND ESCLAVOS	Sheppard	Varley	152
RETURN TO THE BEACH	"	Bogert	154
UPSET IN THE SURF	"	Andrew	155
DE SOTO		Nichols	157
From a portrait engraved for the Bradford Club, of New York.			
THE MUSTER AT SAN LUCAR	E. A. Abbey	Varley	158
SACRIFICE OF JUAN ORTIZ	Sheppard	Miller	159
THE INDIAN QUEEN	"	Bobbett	162

Title.	*Designer.*	*Engraver.*	*Page.*
Palisaded Town	Hosier	Miller	163
From De Bry's Brevis Narratio, 1591.			
Fleet of the Cacique	A. R. Waud	Bogert	165
Burial of De Soto	"	"	168
Departure of the Spaniards	"	"	170
Fishing Fleet at Newfoundland	T. Moran	Miller	174
Portrait of Giovanni da Verrazano		Nichols	176
Indians making a Canoe	Hosier	Varley	177
From De Bry's Admiranda Narratio, 1590.			
Verrazano in Newport Harbor	A. R. Waud	Bogert	179
Jacques Cartier		Nichols	180
From the portrait in Histoire de la Colonie Française en Canada.			
Setting up the Arms of France	Bayard	Hildibrand	182
Donnacona's Strategy	"	Laplante	184
Cartier at Hochelaga	E. A. Abbey	Varley	186
Cartier's Departure from St. Malo	A. R. Waud	Bogert	188
French Costumes (16th Century)	W. Waud	Langridge	189
Entering the St. John River	T. Moran	Bogert	191
Building the Pinnace	A. R. Waud	Fay	195
Fort Caroline	Hosier	Roberts	198
From De Bry's Brevis Narratio, 1591.			
Arrest of the Pirates	E. Bayard	Laplante	201
Fight with Indians	"		203
Pedro Menendez		Nichols	205
From Shea's Charlevoix's New France.			
Rescue of Laudonnière	E. Bayard	Laplante	208
Massacre of Ribault	"	"	211
Laying out of St. Augustine	Sheppard	Anthony	213
Death of the Sentinel	E. Bayard	Barbant	217
The French Fifer	A. R. Waud	Anthony	223
Willoughby's Ships in Arctic Seas	A. R. Waud	Bogert	228
Frobisher's Departure	"	King	230
Sir Humphrey Gilbert		Nichols	232
View on Coast near Torquay	A. R. Waud	Bogert	233
Dartmouth Harbor	"	"	234
Sir Humphrey Gilbert reading his Commission	Fredericks	Bobbett	237
Wreck of the "Delight"	A. R. Waud	Anthony	238
Sir Walter Raleigh		Nichols	240
From a portrait in Prince's Worthies of Devon.			
Landing on the Island	T. Moran	Anthony	242
Lord and Lady of Secotan	Hosier	Winham	244
From De Bry's Admiranda Narratio, 1590.			
Queen Elizabeth of England		Walker	245
From an original by Zuccero in Lodge's Portraits.			

Title.	*Designer.*	*Engraver.*	*Page.*
Signature of Ralph Lane		McDonald	246
An Indian Village	Hosier	Aikens	248
From De Bry's Admiranda Narratio, 1590.			
Tobacco Plant		"	250
Bartholomew Gilbert's Death	Sheppard	Linton	260
Signature of Queen Elizabeth			261
Signature of Sir Walter Raleigh			261
Entrance to Chesapeake Bay	T. Moran	Meeder	262
Provincetown	A. R. Waud	McCracken	263
James I.		Nichols	268
From a portrait in Goodman's History of Court of James I.			
John Smith		"	269
From Smith's Map in his General History of Virginia. Fac-simile.			
Newport's Embarkation	Sheppard	Varley	271
Deposition of Wingfield	E. A. Abbey	Bobbett	277
John Smith taken Prisoner		Richardson	280
From Smith's General History. Fac-simile.			
Pocahontas Saving Life of Smith		"	282
From Smith's General History. Fac-simile.			
Powhatan and his Wives		"	284
From Smith's General History. Fac-simile.			
Coronation of Powhatan	Sol Eytinge	J. P. Davis	288
Taking King of Pamunkey Prisoner		Richardson	290
From Smith's General History.			
Signature of Sir Thomas Gates			292
Signature of William Strachey			292
Wreck of the "Sea Adventure"	A. R. Waud	King	293
Signature of George Percy			295
Signature of Lord De la Warre			296
Arrival of De la Warre	Sheppard	Smithwyck	297
The Idle Colonists	Fredericks	Bobbett	299
Pocahontas	Hosier	Eastmead	303
Presentation of Pocahontas at Court	Sol Eytinge	J. P. Davis	304
Signature of James I.			307
Indians at a Portage	Sheppard	W. J. Linton	308
Samuel de Champlain	Hosier	Aikens	312
From portrait in Œuvres de Champlain, Quebec, 1870.			
Signature of Champlain			313
The Mouth of the Kennebec	W. Waud	W. J. Linton	315
Indians in London	Cary	Varley	317
Meeting of Nahanada and Skitwarroes	Sheppard	Bogert	318
Setting Dogs on the Indians	"	"	320
Great Head	T. Moran	Bookhout	323
Bar Harbor	"	Hitchcock	324

Title.	*Designer.*	*Engraver.*	*Page.*
Somes's Sound	T. Moran	Anthony	325
Argall's Attack on the French	Sheppard	Gray	326
Cod-fishing	Perkins	Andrew	328
Richard Vines at Crawford Notch	Waud	Anthony	330
Signature of Ferdinando Gorges			332
View at the Mouth of the Pis-cataqua	T. Moran	Varley	334
Medal [Time of Charles V.]	Hosier	Aikens	340
Dutch Shipping [16th Century]	A. R. Waud	Varley	342
Barentz at Nova Zembla	"	Bookhout	344
Hudson's Attack on the Indian Village	Sol Eytinge	Andrew	349
The Approach to the Narrows	E. Perkins	King	350
Robyn's Rift	A. R. Waud	Anthony	352
Verdrietig Hoeck	J. D. Woodward	Morse	353
Limit of Hudson's Voyage	"	Annin	354
Nahant	T. Moran	Bookhout	359
Block Island	A. R. Waud	Hoey	360
Upper Waters of the Delaware	W. H. Gibson	Harley	362
Trading Scouts	A. R. Waud	Richardson	363
First Settlement at Albany	"	French	366
Earliest Picture of New Amsterdam. *From a map of the period.*	Hosier	McDonald	368
First Seal of Plymouth Colony		Maurice	370
View of Scrooby Village	Warren	Gray	372
Fire-place in 16th Century	"	French	373
Site of Scrooby Manor	"	"	374
Signature of William Brewster			375
Attempted Flight of Puritans	Fredericks	Bobbett	377
Church at Austerfield, Bradford's Birthplace	Hosier	Karst	380
Leyden	Woodward	Juengling	384
Delft-Haven	Hosier	Karst	386
Plymouth Harbor, England	T. Moran	Varley	387
Harbor of Provincetown	A. R. Waud	Harley	388
The Landing on Cape Cod	"	Langridge	390
Signature of Miles Standish			391
Relics from the "Mayflower" John Alden's Bible. — William Clark's Mug and Wallet, etc.	Hosier	Juengling	395
Landing of John Alden and Mary Chilton	Abbey	Varley	396
Stone Canopy over Plymouth Rock	Hosier	Bookhout	397

Title.	*Designer.*	*Engraver.*	*Page.*
First Burial Place near the Landing	Gibson	McCracken	398
Governor Carver's Chair	Hosier	McDonald	399
Visit of Samoset to the Colony	A. R. Waud	J. P. Davis	400
Signatures to Plymouth Patent			403
Christmas Revellers	Fredericks	Bobbett	404
Burial Hill	Hosier	Miller	406
Sword of Miles Standish			408
Signature of William Bradford			410
Site of First Church and Governor Bradford's House	A. R. Waud	French	411
Signature of Edward Winslow			413
Expulsion of Oldham	Abbey	Langridge	415
Barricade at Cape Ann	"	French	418
Standish's Pot and Platter	Hosier	Maurice	419
Spinning Wheel	"	Karst	422
Festivities at Merry Mount	Fredericks	Bobbett	425
Plymouth Rock	Hosier	Richardson	428
Amsterdam	W. Waud	Langridge	429
Seal of New Netherland			430
Dutch Costumes	W. Waud	Langridge	431
Trading for Furs	A. R. Waud	Bogert	434
Indian taking down the Arms of Holland	"	"	436
Portrait of De Vries		Bross	437
From a photograph of an old print in 1st edition of De Vries's Voyages.			
Van Twiller's Defiance	Fredericks	Bobbett	438
De Vries on the East River	A. R. Waud	Bookhout	439
Dutch Windmill			442
Governor's House and Church	Hosier	McDonald	442
The Obstinate Trumpeter	Fredericks	Bobbett	443
Landing of Dutch Colony on Staten Island	A. R. Waud	J. P. Davis	447
Selling Arms to the Indians	"	Langridge	450
De Vries in the Ice	A. R. Waud	Morse	453
Dinner at Van Dam's	M. A. Hallock	Anthony	454
Indian Fugitives from Pavonia	Fredericks	Bobbett	455
Massacre of Ann Hutchinson	Sheppard	Richardson	457
The Binnenhof	Hosier	Hitchcock	459
March against the Indians in Connecticut	Winslow Homer	W. J. Linton	461
Hall of the States General	Hosier	Avery	463
Smoking the Pipe of Peace	Sheppard	Bogert	464
Costumes of Swedes	W. Waud	Langridge	467

Title.	*Designer.*	*Engraver.*	*Page.*
EARLY SWEDISH CHURCH	Hosier	Cocheu	469
PRINTZ AND THE SAILOR	Sheppard	Bogert	472
TAKING WARNING TO JAMESTOWN	Warren	J. P. Davis	480
DESERTED SETTLEMENT	W. H. Gibson	Harley	483
SCENERY IN THE CHESAPEAKE	T. Moran	W. J. Linton	485
HENRIETTA MARIA		Bross	487
From Lodge's portraits.			
CECIL CALVERT [*From an old print*]		"	489
COWES IN THE ISLE OF WIGHT	Woodward	Bogert	490
LANDING OF THE COLONY	Fredericks	Bobbett	492
GOVERNOR CALVERT AND THE INDIAN CHIEF	Sheppard	J. P. Davis	493
ST. GEORGE'S ISLAND	T. Moran	Anthony	495
THE BLUFF AT ST. MARY'S	"	"	496
RETURN FROM A HUNT	Woodward	Meeder	497
MARYLAND SHILLING			499
CLAYBORNE'S TRADING-POST ON KENT ISLAND	A. R. Waud	Richardson	500
FIGHT BETWEEN CLAYBORNE AND CORNWALLIS	"	Bookhout	502
EXCITEMENT AT JAMESTOWN	Fredericks	Bobbett	503
CLAYBORNE'S PETITION	"	"	507
INDIAN ATTACK ON AN OUTLYING PLANTATION	Sheppard	Harley	509
CHANCELLOR'S POINT FROM ST. INIGOE'S	T. Moran	Varley	512
CHURCH NEAR THE SITE OF THE FIRST JESUIT CHAPEL	"	W. J. Linton	513
FAC-SIMILE OF MS. RECORDS			515
SHAWMUT	Woodward	Meeder	517
PORTRAIT OF ENDICOTT		Nichols	520
SIGNATURE OF ENDICOTT			521
THE OLD PLANTER'S HOUSE		Roberts	522
COLONIAL RELICS	Hosier	French	523
Endicott's Sundial, etc.			
SEAL OF MASSACHUSETTS BAY COMPANY	Hosier		525
PORTRAIT OF JOHN WINTHROP, SENIOR		Nichols	527
SIGNATURE OF WINTHROP			527
COLONIAL FURNITURE	Lathrop	Marsh	530
COLONIAL RELICS	"	"	531
OLD HOUSE, BOSTON, ENGLAND	Hosier	Miller	533
MAP OF BOSTON HARBOR			534
SIGNATURE OF ROGER WILLIAMS			534

Title.	*Designer.*	*Engraver.*	*Page.*
First Church, Salem	Hosier	Juengling	535
Signature of John Cotton			540
St. Botolph's Church, Boston, England	Hosier	Karst	541
Roger Williams's House, Salem		Bobbett	545
Roger Williams Building House		Anthony	546
Site of Fort Good Hope	A. R. Waud	Annin	548
Signature of Lord Say and Seal			550
Tearing Down the Dutch Arms	Sheppard	Bogert	550
Portrait of John Winthrop, Junior		Bross	551
Hooker's Emigration to Connecticut	Sheppard	Bogert	552
Henry Vane			553
Trial of Ann Hutchinson	Abbey	Marsh	555
Recapture of Oldham's Vessel	A. R. Waud	Langridge	557

LIST OF MAPS.

Title.	*Page.*
Map of Cape Cod and Nawset Isle	41
The Zeni Map	84
Globe of Martin Behaim, 1492	103
Sebastian Cabot's Map, 1544	132
Map of Virginia	243
From Hariot's Relation.	
Map of Cape Cod	264
Map of Plymouth Harbor	394
Map of New England	519
Fac-simile. *From Smith's General History.*	

WALTER RALEIGH.

(From the portrait attributed to Federigo Zuccero.)

Primeval America.

CHAPTER I.

THE PRE-HISTORIC MAN.

MAN COEVAL WITH EXTINCT ANIMALS. — THE CAVE-PEOPLE. — SCANDINAVIAN SHELL-HEAPS. — LAKE-DWELLINGS OF SWITZERLAND. — HABITS OF THE PRIMITIVE MAN. — TWO STONE AGES. — RESEMBLANCE BETWEEN STONE RELICS OF TWO HEMISPHERES. — AMERICA THE OLDEST CONTINENT. — A ZONE OF PYRAMIDS. — TRADITIONS OF A LOST CONTINENT. — SHELL-HEAPS IN UNITED STATES. — A PRE-HISTORIC HUNT IN MISSOURI. — HUMAN REMAINS IN GOLD-DRIFT OF CALIFORNIA. — SUPERIOR ANTIQUITY OF MAN IN AMERICA.

THE period and the conditions of the early existence of man have, within the last half century, been the subject of fresh and interesting investigation. The recognition of human relics in certain geological relations has established the fact that there once prevailed in Europe a barbarism essentially like that belonging to the lower type of savages of our own time. This primeval state of man in that portion of the world existed too long ago to be included within the historic period; and, so far as careful observation has been made, similar evidence of the antiquity of the race is found in the

Antiquity of man in Europe.

imperishable signs of human habitation and the rude arts of savage life in all other parts of the globe.

Northern Europe at one period was buried in an Arctic winter for many centuries. On the summits of lofty mountain ranges, great glaciers of ice and snow were piled, which advanced by slow degrees, and covered land and sea. When at length this long and dreary period drew toward its close, the glaciers receded, and the earth became habitable, then, although a period of intense cold was long continued, there appeared many great and strange animals, now known only by their fossil remains. Among them, wandering in herds over the region which afterwards was shaped into the present continent of Europe, feeding upon the vegetation of a virgin world, were the elephant, with long hair and mane, a rhinoceros clad in fur, a gigantic elk ten feet in height, with antlers measuring eleven feet from tip to tip, the cave-bear, the cave-lion, and other ferocious beasts after their kind, hiding themselves and their prey in dens and caverns. In caves and gravel drifts in France, in Belgium, and in England, man has left the indubitable witnesses of his life, in association with the bones of these extinct animals, of which whole races perished while he survived through periods of successive submersions and upheavals of land, of floods from slowly receding glaciers, of alterations in climate due, perhaps, to the changing relative positions of the earth to the sun, perhaps to the relative areas of land and sea in different portions of the globe at different periods.

Long-haired Elephant.

The cave-men.

These people who first appeared, or the first, at least, who are known to have appeared, in Europe, were mere naked savages with an instinct to kill and to eat, to creep under a rock as a shelter from the cold and the rain; who in the course of time learned that fire would burn and cook, that there was warmth in the skin of a beast, that a sharpened stone would kill and would scrape much better than a blunt one. From generation to generation they lived and died in the caves where they have left the evidences of their

existence; and it is a curious and interesting mark of their progress that some of these troglodytes in the south of France made tolerable carvings in bone and drawings of various animals upon horns and tusks of ivory. Pictures of the long-haired elephant and of groups of reindeer show the possession of that artist-sense which seems as peculiar to and inherent in man as the power to laugh and the faculty of articulate speech; and they prove also that these artists were familiar with the animals they sketched, of which one is known to the modern world only by its fossil remains, and another, though still extant, is able to live only in latitudes of extreme cold.

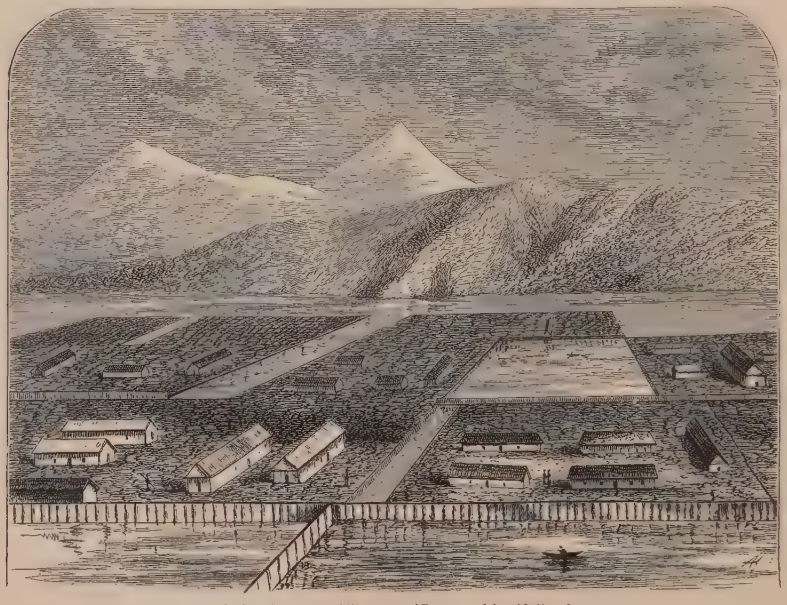
Carving on Bone. (Long-haired Elephant.)

On the coast of Denmark there are immense shell-heaps called Kjökken-Möddings — kitchen middings or kitchen-refuse-heaps — differing little, if at all, from similar heaps on other coasts, all over the world, except that they have been dug into, turned up, sifted, studied, inch by inch, atom by atom, with that sagacity, patience, and minuteness which distinguish modern science. In these are found, mingled with stone implements, bones of various beasts and birds and shells of different fish, the bones of a certain species of grouse, — a bird known to have fed upon the buds of the pine tree. But the pine tree does not grow, and has not grown within the historic period, in Denmark. It is found, however, in the peat-bogs, thirty feet beneath the present surface of the soil. Above these buried pines are the trunks of the oak and white birch that followed the pine forests, flourished for centuries, and then in their turn died out. On the upper surface of the bogs grows the beech, the common forest tree of Denmark now, as it has been so far back as either history or tradition goes. Thus forest after forest of different species, to which the climate and the soil were adapted, has come and gone since the people of the Kjökken-Möddings fed upon this bird, the capercailzie, which lived upon the buds of those buried pines.

Remains in shell-heaps.

Carving on Bone. (Group of Reindeer.)

Nor are these men of the caves and of the Kjökken-Möddings the only representatives of the ancient race or races who left their relics in their actual habitations. In the years 1853–54, two successive dry seasons reduced the waters of the lakes of Switzerland to a lower point than was ever known before. It was discovered, first by accident and afterward by careful search, that dwellings built upon piles had once



Lake-dweller's Village. (Restored by Keller.)

stood in these lakes near their shores. Continued systematic and patient examination of the sites of these habitations proves that some of them belonged to an ancient people, and that, as their relics show, they lived in them, from century to century, from the earliest appearance of man down, probably, to the historic period.

With these last discoveries the case seems complete. In the dark caves of various regions, for whose possession these early men doubtless contended with the cave-lion, the cave-bear, and the cave-hyena; by the sea-shore in the Kjökken-Möddings of Denmark; in the huts of the Lake region where they put water between themselves and all danger from wild beasts or other enemies, their history is read in the simple implements of the infancy and childhood of the race.

Implements of the primitive man.

When the human creature learned that he could avail himself of his hands in a way and with an intelligent purpose to which no other animal had attained, and of which mere paws and claws seemed incapable, his first use, probably, of that discovery was to hurl a stick or a stone at an enemy or a wild beast in

defence or attack. Observation and experience would soon lead him to some contrivance better than a mere missile, and to combine the stick and the stone into an artificial weapon. So, also, from bruising or crushing with a pebble, the transition is equally natural to a rude

Savage of the Stone Age.

hammer or hatchet, — the stone prepared, in some way, to receive a handle, or sharpened at one end to an edge, so that a blow could be struck to break or cut with careful limitations. In the first period of this early age, therefore, when man is supposed to have begun to learn that he had the faculty of invention which might make him superior to all other animals, are found the first rude weapons and implements, arrow-heads and spear-heads, knives, hatchets, hammers, and tools sharpened to edges of different shapes and for various purposes, all made of stone or bone, but all only roughly chipped, unground, and unpolished.

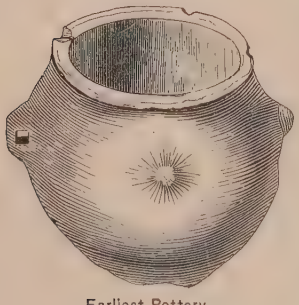
It must have taken generations, it may have taken centuries, before even this much of culture was secured by the man, whose wants were few, whose intellect was as feeble as the intellect of a modern child, but whose mere brute force of muscular strength and whose power of endurance were probably so great as alone to suffice, for the most part, to satisfy all his wants. Certainly, as the relics he has left behind him show, a long time elapsed before he much improved his condition. Slowly and gradually he added to the number of his tools, and improved upon their shape and capability. Among the most common

of these improved implements is what the antiquary calls a celt — *celtis*, a chisel — and which may have been used either as a chisel, a hatchet, or an adze; he contrived a scraper, with which he cleaned

Stone Implements.

Fig. 1, flint awl. 2, Swiss stone axe. 3, spear-head. 4, stone celt. 5, stone scraper. 6, bone awl. 7, stone dagger.

the adhering flesh from the skins of the beasts he killed; he invented bodkins and needles of bone, to pass through them the sinews that served for thread when he made clothing of these skins; and he fashioned harpoons for fishing. To his offensive weapons he added daggers; his axe he improved in size and shape; and he cut jagged teeth in long flakes of flint for saws. Such of these implements as were for use once or twice only in war or in the chase, or for rough and infrequent purposes, he left still rudely chipped.



Earliest Pottery.

But with the exercise of the inventive power came the sense of beauty, the consciousness of increased effectiveness in the perfection of a tool, and perhaps the development of a new satisfaction in the permanent possession of personal property of his own creation. Then he was no longer content with the rough pebble that he picked up on the beach, but sought for better material; he studied the grain and the cleavage of different flints and obsidians; bestowed time

and much labor upon the perfecting of his implements; contrived new and more convenient handles; gave grace and outline to their shapes; ground their edges to keen sharpness, and polished them with studious care. So in the lapse of centuries he attained at length to the age of Polished Stone. With it come the first evidences of the manufacture of a rude pottery, learned, perhaps, by some observant savage from the accidental baking of clay, who conceived therefrom a better drinking-cup, or vessel to hold his food, than a clam-shell or the hollow of his hand.[1]

Drinking-cup.

His mode of life.

From all the varied relics of the man of the early, and so far as is yet known the earliest epoch, the ethnologist has deduced that he was of small brains, retreating forehead, projecting jaws, low in intellect, but of great strength of bone and muscle, which enabled him to encounter and overcome the formidable dangers of his time. He lived near the sea-shore or on the banks of lakes and rivers, from which he drew, in part, his subsistence. A hunter and fisherman, compelled to a constant struggle for bare subsistence, he did not at first cultivate the earth, and it is doubted if even he bestowed much labor upon gathering the fruits and vegetables which nature unassisted might have afforded him. His food was flesh; the incisors of the jaws that have been found are, like those of the Esquimaux of the present day, worn smooth, and it is surmised that, like that people, he preferred to eat raw — perhaps because he was slow in learning how to cook — the flesh of the animals he killed. His front teeth did not overlap as ours do, but met one another like those of the Greenlanders, and he could therefore the more easily tear and gnaw the flesh from the bones.[2] Sometimes on the bones of children, as well as of adults, the marks of such human teeth have been observed, and it is supposed that failing other food, he fed, not only upon his enemies whom he killed in battle, but upon those whom he could only be led to eat by the extremity of hunger or the mere fondness for human flesh. But he was not always a cannibal, or at least the testimony to this propensity is not always present among the other evidences of his way of life. The skins of the beasts he killed in the chase or trapped, perhaps served for tents, and no doubt for clothing; their flesh and the marrow of their bones, for which he seems to have had a special fondness, were his food. These skins he dressed with his unpolished stone scraper, shaped them with his stone knife, sewed them with

[1] See Tylor, Lubbock, Lyell, Vogt, Dawkins, Gustaldi, Busk, Keller, Figuier, *et al.*

[2] *Pre-historic Times.* By Sir John Lubbock.

threads of sinews in needles of bone. A flatness or compression of the shin-bone, differing from the shape of the tibia of civilized man, is sometimes found, which permitted, it is suggested, of a disposition of the muscles peculiarly adapted to men living by hunting in a rough and mountainous country.[1] He found a shelter at first in natural caves, and in huts of the simplest construction, partly because the convulsions of nature, however gradual they may have been, were still too frequent and too tremendous to admit of any pretermission of the struggle with the elements by which alone he could maintain existence; or to leave any leisure for the development of the architectural faculty.

Unground and Ground Stone Ages.

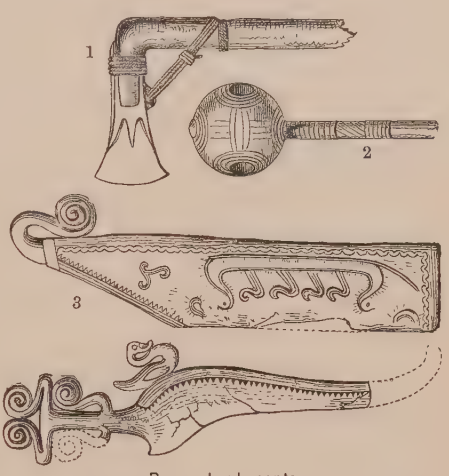
To the beginning of that remote and long continued epoch has been given the name of the Stone Age, because then men had only learned to fashion from the pebbles they picked up at their feet, a rude weapon for warfare or a ruder implement for domestic use. And this era of the childhood of the race is divided into two periods, the Unground Stone Age (Palæolithic), and the Ground Stone (Neolithic) Age. But the dividing line between

The Age of Ice.

[1] See Broca upon the *Ossemens des Azies;* Busk on Human Remains, etc., in the Caves of Gibraltar. Report of the International Congress of Pre-historic Archæology, 1868; Dawkins' *Cave Hunting,* London, 1874.

these two periods is so vague and uncertain that it is thought by some impossible to define it in any other way than by the recurrence of a second glacial era when all Europe was wrapped in an Arctic winter, and buried in Arctic ice, probably for hundreds of years.[1]

At any rate a long period passed away before these rude men learned to grind and polish the stones which at first they only chipped, and it is doubted if their stone axes were pierced to receive a handle till working in metals in later times had taught them a method for the process. For the Stone Age overlapped the Bronze, and even when they had come to know how to smelt copper and had learned that nine parts of that metal to one of tin would make a combination hard enough for a useful tool, or sword, or spear, they long held to their old implements of stone, no doubt, because of the cost of material and slow growth of skill. But when man began to smelt ores he began to make history; and there is a visible connection between the Bronze Age and our own, in traditions, oral and written, in inscriptions upon sculptured stones, in picture-writing in temples and on ancient monaments.



Bronze Implements.

Fig. 1, celt. 2, bronze hair-pin (Swiss). 3, bronze razor knife-blade (Dennak). 4, bronze knife-blade (Danish.)

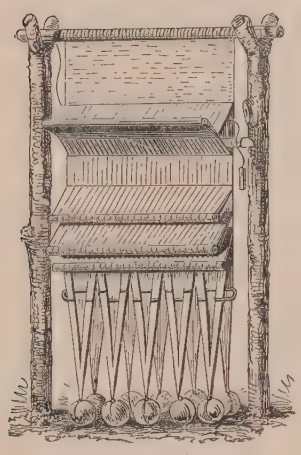
Sculptured Stone.

The Lake-dwellers, however, though some of them were in the condition of the earliest Stone Age, were generally of that more recent period when the continent had settled into its present form; their population was numerous enough to gather into communities sufficient for the felling of trees with their stone axes; these trees, sharpened with the aid of fire, they drove into the muddy bottoms of the lakes as piles for the support of the platforms of their houses. With their relics, in beds three feet in thickness, the accumulation of centuries, are found the first evidences of agriculture and horticulture. Among the charred remains

[1] *The Great Ice Age; and its Relation to the Antiquity of Man.* By James Geikie. 1874.

of their villages, which seem to have often been destroyed by fire, are wheat, barley, and linseed, apples and pears cut in halves as if for winter use, the seeds of strawberries, raspberries, elderberries, blackberries, loaves of bread, fragments of woven cloth.[1] But the earlier men of the caves, and probably of the Kjökken-Möddings, had reached to no such point of culture. Nor was it till he had attained to the Age of Polished Stone that man domesticated animals. With the implements of that time are found also the bones of the dog, the hog, the horse, the ox, the sheep, the goat, animals made useful for labor as well as for food.[2]

Relics of Lake-dwellers.



Lake-dweller's Loom.

The earliest of these peoples inhabited Europe at that remote period, when, as geologists believe, the lands now called Italy and Spain were joined to Africa, and in the place of the Mediterranean Sea were only a few land-locked basins; when the British Islands, as far north as the Shetlands, were a part of the continent; when the present bottom of the North Sea was a low, wide plain covered, probably, by magnificent forests, through which the Rhine, with the Elbe and the Thames as its tributaries, wound its way to discharge its waters at length into the ocean north of Scandinavia; and when the western boundary of Europe was far out in the Atlantic beyond the present coasts of Ireland and France, extending in an unbroken line from the Arctic Ocean to Africa.

Geologic changes in Europe.

Was this primeval savage, as his story is thus read in the relics he has left behind him in imperishable stone, a man of a dark or a white skin? In what tongue did he speak? Was he the ancestor of any of the cultivated European races of to-day? To these questions there is no satisfactory, perhaps no possible, answer. We only know that his condition was evidently not unlike that of the dark-skinned barbarians of our own time, and that there is no record in history of a white race at so low a point of culture. There is, apparently, no trace of his lineage in any living European race, unless it be in the small, black-eyed, dark-haired, swarthy people of the Basque provinces of France, of Ireland west of the Shannon, and of the mountains of Wales, who, it is supposed, may have

Traces of the pre-historic man among modern nations.

[1] Keller's *Lake Dwellings.* Desor's *Lacustrine Constructions.*

[2] *Cave Hunting, Researches on the Evidences of Caves, etc.* By W. Boyd Dawkins.

descended from Neolithic ancestors.[1] Otherwise he either perished in the course of nature, like many species of plants and animals of former eras, or was exterminated by a stronger and wiser people, migrating from the East, who came with weapons of bronze in their hands, bringing with them that germ from which has grown the civilization of Europe and America.

It is a curious and interesting inquiry what bearing this new-found evidence of the antiquity of man has upon the question of the origin of the first inhabitants of the Western Hemisphere and of the time of their first appearance. There is a remarkable resemblance in the relics of all pre-historic races, as there is a similarity in the rude works of art of barbarous people in all parts of the world, and in all ages. So great is this resemblance, that, it is said, a skilful observer of stone implements could not, from an unticketed heap, tell within thousands

Arrow-heads from different Countries.

Fig. 1, Ireland. 2, France. 3, N. America. 4, Terra del Fuego. 5, Japan

of years or thousands of miles when and where they were made.[2] It is only by their positions and the relations in which they are found, that it is possible to assign to them any value as to their age, or as to the condition of the people to whom they once belonged. But as they are, in certain positions and relations, accepted as proving the antiquity of man, it is difficult to believe that in one half the world, where they may be as plentiful as in the other half, they are without any such significance. However puzzling it may be to distinguish between the stone-hatchet or arrow-head of the modern Indian and that dropped by some earlier savage before the Indian possessed the land, it is possible that such a distinction may yet be clearly established.

"First-born among the continents," says Agassiz, "though so much later in culture and civilization than some of more recent birth, America, so far as her physical history is concerned, has been falsely denominated the *New World*. Hers was the first dry land lifted out of the waters, hers the first shore washed

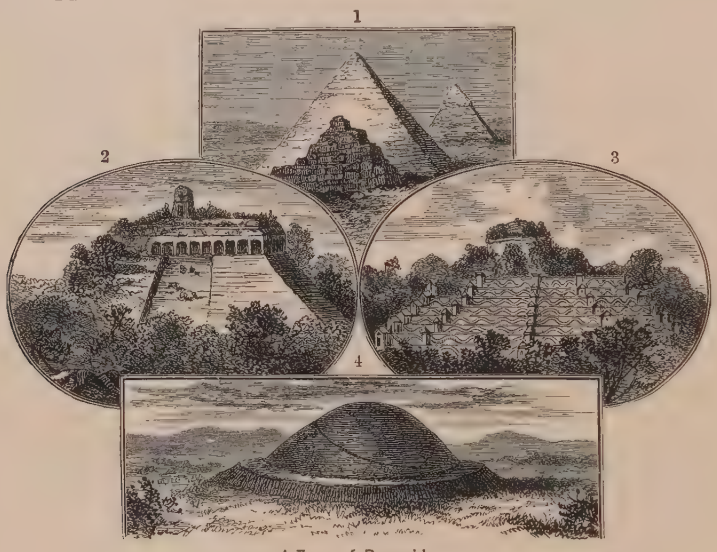
Antiquity of American Continent.

[1] See W. Boyd Dawkins, in *Cave Hunting*, and in *Fortnightly Review*, September, 1874, who, on this point, follows Dr. Thurnam and Professor Huxley.

[2] Tylor's *Early History, etc.*, p. 206.

by the ocean that enveloped all the earth beside; and while Europe was represented only by islands rising here and there above the sea, America already stretched an unbroken line of land from Nova Scotia to the Far West."[1]

If then an antiquity of the human race, till recently supposed to be incredible, be accepted as true, a door is thrown wide open for speculation the farther we go back in time. The hypothesis of a Mongolian migration is no longer indispensable to account for the earliest appearance of man on that half the globe which the most



A Zone of Pyramids.
Fig. 1, Egypt. 2, Central America. 3, India. 4, North America.

eminent geologist of this country held to be the older half. Communication between the two hemispheres, it is conjectured, may have been, long ages ago, quite as possible in other ways as in our era across the sea of Kamtschatka. To account for the resemblance in the works of art, the temples, the pyramids, the hieroglyphics of Central America and Mexico, to those of Asia, it has been suggested that the Eastern and Western Continents once approached each other where the ocean now rolls between, and that a zone or circle of the earth was at that period occupied by a pyramid-building people. And to strengthen the supposition, it is alleged that there are many points of resemblance between the Guanches, the aboriginal but now extinct people of the Canary Isles, and the ancient Egyptians on this parallel zone.[2] In the form of the skull the Guanches are said to have been allied to the

[1] *Geological Sketches*, by L. Agassiz, p. 1.
[2] *The Races of Men.* By Robert Knox. London, 1862.

Caribs of the Antilles, and both to the tribes of the whole eastern coast of America from its extreme northern limit to Paraguay and Uruguay in the south.[1] Humboldt suggests[2] that the summits of the Madeira and of the Canary Islands may have once been the western extremity of the chain of the Atlas mountains. Others go farther and assume that these islands and those of the West Indies are the summits of mountain chains that once crowned an Atlantic continent which was afterward submerged and disintegrated by some great cataclysm. The similarity of the flora on the islands of the coast of Africa and Western Europe, and those of Central Europe and Eastern America can only be accounted for, according to some geologists, by the supposition of such a continent before the human period.[3] The bolder theorists are disposed to accept the fact without the limitation, as the time of the destruction of such a continent, if it ever existed, and the first appearance of man are alike uncertain.

Tradition of an Atlantic Continent.

In curious coincidence with these mingled facts and conjectures the story is recalled which Plato says was related to Solon by an Egyptian priest of the island called Atlantis, "larger than Asia [Minor] and Libya combined," lying beyond the Pillars of Hercules, inhabited by a powerful and warlike people, and which was destroyed by earthquakes and floods nine thousand years before his time. In later times the "Island of Antilia," the "Island of the Seven Cities," the "Island of the Holy Bishop Brandon," placed midway in the "Sea of Darkness," as the Atlantic was then called, found its place in the earliest maps of the world, sometimes under one name, sometimes another, when the geography of one half the globe was merely guessed at.

These speculations, traditions, and supposed fables are not history; but it is not impossible that in them may yet be found some aid in putting together the unwritten story of the early human race on this continent. It is not indeed yet established upon unquestioned evidence that man is as old here as anywhere else; but that such evidence is forthcoming is hardly a subject of doubt now even among those slowest to believe.

The natives of North America, when first visited by Europeans a few centuries ago, belonged as distinctly to the Stone Age as the earliest inhabitants of Europe did at an epoch too remote to be accurately measured in years. It is not easy, therefore, to distinguish in this country between the possible relics of a primeval race and those of the modern Indians, where, whatever the difference of time be-

[1] Professor Retzius of Stockholm. Smithsonian Report, 1859.

[2] *Travels to the Equinoctial Regions of America.* By Alexander von Humboldt.

[3] See Lecture by Edward Suess, in Vienna, translated for Smithsonian Report, 1872. Opinions of Professors Unger and Heer, quoted by Lyell, *Antiquity of Man*, p. 492.

tween them, there was none of culture. Thus Lyell repeatedly refers, in different works,[1] to the shell-heaps along the American coast from Massachusetts to Georgia as identical with the Kjökken-Möddings, the kitchen refuse-heaps, of Denmark. As witnesses to the existence of a people in an early stage of barbarism, these refuse heaps of shells on the coasts of different countries are undoubtedly identical, but it may be questioned whether those upon our own are the work of the modern Indian, or of a race that long preceded them, and coeval, perhaps, with those primitive savages who fed in Denmark upon shell-fish which can no longer live in the waters of the Baltic, and upon the birds whose food was the buds of trees buried now in the bogs beneath successive forests. Such heaps are found from Nova Scotia to Florida, upon all the Sea Islands of the Southern States, along the coast of the Gulf of Mexico, and upon the banks of fresh-water streams. Their number and their size suggest the former presence of a large population and its long continuance. One upon Stalling's Island, in the Savannah River, two hundred miles above its mouth, is three hundred feet in length by one hundred and twenty in width, and with an average elevation of more than fifteen feet.[2] Did the scattered tribes of Indian hunters accumulate these huge relics of their summer fishing? Perhaps when longer studied, and with a definite purpose, they may shed new light here, as the shell-heaps of Denmark, the caves of Germany, France, and England, the remains of human habitation beneath the lakes of Switzerland, have done in Europe, upon the antiquity of the early inhabitants.[3]

Shell-heaps on coast of U. S.

But where the fact to be observed depends upon geological evidence, the question is simply one of verification of that evidence. This involves, ordinarily, scientific knowledge and accurate observation. Such observation and knowledge will, in the long run, be brought to bear upon the subject and to dispel all doubts, if that is possible, either one way or the other. Meanwhile the progress of the accumulation of such evidence, whether more or less conclusive, is neither valueless nor without interest.

[1] *Visit to the United States. Antiquity of Man.*

[2] *Antiquities of the Southern Indians.* C. C. Jones, Jr.

[3] The late Professor Jeffries Wyman, of Cambridge, who had examined the structure and contents of these refuse-heaps with the careful habit and rigid method of scientific research, asserts, in a private letter, that no glass beads or tools of metal have hitherto been found in them, though such articles were largely distributed among the Indians by the earliest European visitors; that some of the older mounds are wanting in any traces of pottery; that no pipes or fragments of pipes have been found in them by him and other accurate explorers, though smoking was the universal custom of the Indians when first known; that trees have been observed upon them, which showed by their annular growth an age antedating from one to three centuries the landing of Columbus; and that there is no record, with a single exception, in the narratives of the early voyagers of these heaps marking the dwelling-places of the Indians.

Thus, near Natchez, Mississippi, there was found about thirty years ago, a fragment of a human bone, the pelvis, in association with the bones of the mastodon, the megalonyx, and other extinct animals. Were the man and the beasts to whom these bones belonged living at the same time? That time was about a hundred thousand years ago,[1] when the mastodon and megalonyx, whose remains must have been buried beneath the present valley and delta of the Mississippi, were certainly alive. The fissure at the bottom of which the bones were found was made during the earthquakes of 1811–12, which extended through a portion of the Mississippi Valley, heaving the earth up into long hillocks, and tearing it open into deep ravines. Sir Charles Lyell, on his visit to this country in 1846, carefully examined the locality and these fossils, with a stronger bias, he has since said, against the probability "of the contemporaneous entombment of man and the mastodon than any geologist would now be justified in entertaining."[2] He suggested that the human bone may have fallen from the surface of the soil, while those of the fossil beasts came from strata underneath. Other scientific men afterward adopted this suggestion, though he has since candidly acknowledged that "had the pelvic bone belonged to any recent mammifer other than man, such a theory would never have been resorted to."[3]

Fossil remains in U. S.

So in New Orleans, in 1852, a human skeleton was dug from an excavation, made for the foundation of gas-works, at a depth of sixteen feet, and beneath four successive buried forests of cypress. Dr. Dowler, into whose possession this skeleton came, believed, from its position, that it had lain there not less than fifty thousand years, but whether this be correct or not, depends upon intricate calculations as to the yearly deposits of the river, about which there is great difference of opinion among geologists. There is on Petit Anse Island, in Louisiana, a bed of almost pure rock salt, found in every part of it at a depth of from fifteen to twenty feet. On this spot have been disinterred the fossil bones of the mastodon and the elephant, and underneath them lay fragments of matting and bits of broken pottery in great profusion. The people to whom this refuse once belonged had resorted to the island for salt, before, it is assumed, the superimposed mud of fifteen or twenty feet in depth, and in which the mastodons and elephants were buried, was deposited; on the other hand, it is doubted whether the whole mass of soil and all it contained may not have been washed down from the surrounding hills, mingling together indiscriminately the remains of various ages.

[1] Sir Charles Lyell, *Second Visit to the United States*, vol. ii. p. 151.
[2] Lyell's *Antiquity of Man*, p. 236.
[3] Ibid., p. 239.

Evidence still more interesting and conclusive that man and the extinct animals were contemporaneous is alleged to have been found in Missouri nearly forty years ago. A Dr. Koch, of St. Louis, an enthusiastic, though not a scientific, collector and exhibitor of fossil remains, affirmed that in 1839 he dug up, in the bottom lands of the Bourbeuse River, in Missouri, from a depth of eight or nine feet, the bones of a mastodon, in such juxtaposition with human relics as to show that man and this beast, whose race is no longer in existence, met upon that spot in deadly hostility. He asserted that, when the exhumation was made, the great bones of the legs of the animal stood erect as if the creature had become immovably mired in the deep and tenacious clay. Around it had been kindled a fire by human hands, and in the ashes that lay about the skeleton to the depth of from two to six inches were scattered bits of charred wood and half-burnt bones, stone arrow-heads, stone axes, and rough stones, — these last brought evidently from the beach of the river at some distance, where in a stratum of the bank, and there only in the neighborhood, are similar stones still found. All these missiles unquestionably had been hurled at the creature, whose gigantic strength, stimulated by pain and rage and fear, the torments of the flames, the shouts of the pursuers, the sharp wounds from their stone weapons, was not enough to extricate him from the slough into which his great weight had sunk him.

Discovery of mastodon in Missouri.

There are in this case two considerations to be borne in mind. If man and the mastodon did not live at the same time, a discovery of their remains in the alleged relations is necessarily impossible. But there is no inherent improbability in the story if they were contemporaneous; so huge a beast might easily become mired in a swamp, and then be surrounded and put to death by the savages by such means as were at their command.[1] The only remarkable thing about the incident would be that subsequent deposits of earth should have so completely covered these fossil remains, without disturbing them, that they could be exhumed in their original condition so long afterward.[2]

[1] Savages are alike in all ages and countries. "The people," — in the Lake region of Eastern Africa, — says the great traveller, Livingstone, "employ these continuous or *set-in* rains for hunting the elephant, which gets bogged and sinks in from fifteen to eighteen inches in soft mud; then even he, the strong one, feels it difficult to escape." — *The Last Journals of David Livingstone in Central Africa*, p. 143.

[2] See Article XXXV., *Silliman's Journal*, May, 1875, by James D. Dana; which is devoted to a discussion of this case. Professor Dana considers Koch's statement "very doubtful," but his doubt is evidently as to Koch's truthfulness and character, and not as to any inherent improbability in such a discovery, as he says, "it is to be hoped that the geologists of the Missouri Geological Survey now in progress will succeed in settling the question positively." And on the essential point which alone gives the story any importance, he adds: "The contemporaneity claimed will probably be shown to be true for North America by future discoveries, if not already established; for Man existed in Europe long before the extinction of the American mastodon."

A PRE-HISTORIC MAMMOTH HUNT.

At this exhumation, Dr. Koch always affirmed that twenty persons of the vicinity were present; others have vouched for his integrity and general truthfulness; [1] and though he had little knowledge of scientific facts and methods, and made grave mistakes in the classification of fossil bones, his experience and success in recovering them was greater than that of any other explorers.[2] If such a scene, then, the evidences of which he claims to have uncovered, ever occurred — a scene in itself by no means improbable if man and the mastodon lived at the same time in the same region of country — a picture is presented of a hunt by pre-historic men on this continent vivid enough to appeal to the dullest imagination, and more remarkable than any similar incident yet found anywhere else.

A year later than this asserted discovery on the Bourbeuse River, the same diligent collector claimed to have made another which must be considered on the same grounds. In the bottomlands of the Pomme de Terre River, in Benton County, Missouri, he dug up, he asserts, an almost entire skeleton of another mastodon, beneath which were two stone arrow-heads in such a position that they must have been there when the animal fell. They lay in a bed of vegetable mould, covered by twenty feet of alternate strata of sand, clay, and gravel, hitherto undisturbed, and on the surface of the ground grew a forest of old trees.

Dr. Koch's Arrow-head.

Later discoveries of other fossils are not less significant, in the controversies to which they have given rise, of growing interest in the importance of the subject. In 1857, the fragment of a human skull was taken, it is asserted, from the gold drift of California, one hundred and eighty feet below the surface of Table Mountain, in association with the fossil bones of extinct animals. More recently, in 1867 or 1868, another human cranium was found in a mining shaft in Calaveras County, which Professor Whitney, of the State Geological Survey, believes to have been an authentic "find." To all the alleged circumstances in regard to it he gave a careful examination, and his testimony is accepted as conclusive by many eminent scientific men.[3] The shaft in which the bone was buried is one hundred and fifty feet deep, and was sunk through five beds of lava and volcanic tufa, and four beds of gold-bearing

Fossil human skull in California.

[1] *Pre-historic Races of the United States*, by J. W. Foster, p. 62. Charles Rau, in *Smithsonian Report for* 1872.

[2] The *Mastodon giganteus* mounted in the British Museum was found in Missouri by Dr. Koch, and a representation of it, copied from Owen, is given in Dana's *Manual of Geology*, 1875, p. 566.

[3] Among others, by the late Professor Jeffries Wyman.

quartz. In this superincumbent mass no crack or crevice was apparent through which the bone could have fallen to so great a depth, and the inference therefore is that it was deposited in the place where it lay when that was on the surface of the earth's crust, and that over it in subsequent ages were piled up the successive beds of gravel and volcanic cinders. If this be true of these skulls, then the men whom they represent lived before the human race appeared in Europe, so far as is yet ascertained; and before the stupendous peaks of the Sierra Nevada Mountains of California were lifted from the sea.

Though the number of alleged facts bearing upon the antiquity of the human family on this continent are still few and need unquestioned confirmation, the inclination of scientific belief is that the evidence exists and will yet be found.[1] When this shall be done beyond cavil a new foundation will be laid on which to base the inquiry as to the earliest people of the Western World. However strong may be the probability of the Asiatic origin of the North American Indians, behind them appears another race which must have been displaced by that Mongolian migration. If here as elsewhere there were races more ancient than has hitherto been supposed, we can no longer look upon the Western Hemisphere as solitary and unpeopled, unknown and useless to man till he, grown old in the East, was numerous enough and far enough advanced in intelligence and wants to wander abroad upon the face of the earth in search of a new home.

[1] See *ante*, p. 16. Note from Silliman's Journal.

CHAPTER II.

THE MOUND BUILDERS.

Progress in Civilization of North American Indian. — Pre-historic Race in the Western Hemisphere. — Earthworks in the Mississippi Valley. Big Elephant Mound. — Garden-beds. — Military Works. — Temple and Altar Mounds. — Relics found in these Tumuli. — Ancient Copper-mining at Lake Superior. — Connection between this and later Civilizations. — Remains in Mexico and Central America. — Skulls found in the Mounds.

The North American Indian.

The North American Indians are, as a race, in no higher plane of culture now than they were three hundred years ago. If they have any inherent capability for progress — if they could, had they remained isolated and unmolested, have ever raised themselves above the conditions of the second age of stone implements, that progress was arrested when they came into subjection to another and a higher race. It has been easy enough to intensify the weaknesses which distinguished them as savages, by adding to these the most sensual and degrading vices acquired from the whites; and in that process of degradation has been lost whatever of stern and manly virtue is supposed to be the compensation in the simple child of nature for the minor morals of civilized life.

It seems irrational to assume that such a people, whose contact for two centuries and a half with the culture of another race has been unproductive of any good, can have once fallen from a semi-civilization possessed by their ancestors, but of which they have neither distinct inheritance nor even dim tradition. There is no influence visible or conceivable to account for a change so remarkable. They had evidently never lost their physical vigor; no enemy had ever before come to dispossess them of the soil which they claimed as their own, or to trample out by conquest and servitude the feeble sparks of nascent development; and no higher civilization had invaded and overwhelmed the feeble efforts of the childhood of a race. It is to set aside all the facts of history, as well as all rational conjecture, to suppose that a race now apparently so hopelessly incapable of improvement had, without cause, at some former period, fallen from the condition of a partially cultivated people, to that of savage hunters in a country

which had become a wilderness through their own voluntary degradation.

Race in America anterior to Indians.

But behind these Indians, who were in possession of the country when it was discovered by Europeans, is dimly seen the shadowy form of another people who have left many remarkable evidences of their habits and customs and of a singular degree of civilization, but who many centuries ago disappeared, either exterminated by pestilence or by some powerful and pitiless enemy, or driven from the country to seek new homes south and west of the Gulf of Mexico.

The evidences of the presence of this ancient people are found almost everywhere upon the North American Continent, except, perhaps, upon the Atlantic coast. They consist of mounds sometimes of imposing size, and other earthworks, so numerous that in Ohio

Earthworks in Ohio.

alone there are, or were till quite recently, estimated to be not less than ten thousand of the Mounds, and fifteen hundred enclosures of earth and stone all evidently the work of the same people. In other parts of the country they were found in such numbers that no attempt has ever been made to count them all.

There are no data by which the exact age of these singular relics of a once numerous and industrious people, living a long-sustained, agricultural life, can be fixed. But it is evident from certain established facts that this must date from a very remote period. The chief seat of their power and population seems to have been in the Missis-

sippi Valley. The signs of their occupation are many along the banks of its rivers, but they are rarely found upon the last formed terraces of those streams, — those which have been longest in formation, and which were the beds of the rivers when most of the earthworks were built. It is very seldom that the human bones found in them, except those of later and evidently intrusive burial, are in a condition to admit of their removal, as they crumble into dust on exposure to the air; while bones in British tumuli, known to belong to the Roman period and to ages older than the Christian era, are frequently taken entire from situations, as regards soil and moisture, much less conducive to their preservation, than those of the mounds.[1] They are often, also, covered by the primeval forests, which are known to have grown undisturbed since the country was first occupied by the whites, and the annular growth of these trees has been ascertained to be sometimes from five to eight centuries.

Mounds in Mississippi Valley.

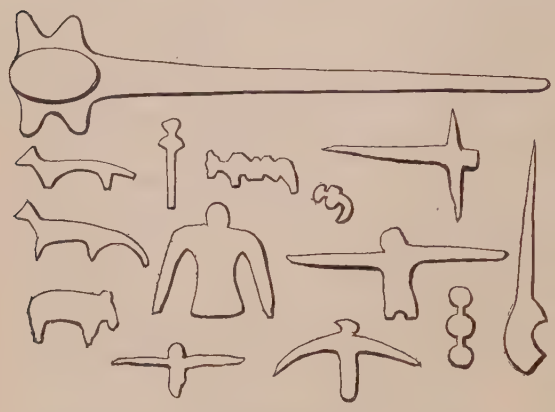
But this, so far from fixing the date of the occupation of these works, does not even indicate the time when they were abandoned; for a considerable period must have elapsed before the ground was occupied by trees of any kind, and before the forest, in its gradual and slow encroachment, obtained complete possession of the ground; and then forest after forest may have grown, and fallen, and mingled with the soil through the progress of many centuries, before the seed of the latest growth was sown, five hundred or a thousand years ago. The first President Harrison, who was considered an authority on questions of arboriculture, and who has been quoted by almost every writer on this subject, maintained, in an address before the Ohio Historical Society, that a long period elapsed before the growth which came in upon abandoned cleared land became assimilated in kind to the trees of the surrounding forest. For that reason alone he believed the works of the Mound Builders to be of "immense age."

Even the purpose for which they were erected is often doubtful; and one class of them baffles all rational conjecture. In the State of Wisconsin, occupying the region between Lake Michigan and the Mississippi River, are many earthworks of a peculiar character, which find few parallels in other parts of the country, while in the same region is remarked the absence of the circumvallations and immense mounds so numerous elsewhere. The significance of these works in the northwest seems to be in their configuration alone, though what that significance could have been is altogether inexplicable.

Generally, these figures are in groups, though sometimes they stand alone; they represent animals, usually in relief, though frequently the

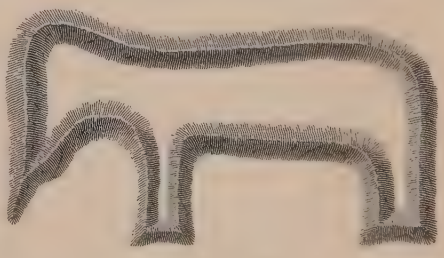
[1] Squier and Davis: *Monuments of the Mississippi Valley. Pre-historic Man*, etc., Dr. Daniel Wilson, p. 228.

reverse, and the figures are varied enough and distinct enough, to show that they were meant to be the effigies of perhaps every quadruped then known in the country, of birds with outstretched wings, of fishes with fins extended, of reptiles, of man; and of inanimate things, the war-club, the bow and arrow, the pipe, the cross, the crescent, the circle, and other mathematical forms. They rise above the surface two, four, sometimes six feet in height; the animal figures vary from ninety to one hundred and twenty feet in length. But there are rectangular embankments, only a few feet in height and width, that stretch out to a length of several hundred feet. Among all these representations of animals there is no one more remarkable than that recently described, called the Big Elephant Mound, found in Wisconsin a few miles below the mouth of the Wisconsin River. Its name indicates its form; its length is one hundred and thirty-five feet, and its other proportions are in accordance with that measurement.[1] It does not seem probable that the people who piled up these mysterious earthworks could represent a mastodon or elephant if it were not a living creature with which they were familiar.



Animal Mounds.

Shapes of the mounds.



Big Elephant Mound.

In other parts of the country walls of stone and earth were raised for defence; mounds of great or small dimensions were heaped up to cover the dead, or erected to their memory, or set up as monuments where some mysterious rites of incremation, or sacrifice, or worship had been celebrated; or they marked the former site of temples or of habitation. The precise object of the builders, or how they attained it, can often be only guessed at; but that there was a purpose connected, in some way, with the civil or

Objects of the builders.

[1] Smithsonian Report, 1872.

religious life, or the hostile or the social relations of a very numerous people, is evident. But of these works in Wisconsin there is no such explanation. It does not seem possible that they could have been the foundations either of dwellings or of temples for worship; they certainly could not have been for defence; they were rarely places of sepulture, and no probable conjecture has as yet been advanced that assigns to them any conceivable human intent. Yet they exist in great numbers, scattered over a broad extent of country. They must have cost a vast deal of labor, and they indicate the presence, when they were made, of a large population.

In a portion of Wisconsin, as well as in some other places, are found earthworks of another kind, but quite as remarkable, which, from their supposed use, have been called "garden-beds." These are ridges, or beds, about six inches in height and four feet in width, methodically arranged in parallel rows, sometimes rectangular in shape, sometimes of various but regular and symmetrical curves, and occupying fields of from ten to a hundred acres. It has been suggested that these were beds for the cultivation of maize by a people subsequent to those who made the animal mounds, and who had no knowledge either of their origin or purpose. But they may have been the results of the labor of the same people and parts of some general design; or, if they were really "garden-beds," the fact that they were carried across the effigies would show that no sacred character attached to those works.

Elsewhere works of a similar character, though in some respects still a subject of conjecture, are better understood. Long walls of earth and rough stone, often carried in connecting lines for many miles, mark, if not sites of towns or cities, at least the presence of a dense population. The selection of these sites was plainly guided by convenience of access to navigable streams and the possession of lands best suited for cultivation; and it has been observed that the places where the remains of this ancient people are most abundant, are those which the pioneers of modern civilization selected as the natural centres of settlement and trade. They understood the advantages of situations like those of Cincinnati and St. Louis, and they crowded the pleasant valleys of the Scioto, the Miami, the Wabash, the Kentucky, the Cumberland, and others through which run the tributaries to the Ohio and Mississippi rivers, where the bottom-lands are broadest, the soil most fertile, and means of communication by water-carriage the most available.

The ruins of the works which mark this occupation are generally in groups; the walls, however, are not continuous like those of a walled town, even where most extensive, but mark different enclosures devoted to various purposes. Thus at the mouth

Fortifications.

of the Scioto there are embankments which measure in the aggregate about twenty miles, though the area actually enclosed in its avenues, squares, and circles, is only about two hundred acres. But the points most capable of defence, where defence was evidently intended, were selected with military skill. The summits of hills were made inaccessible to attack by lines of circumvallation; peninsulas, surrounded on three sides by a deep stream or precipitous bluffs, and only to be approached on one side, were there made difficult, if not impossible of access; and in these citadels, doubtless, the outlying populations, in case of danger, warned by the smoke or flame rising from mounds placed on the loftiest hills, in sight of each other for many miles, found safe refuge. Nor were these walls made in haste, or for a temporary purpose. In height, they vary from five to five and twenty feet; at their base they are often twenty feet and more in width; and frequently outside the wall is a moat measuring twenty-five or fifty, or eighty feet in width, according to the importance of the position or the difficulty of defending it. Military works like these, built not far apart, and with so much care and labor, enclosing areas from five to about a hundred and fifty acres, in a country no doubt thickly settled, indicate that this was a people skilful in military affairs, subject, probably, to frequent attack from a powerful and much dreaded enemy, but quite capable of making a long and sturdy defence.

So far, seems plain enough. Defensive earthworks are not uncommon with other savage or semi-civilized peoples, though their completeness is a measure, in some degree, of the density of the population, the supply of labor, and of skill in its use. But with these Mound Builders the skill of the soldier and the engineer was used for the protection of a people who had apparently developed a degree of civil, and perhaps religious culture, altogether above anything that the red man has ever been known to possess, or that belongs to any merely barbarous race. Their works of circumvallation, other than those meant merely for defence, were singular in design and, in some respects, remarkable in construction. They are usually upon the table-lands, and often in groups extending for several miles, but connected with each other directly, or showing a relation by propinquity, — the groups made up of squares, circles, and other mathematical figures, ranging from two hundred and fifty to three hundred feet in diameter to a mile in circuit.

Near these enclosures, or within them, are mounds, some large, some small, some pyramids, others parallelograms, generally truncated, sometimes terraced, or their summits approached by inclined planes. Avenues of imposing width, between embankments several feet in height, often connect these enclosed areas, extending, in one instance, in obvi-

MOUNDS NEAR MARIETTA, OHIO.

ous connection from both banks of the Ohio River for a total length of sixteen miles. Other graded roads lead from terrace to terrace, apparently to secure access to the streams; while others still, so far as can now be discerned, lead from nothing to nowhere, the significance of the avenue being apparently in its existence, and not in its direction. The squares in these works are perfect squares; the circles, perfect circles; and as some of these are a mile in circuit, there must have been brought to their construction much engineering skill and knowledge, and the use of instruments. They bear, moreover, such relations to each other as to show unmistakably some fixed and general design; and similarity of proportions in places sixty or seventy miles apart seem to indicate the application of some common geometrical rule to their construction. Thus in Ohio is often found a combined work of a square with two circles, and they usually agree in this, that each of the sides of the squares measures exactly 1,080 feet, and the adjacent circles 1,700 and 800 feet respectively. This identity of measurement in similar works in different parts of the country can hardly have been accidental. Within these walls, instead of outside of them, are occasionally moats or ditches, and this is accepted as conclusive proof that such works were not defensive. They may have surrounded the houses and estates of chiefs and other men of power and consideration; they may have been public parks and places of public games; or they may have been, as is generally concluded by explorers, the metes and bounds within which was enclosed the ground held sacred to the superstitions and the religious rites of a people who found room elsewhere for the duties, the avocations, and the exigencies of their every-day life.

Mathematical correctness.

These witnesses to the occupation of the land by a numerous and busy population long ago, can only be considered as the ruins which mark the site of that ancient habitation. The solid earth has withstood the inroads of time; whatever was perishable and once bore the impress of such degree of culture as the people may have acquired, has perished. In the mounds, however, we gain some farther insight into their character, though they are themselves as remarkable, and almost as inexplicable, as the extensive system of circumvallations, embankments, and excavations of which they make a part. These mounds are of all dimensions, from that of Cahokia, Illinois, one of a group of sixty which covered six acres of ground, and that of Seltzertown, Mississippi, of about equal extent, and others of like imposing dimensions, to those of the region extending from the Gulf of Mexico to the Valley of the Arkansas, and westward into Texas, which are described as "from one foot to five feet in height, with a diameter from thirty feet to one hundred and forty feet, and as numbered by

millions,"[1] and innumerable smaller mounds found in Missouri. If these were the foundations of human dwelling-places, the country must have been one vast town; and if it is difficult to believe this, it is no less difficult to conceive of their being raised in such immense numbers and in such close proximity, for any other purpose.

Of the character of other mounds, many of which have been carefully explored, there is less doubt. They are divided by Squier and Davis, and their classification is usually followed by other observers, into Altar or Sacrificial Mounds, Mounds of Sepulture, Temple Mounds, and Mounds of Observation, though there are many, such as the "Animal Mounds" of Wisconsin and a few of a similar character found in Ohio, and those of the Arkansas Valley, that defy all conjecture as to their use.

Mounds for various purposes

The Temple Mounds are so called either because there are similar elevations in Mexico on which temples were erected, or because, having level summits which may be reached by terraces, by inclined planes, or by spiral pathways, they may be supposed to have been convenient sites for such edifices, or to have been used for religious purposes without buildings. There was certainly ample room for either mode of worship on such a mound as that at Cahokia, whose truncated top measured two hundred by four hundred and fifty feet, and on many others in the Southern States of equal dimensions; and that they were the sites of buildings, of some sort, seems probable also from the fact that there are many platforms of earth, acres in extent, though only a few feet high, — similar in every respect to the larger elevations, except in height, — which could hardly have been used for any other purpose.

Temple Mound in Mexico

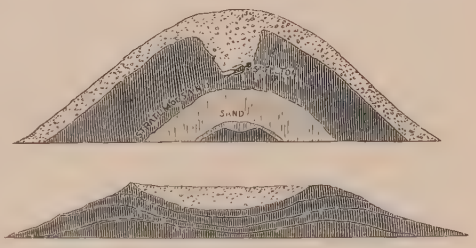
But as these mounds have none of the peculiarities of those containing the singular structures called Altars, and as they evidently were not places of sepulture, their use must have been different from either. As they are usually found, however, with the Altar Mounds within the enclosures, it has been conjectured that all the extensive

[1] Statement of Professor Forshey in Foster's *Pre-historic Races of the United States.*

works of circumvallation, except those evidently erected for defence, with the many and various elevations enclosed within them, whatever their character or shape, had some intimate relation to the religious faith and ceremonies of those who constructed them. If the grounds of such a supposition may be considered rational and sufficient, — and in the absence of any other theory it seems the most obvious, — it is only the more remarkable that at a period so remote that much, if not the whole of Europe was still in the darkness of primeval barbarism, so large a part of North America should be inhabited by a numerous population so advanced in a civilization developed by themselves, that they could expend upon a single phase of life so much evident reflection and accurate knowledge, and devote to it an amount of manual labor so immense and so continuous.

These so-called Temple Mounds, whether temples really crowned their summits, or whether religious ceremonies were performed upon them under no other roof than the over-arching sky, are in themselves sufficiently remarkable, if only for their great size. The cubic contents of that of Cahokia are estimated as equal to one fourth of the great pyramid of Ghizeh, and of that at Grave Creek, Virginia, as nearly equal to the third pyramid of Mycerinus.[1]

But the Altar Mounds are still more interesting. They are always symmetrical, but not always uniform in shape, and in height they do not generally exceed eight feet. Unlike all other mounds, whether used for burial or as places of worship, they are laid up in different strata of earths, not in horizontal lines, but in conformity with the curve of the surface of the mound.



Altar Mounds.

Of these strata, from one to four, though usually two or three only, are invariably of fine white sand, and beneath the whole, upon a level with the surrounding plain, is found a hard-baked hearth or basin, which explorers call an altar. In shape these altars differ; but that form, whatever it may be, is always symmetrical and carefully constructed. They bear always the marks of the fires that had been kindled upon them, and the cremation may have been of dead or living subjects or of burnt-offerings of animals or material things. But whether such fires were for sacrifices or were only a method of disposing of the dead, the places where they were made were important enough and sacred enough to require that they

[1] Foster's *Pre-historic Races*, p. 346.

should be, not the careless heaping up of earth, but the construction of a rude work of art. The character is invariable; wherever a mound is found thus made with successive strata of carefully imposed earth and sand, conforming to its outward shape, an altar is beneath; and wherever the altar or hearth is found, if covered at all, the alternate beds of earth and sand are carefully laid over it; all others are unstratified.

Beneath these mounds are found chiefly the specimens of pottery, of implements of war and the chase, and of domestic life, which always indicate, in some degree, the condition and progress of the people who used them; but this curious fact is dwelt upon by Squier, that, though the number of such articles in any one deposit may be large, the variety is limited; a collection of pipes may be found upon one altar, a heap of pottery, or of arrow-heads, or of pearls, or of copper tools, upon others; but a single kind predominates in each, with little mingling of other implements. The most plausible explanation of these structures is, that they were places of sacrifice, with a religious meaning, for the altars were, in some cases, evidently used repeatedly before they were finally covered with so much care. They may have been places of human sacrifice; but probably were not for the burning of those who died from natural causes, as the disposition of their bodies is otherwise accounted for. Thousands of other mounds are raised over the remains of one or two persons in each, while the common multitude received only that ordinary burial which the immense accumulation of human bones in some places indicates.

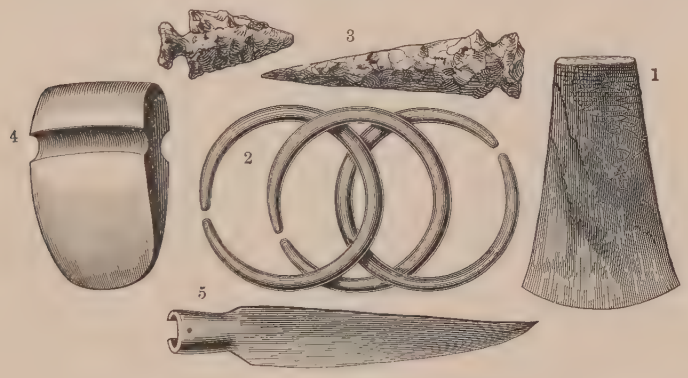
Pottery from Mounds.

Relics found in them.

It is unfortunate for the archæologist that the depositories of articles of personal use among these people were exposed to an intense heat. Only stone or clay could resist it, for it melted copper and lead and destroyed almost entirely whatever was perishable. But for this something more might be learned than we are ever likely to know of their habits and customs, and of the advance they had made in arts of which there are found some indications. But there is certainly enough to show that they had developed a civilization of a vigorous and original growth, though as yet in its earlier stages, and enough to justify a belief that there must have been much else in their

culture to answer to those evidences of combined labor and abstract thought exhibited in their public works of defence, and their apparent devotion to some ceremonial system. "The art of pottery" among them, says Squier, who is peculiarly qualified to give an opinion upon the subject, had "attained to a considerable degree of perfection. Various, though not abundant specimens of their skill have been recovered, which, in elegance of model, delicacy, and finish, as also in fineness of material, come fully up to the best Peruvian specimens, to which they bear, in many respects, a close resemblance. They far exceed anything of which the existing Indian tribes are known to have been capable."

If their arrow-heads and hammers, and other articles of bone, of



Stone and Copper Relics from Mounds.

Fig. 1, axe. 2, bracelets. 3, stone arrow-points. 4, stone axe. 5, bronze knife.

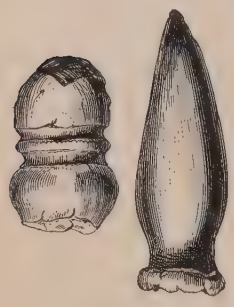
polished porphyry, granite, jasper, quartz, obsidian — this they could only have got from Mexico — and other minerals, show that they were still in the Stone Age, their implements of copper prove that they were gradually approaching to the age of metals. The late Professor Foster believed that many of their implements clearly show the marks of being cast ; [1] but if that point needs to be confirmed by farther investigation, it is at least plain that they had advanced beyond the age when tools and weapons of stone are made only by chipping, to that of pounding a malleable metal into shape with a hammer. They could hardly have failed to observe the effect which the fire of their altars had upon this material which was superseding stone, and a people so intelligent would not have delayed long in availing themselves of that knowledge, had their progress not been arrested by some sudden and violent interruption.

The copper was already in common use, and extensive and systematic mining was established on the southern shores of Lake Superior.

[1] *Pre-historic Races of the United States*, p. 259.

Mining on Lake Superior.

The miners of our time find excavations and trenches in that region from eighteen to thirty feet deep, where these primitive workmen had preceded them, and half-finished work and their scattered tools of stone, and wood, and copper, buried beneath the accumulations of many centuries of vegetable and forest growth, attest at once to their active and intelligent labor and to its apparently abrupt abandonment. So numerous are their stone hammers — some of such weight that they must have been wielded, by the help of handles of withe, by two men — that they have been removed by the cart-load, and in one spot they were so plentiful as to be sufficient for the walls of a well.[1] In a deserted trench in the Minnesota mine was found, eighteen feet beneath the surface of the ground, a mass of copper of about six tons, raised upon a frame of wood five feet in height, preparatory to removal. From these ancient mines, of whose workings the Indians had no tradition, was supplied the metal used by the Mound Builders, a thousand miles distant in the Valley of the Mississippi. From that agricultural region, probably, the miners came with their supplies for their summer's support; and the method of conveyance which took them and their provisions to the mines sufficed, no doubt, for carrying back the ore to market across the lakes and the long land journey. They must have had boats of more capacity than canoes for such cargoes, and better fitted for the navigation of waters not much less perilous than the open sea; but how they provided, without animals, for the carriage of such heavy burdens over hundreds of miles of land travel it is not so easy to understand, unless they depended upon a servile population whose presence seems otherwise indicated by the immense amount of manual labor which all their works required. Of this copper-mining the Indians had even no tradition, and among them, at the time of European discovery, copper was only used, and that rarely, for purposes of rude ornament.



Mining Tools.

Culture of this mound-building people.

This dead and buried culture of the ancient people of North America, to whose memory they themselves erected such curious monuments, is specially noteworthy in that it differs from all other extinct civilizations. Allied, on the one hand, to the rude conditions of the Stone Age, in which the understanding of man does not aim at much beyond some appliance that shall aid his naked hands in procuring a supply of daily food, it is yet far in advance of

[1] Wilson's *Pre-historic Man*, p. 161.

COPPER IMPLEMENTS RECENTLY DISCOVERED IN WISCONSIN.

[From the Collection of the Wisconsin Historical Society.]

No. 1. — An Adze, with "wings" for fitting.

No. 2. — An Arrow-head, with "wings" for fitting to arrow.

No. 3. — An Arrow-head, with "wings" for fitting to arrow.

No. 4. — A Knife, with socket for handle.

No. 5. — A Chisel, apparently cast, the roughness showing sand-mould and white spots of melted silver.

No. 6. — An Awl.

No. 7. — A Spear-head, 11 inches in length, with socket for handle.

No. 8. — An Adze.

POTTERY AND SUPPOSED IDOLS
RECENTLY FOUND WITH HUMAN REMAINS IN BURIAL MOUNDS
IN SOUTHEAST MISSOURI.

that rough childhood of the race; and while it touches the Age of Metal, it is almost as far behind, and suggests the semi-civilization of other pre-historic races who left in India, in Egypt, and the centre of the Western Continent, magnificent architectural ruins and relics of the sculptor's art, which, though barbaric, were nevertheless full of power peculiar to those parallel regions of the globe.

It is hardly conceivable that these imposing earthworks were meant for mere out-door occupation. A people capable of erecting fortifications which could not be much improved upon by modern military science, as to position, and, considering the material used, the method of construction; and who could combine for religious observances enclosures in groups of elaborate design, extending for more than twenty miles, would probably crown such works with structures in harmony with their importance and the skill and toil bestowed upon their erection. Such wooden edifices, for wood they must have been, would long ago have crumbled into dust; but it is not a fanciful suggestion that probably something more imposing than a rude hut once stood upon tumuli evidently meant for occupation, and sometimes approaching the Pyramids of Egypt in size and grandeur. These circumvallations of mathematical figures, bearing to each other certain well-defined relations, and made, though many miles apart, in accordance with some exact law of measurement, no doubt surrounded something better than an Indian's wigwam. That which is left is the assurance of that which has perished; it is the scarred and broken torso bearing witness to the perfect work of art as it came from the hands of the sculptor.

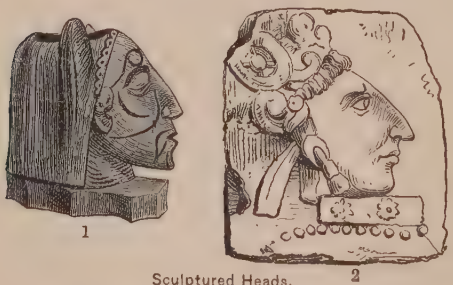
Nor is this the only conclusion which is forced upon us. These people must have been very numerous, as otherwise they could not have done what we see they did. They were an industrious, agricultural people; not, like the sparsely scattered Indians, nomadic tribes of hunters; for the multitude employed upon the vast system of earthworks, and who were non-producers, must have been supported by the products of the labor of another multitude who tilled the soil. Their moral and intellectual natures were so far developed that they devoted much time and thought to occupations and subjects which could have nothing to do with their material welfare — a mental condition far in advance of the savage state. And the degree of civilization which they had reached, trifling in some respects, in others full of promise, was peculiarly their own, of which no trace can be discerned in subsequent times, unless it be among other and later races south and west of the Gulf of Mexico.

Doing and being so much, the wonder is that they should not have attained to still higher things. But the wonder ceases if we look for the farther development of their civilization in Mexico and Central

America. If they did not die out, destroyed by pestilence or famine; if they were not exterminated by the Indians, but were, at last, driven away by a savage foe against whose furious onslaughts they could contend no longer even behind their earthen ramparts, their refuge was probably, if not necessarily, farther south or southwest. In New Mexico they may have made their last defence in the massive stone fortresses, which the bitter experience of the past had taught them to substitute for the earthworks they had been compelled to abandon. Thence extending southward they may, in successive ages, have found leisure, in the perpetual summer of the tropics where nature yielded a subsistence almost unsolicited, for the creation of that architecture whose ruins are as remarkable as those of any of the pre-historic races of other continents. The sculpture in the stone of those beautiful temples may be only the outgrowth of that germ of art shown in the carvings on the pipes which the Mound Builders left on their buried altars. In these pipes a striking fidelity to nature is shown in the delineation of animals. It is reasonable to suppose that they were equally faithful in portraying their own features in their representations of the human head and face; and the similarity between these and the sculptures upon the ancient temples of Central America and Mexico is seen at a glance.

Carved Pipes.

Their sculpture.

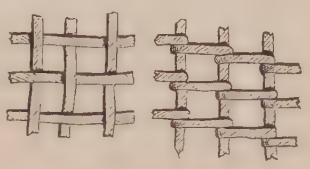


Sculptured Heads. 1 2

Fig. 1, Mound Builders. 2, Central America.

There also it may be that they discovered how to fuse and combine the metals, making a harder and better bronze than the Europeans had ever seen; learned to execute work in gold and silver which the most skilled European did not

pretend to excel; to manufacture woven stuffs of fine texture, the rude beginnings whereof are found in the fragments of coarse cloth; in objects of use and ornament wrought in metals, left among the other relics in the earlier northern homes of their race. In the art of that southern people there was nothing imitative; the works of the Mound Builders stand as distinctly original and independent of any foreign influence. Any similarity in either that can be traced to anything else is in the apparent growth of the first rude culture of the northern race into the higher civilization of that of the south. It certainly is not a violent supposition, that the people who disappeared at one period from one part of the continent, leaving behind them certain unmistakable marks of progress, had reappeared again at another time, in another place where the same marks were found in larger development.



Cloth from Mounds.

There can hardly be a doubt that there is yet something to be learned of the character of this singular people. Some recent explorers believe that they find new traces of their mode of worship and of their religious faith, and others that new facts are coming to light from a study of their skulls. Hitherto but little has been learned from this last source, so great is the difficulty of recovering any complete crania from deposits where the decay of all perishable things is so thorough. Till quite recently the number of authentic skulls, that is, of those free from all suspicion of being of later and intrusive burial in the mounds, was less than half a dozen. Their shape and capacity show no uncommon type. But those lately recovered from different places in Illinois, Indiana, and Iowa indicate, like the Neanderthall skull found in a cave in Prussia, and the Dorreby skull of the Stone Age of Denmark, a very low order of intellect.[1] General H. G. Thomas, U. S. A., has exhumed from some mounds in Dakota Territory a number of skulls of the lowest type, "unlike," he says, "that of any human being to-day alive on this continent," but "like those of the great Gibbon monkey."[2] It is easier to believe that the mounds are the burial-places of more than one extinct race than that their builders were not far from idiots.

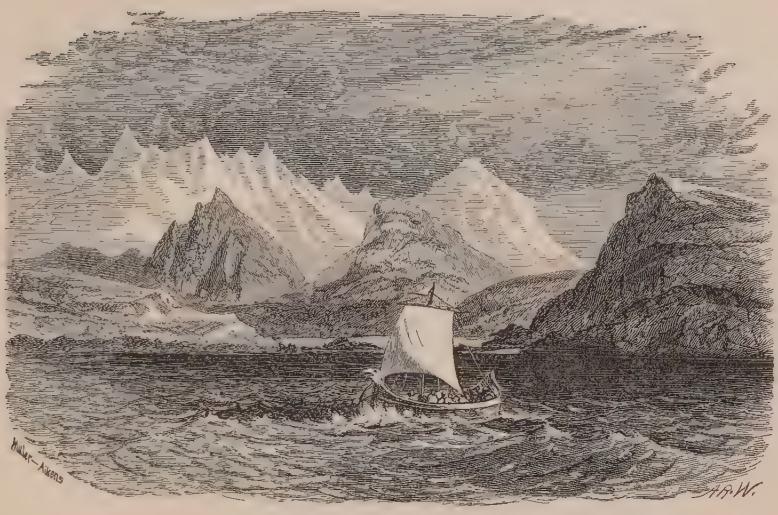
Skulls exhumed from mounds.

Future explorations may shed more light upon this inquiry. Man is older on other continents than was till quite recently supposed. If

[1] See Foster's *Pre-historic Races of the United States*, chap. vii., for collation of the evidence on these crania.

[2] *Sixth Annual Report of the United States Geological Survey*, by F. B. Hayden, p. 656.

older elsewhere he may, by parity of reasoning, be older here. We are permitted to go behind the Indians in looking for the earliest inhabitants of North America, wherever they may have come from or whenever they may have lived. In such an inquiry, relieved of some of the limitations which have hitherto obstructed it, we may find in the relics of an early and rude culture much to dispel the obscurity and mystery which till within four centuries have shrouded the New World in darkness.



Discovery of Greenland.

CHAPTER III.

THE NORTHMEN IN AMERICA.

Early Voyages. — Discovery of Iceland. — Greenland Colonized by Eric the Red. — Bjarni Herjulfson discovers America. — Sons of Eric the Red. — Leif's Voyage to Vinland the Good. — Expedition of Thorvald. — His Death. — Colony of Thorfinn Karlsefne. — Fight with Skrællings. — Supposed Irish Settlements in America. — Colony of Freydis. — The Massacre. — Gloomy Winter at Vinland. — Round Tower at Newport. — Dighton Rock. — The Icelandic Sagas.

Were these great Western continents, stretching almost from pole to pole, unknown till 1492 to the nations who had made the world's history? The pride of human knowledge has for nearly four centuries resented such an imputation. If facts were wanting, ingenious suppositions of more or less probability were made to take the place of facts. Even before Flavio Gioia introduced the use of the magnetic needle into maritime Europe some unlucky vessel may have been driven across the Atlantic and stranded upon strange shores; or some Phœnician navigator who understood "night-sailing" may have boldly turned his ship's head to the West, after passing the Pillars of Hercules, in search of new fields of adventure and of traffic; or some of the fearless navigators who steered into the Sea of Darkness in search of Antilia, or the Island of the Seven Bishops, may have landed for a night upon coasts which some supernatural power was supposed to guard from the intrusion of man. Or

Pre-Columbian Navigation.

it may be that the lost Tribes of Israel wandered through Asia to the Northwest coast and were the progenitors of the North American Indians and the ancient Mexicans; that the Malays crossed the Polynesian Archipelago and invaded the Western Hemisphere on the South; that a vast army of Mongols came with their elephants, whose bones are left as a witness of their invasion from Brazil to Rhode Island; that the Apostle St. Thomas preached Christianity in Peru; or that St. Patrick sent Irish missionaries to the Isles of America. All these theories have had their advocates.

The Northmen.

But there was one ancient people whose warriors were the dread of all Europe, from the North Sea to the Mediterranean, and whose long experience as pirates made them fearless and successful sailors, who, there seems no good reason for doubting, did cross the Atlantic from coast to coast, almost five hundred years before Columbus stept upon and knelt down to kiss the sands of the beach of San Salvador. The Northmen had a genius for discovering new countries by accident, and having approached and settled within a few hundred miles of the coast of the Western Continent, it would have been strange rather than otherwise if such bold rovers had not found their way thither. They made, indeed, no permanent settlement, and if it may be held as an argument against the probability of their having made the discovery at all that it is hard to find a continent, it may, with quite as much force, be urged that it is still harder to lose one, when found. But here again the Northmen are not without a parallel in their own experience, for it is certain that they discovered and held Greenland for more than four hundred years, and lost it again for more than two centuries.

They discover Iceland.

It was by accident the Northmen discovered Iceland; Naddod, an illustrious sea-rover, having been driven, about the year 860, upon its coasts by a storm. He called it Snœland — Snowland. Four years later, one Gardar Svafarson was also carried thither by tempest, and finding it by circumnavigation an island, gave it the name of Gardar-hólm — Gardar's Isle. His account of it was so pleasant that soon after Floki, or Flokko, another famous viking, went out to plant a colony.[1] Not trusting to the chances which had befallen and befriended his predecessors, he took with him three ravens, which he was careful before starting to have consecrated to the gods, and to

[1] There is some little discrepancy as to those first discoverers. The editor of *Mallet's Northern Antiquities*, Bohn's edition, puts Naddod first and Gardar second; De Costa — *Pre-Columbian Discovery in America* — gives the precedence to Gardar; while Crantz — *History of Greenland* — who cites as his authority "the learned Icelander, Arngrim Jonas," says Naddok (Naddod) was first driven on the coast by a storm, and that he was followed "by a certain pyrate whose name was Flokko," and omits any mention whatever of Gardar.

these he trusted to guide him to the land he sought. The first he let loose returned toward the islands of Faroe, which Flokko concluded, therefore, must still be the nearest land; the second, sent out some days later, returned to the vessel, which was accepted as a proof that there was no land within a raven's flight; but the third, when let loose, circling into the air, turned its course at length steadily westward, and him Flokko followed, till he reached the island. For one winter he and his colony lived there; but his cattle all perished with cold. In the spring, when he would have sown seed, thick ice still

Flokko sending out Ravens.

covered the coasts and rivers; so when the summer came he sailed back to Norway, declaring that the land, which he called Island, — Iceland — was unfit for the habitation of either man or beast. Ten years later, however, another colony was taken out from Norway by the Earl Ingolf, who sought in Iceland a refuge from the tyranny of King Harold Haarfager, who no doubt was a despot, but whose offence in this case seems to have been some intolerant notions he held about a manslaughter that Ingolf had committed. The attempt at colonization was this time successful, and a state was founded which for several centuries was the most remarkable community of that age for the simplicity and freedom of its political institutions, for the license, not to say the licentiousness, of its social life, and for the intelligence and cultivation of its people.

Greenland was discovered by another, almost inevitable accident, for, from mid-channel between it and Iceland, both are at the same time visible.[1] Gunnbiorn, or Gunbiœrn, one of the early settlers of

[1] Crantz's *Greenland*, book iv. p. 245.

Iceland, was driven westward by a storm, when he saw land which was held in remembrance for the next century as Gunnbiorn's Rocks. Eric the Red, a man disposed to acts of violence which he was too weak to sustain when resented, was compelled to find safety in exile. Gunnbiorn's Rocks seemed to him a good place to go to, and thither he went.

Eric the Red settles Greenland.

In three years he was back in Iceland, full of glowing descriptions of this country, which he called Greenland, "because, quoth he, people will be attracted hither if the land has a good name." He returned to Greenland with large additions to his colony. It was the sons of this Eric the Red who were the first Europeans, so far as is positively known, to set foot upon this continent.

Bjarni sails for Greenland.

But this came about by still another accident. Among those who followed Eric to Greenland was Herjulf, who had a son, "a promising young man," of the name of Bjarni, or Biarne. They were both in the habit of making trading voyages to Norway in the summer, and passing the winter together at home in Iceland. On returning from Norway in the year 985, Bjarni, who was a dutiful son as well as a promising youth, found that his father had followed Eric. He instantly proposed, without unloading his ship, to go after him, though, as he said to his crew, "Our voyage will be thought foolish, as none of us have been on the Greenland sea before." But this did not daunt them; they set sail, and in three days lost sight of land.

Then thick fogs beset them, and "for many days" they were driven by a north wind they knew not whither. When the weather cleared, they made all sail for another day and night, and then welcomed the sight of land again. It was, they said, a country covered with woods, without mountains, and with small hills inland. This they were sure could not be Greenland; so they turned seaward once more, and — for these Northmen knew how to sail on a wind — "left the land on their larboard side, and let the stern turn from the land." After sailing two days and two nights they again approached the coast, which, they saw as they neared it, was low and wooded. Bjarni refused to go on shore, at which his crew grumbled; for this, he said, can no more be Greenland than the land we saw before, "because in Greenland are said to be very high ice-hills."

Then for three nights and days they went on their way as before, with a southwest wind, when for the third time they made land ahead, and it was "high and mountainous, with snowy mountains." Once more said Bjarni, "In my opinion this land is not what we want;" and again he refused to leave his ship, but sailed along the coast and found it was an island. Standing out to sea again, still with the

southwest wind, after three days and nights they once more sighted land. "This," said Bjarni, "is most like what has been told me of Greenland; and here we shall take to the land." He had made what sailors would call a good landfall, for the cape before him was called Herjulfness, where his father, Herjulf, had built him a house. Here Bjarni went on shore and made it his home for the rest of his days.[1]

Voyage of Bjarni discussed in Greenland.

Bjarni was blamed both in Norway and at home, that he made no exploration of the country that he had thus discovered. But the voyage was the subject, no doubt, of many a tale, and of much discussion in the long winter evenings of Greenland, among a race of bold and hardy sailors, themselves hardly yet settled in a region which, till within a few years, was only known by the name of one who had looked at it from the deck of his ship. Bjarni seems to have preferred an annual visit to Norway, and the pleasures of the court of Earl Eric, to any more voyages in unknown seas; but in the house of Eric the Red in Greenland, whose sons were growing up, the story was, no doubt, often told of that dreary drift in the fog for many days before the northerly wind; of the low wooded shores and the pleasant green hills stretching inland, that greeted the longing eyes and brought hope again to the desponding hearts of the lost mariners; of the runs of two and three days each from coast to coast, and that wonderful landfall at last, when they dropped their anchor right under the cape where the father, whom the son was in search of, had built his house. Thorvald, the grandfather of these boys, was among the early Norwegian pioneers in Iceland; Eric, his son, had led the first colony to Greenland; so the sons of Eric longed to throw their seat-posts[2] overboard in their turn on some unknown coast.

It was long debated, doubtless, in family councils, and finally determined that this new adventure should be undertaken. In the year 1000, Leif, the eldest son, went to Herjulfness and bought his ship of Bjarni, manned her with a crew of thirty-five men, Bjarni among them, perhaps as pilot. When he was ready to sail, Leif prayed his father to go with them as the most fitting commander for such an expedition, and the old viking, objecting that he was too old, consented. On the way to the ship, however, his horse stumbled and threw him, and looking upon the mishap as a warning, he said, "It is not ordained that I should discover any more countries than that which we now inhabit

[1] This, and the following narratives of the voyages to Vinland, we condense from the *Antiquitates Americanæ*, by Professor C. C. Rafn, and published by the Antiquarian Society of Copenhagen, 1837; collated with the translations in Beamish's *Discovery of America by the Northmen*, and De Costa's *Pre-Columbian Discovery*.

[2] The seat-posts were the columns of a chieftain's seat, which, when he went to sea, he took with him and threw overboard when he approached a coast; where they landed, directed by the gods, he followed, it was assumed, in safety.

and we should make no further attempt in company." He returned to his home at Brattahlid, and the expedition sailed with Leif as its leader.

Voyage of Leif the Lucky, son of Eric the Red.

Leif reversed the order of Bjarni's voyage, and sought first for the land which the other saw last — Newfoundland. When they reached it they went ashore and found it a country without grass; snow and ice covered it, and from the sea to the mountains it was a plain of flat stones. Said Leif, "We have not done like Bjarni about this land, that we have not been upon it; now will I give the land a name, and call it Helluland."[1] Again they put to sea, and sought the next land that Bjarni had seen — Nova Scotia. Here also they went on shore, and found a country covered with woods, with low and flat beaches of white sand. "This land," said Leif, "shall be named after its qualities, and called Markland;" that is, woodland. They set sail again with a northeast wind, and in two days once more made the land, as Bjarni had done, sailing in the opposite direction with a southwest wind; and the land now before them was that which Bjarni had first seen when driven in from the sea. There can be little doubt they were now on the coast of New England, but precisely where is a disputed question, for there are certain incongruities in the original narratives which it is difficult, if not impossible, to reconcile.

New England coast explored.

Their first landing-place was an island north of the main. The weather was pleasant; the dew was upon the grass, and this they tasted, and it was very sweet.[2] When they embarked again, it was to sail through a sound between the island and a cape that ran out northward from the main, past which they went westward. To find where and what this island was, is the chief source of difficulty. Professor Rafn, who says that by northward the Northmen meant eastward, according to their compass,[3] believes that it was the island of Nantucket, and that they sailed thence across the entrance to Buzzard's Bay, to Seaconet Passage, and then up the Pocasset River to Mount Hope Bay. But this is unsatisfactory to other interpreters of the Saga, and an island and a cape on the outside of Cape Cod, between Orleans and Chatham, which long ago disappeared, are substituted for Nantucket.[4] If it be said that Nantucket can be called neither east or north of any main land in sight; that the waters between it and the neighboring coast can hardly be called a sound; so it may be objected to the other theory that it

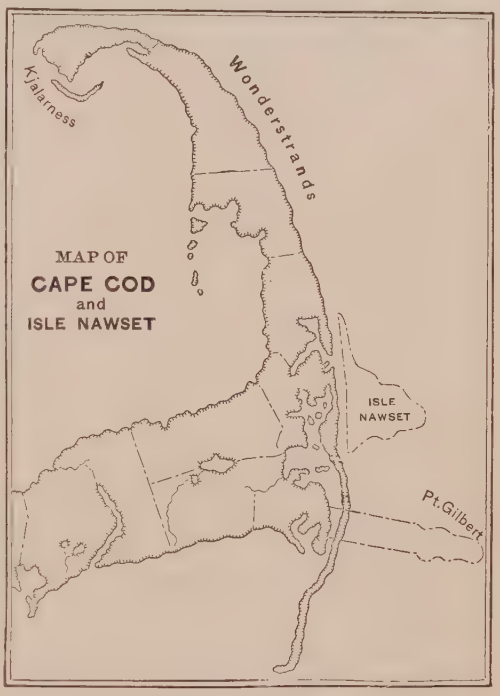
[1] From Hella, a flat stone.

[2] Honey-dew, it is said, is still found on the grass at Nantucket.

[3] *Antiquitates Americanæ*, p. 428.

[4] *Pre-Columbian Discovery of America by the Northmen*, B. F. De Costa, p. 29.

is impossible to reconcile the incidents of the narrative to so long a distance between the first landing-place and the place of final settlement; and that if an island must be brought up from the bottom of the sea to meet the exigency, it would be quite as easy to place it where it would answer to all the difficulties of the case. Yet there is no doubt that marked changes have taken place within the last few centuries along the outer coast of Cape Cod; that an island called Nawset, and a cape called Point Gilbert, once existed at the points indicated, and were known to Capt. John Smith and Bartholomew Gosnold early in the seventeenth century.[1] Making due allowance, then, for possible inaccuracies in a narrative written long after the event, it is by no means improbable that some discrepancies may be accounted for by changes along the coast line of Massachusetts within the last eight hundred years.



Map of Cape Cod and Nawset Isle.

It is now, however, generally conceded that this was a veritable discovery of the coast of Rhode Island by the Northmen, and that they landed at some point either in Mount Hope Bay or in Narragansett Bay. They went up a river that came through a lake, says the narrative, and this is in accordance with the appearance of those waters. Here they cast anchor, went ashore, and built a house in which to pass the winter. According to the latest explanation of the Scandinavian calendar, their description of the shortest day gave the sun as rising at 7.30 A. M., and setting at 4.30 P. M., thus fixing the latitude at 41° 24′ 10″, which is about that of Mount Hope Bay. "There came," they said, "no frost in winter, and little did the grass wither there;" and "the nature of the coun-

Rhode Island in 10th Century

[1] See an article by Amos Otis, of Yarmouth, Mass., on *The Discovery of an Ancient Ship* on Nawset Beach, Orleans, Cape Cod, in May, 1863. *New England Genealogical Register* vol. 18, p. 37, *et seq.*

try was, as they thought, so good, that cattle would not require house-feeding." Such a season would be exceptional now, even for the neighborhood of Newport; but any ordinary New England winter would seem mild to these hardy Greenlanders.

Leif divided his company into two parties, one of which was alternately to explore the country. On one of these expeditions a man named Tyrker, a German, and who was Leif's foster-father, was missing. A party had just started to search for him, with Leif at its head, when the German reappeared in a state of great excitement. He gesticulated wildly, spoke for a long time in his native tongue, and "Leif saw that his foster-father was not in his right senses." But Leif was mistaken; the poor German, who had lived long in the ice-fields of the frozen North, had only been carried back for the moment to the Vaterland, for he said at length in Norsk, "'I have not been much farther off, but still I have something new to tell of; I found vines and grapes!' 'But is that true, my fosterer?' quoth Leif. 'Surely it is true,' replied he, 'for I was bred up in a land where there is no want of either vines or grapes.'"

Then, no doubt, he led them to the woods, that they might see with their own eyes the climbing vines and the clustering fruit, and it may well have seemed to them that in a country where these grew wild there could be no real winter. So precious were they to Leif that thenceforward one duty of his men was to gather grapes, and he filled his long-boat with them to take back to Greenland. What better evidence could he bring of the value of the land to a people whose greatest delight, next to fighting, was drinking? They had not yet forgotten, notwithstanding their new religion, that the chief of their old Pagan gods, Odin, had no need of food only because wine was to him both meat and drink; that all the heroes of Valhalla drank daily of the wonderful flow of milk from the she-goat Heidrun, and that the milk was mead. So heaping up on deck the grapes of this beautiful land where in winter was no frost, and which he named Vinland (Vineland), and filling the hold of his vessel with timber, about which, at least, there could be no questionable value in treeless Greenland, Leif returned home in the spring. It was on this return voyage, or one of the year before from Norway, that he saved a shipwrecked crew; but whenever it was, for that and the discovery of Vinland he was thereafter known as Leif the Lucky.

Vinland the Good.

The voyage, as we can readily believe, made "much talk" in Greenland, and another of the sons of Eric thought the country had not been sufficiently explored. "Thou canst go with my ship, brother, if thou wilt, to Vinland," said Leif; for Eric the Red having died that winter, he was now (1002) the head

Thorvald goes to New England.

of the house, and not disposed just then for maritime adventures. Thorvald accepted the offer, and with a crew of thirty men sailed for the new country.

The booths which his brother had put up were still standing, and he went into winter quarters, his men fishing for their support; the waters, as Leif had found two years before, abounding with salmon and other fish. In the spring, Thorvald sent some of his men in the ship's long-boat to explore to the westward. They spent the summer in this pleasant excursion, coasting along the shores of Rhode Island, Connecticut, and Long Island, the whole length of the Sound, penetrating, probably, to New York, and finding there another lake through which a river flowed to the sea. They landed on many islands; they

Norse Ships entering Boston Harbor.

beached their boat many times on the broad, wide, shallow sands, down to the edge of which grew the green grass and the great trees which made this pleasant land seem a very garden to these wanderers from a country all rocks, and ice-mountains, and fields of snow. But once only did they see any sign of human habitation, and that was a corn-shed built of wood.

The next spring (1004), Thorvald started for a more extended trip, as he went in his ship. Standing first eastward, he then sailed northward along the sea-coast of Cape Cod, where a heavy storm caught him off a ness (cape), and drove his ship ashore, perhaps at Race Point. Here they remained a long time to repair damages, putting in a new keel; the old one they set up in the sand, and the place they called Kjalarness (Keel-ness or Keelcape), in commemoration of the disaster. Then they cruised along the opposite shore of what is now

Plymouth County, Massachusetts, and sailed into its bays till they came to "a point of land which stretched out and was covered with wood."[1] "Here," said Thorvald, "is beautiful, and here I would like to raise my dwelling." Before the day was out he looked upon his words as prophetic.

Fight with the Skrællings.

For the first time the Northmen here met with the natives — met them as Europeans so often did in subsequent centuries. Looking about them at this beautiful spot, they saw in a secluded nook three skin-boats set up as tents, beneath which were nine Skrællings,[2] on whom they stole unawares and captured eight of them. The ninth escaped; the eight they immediately killed in cold blood. This cruel deed done, they lay down to sleep upon the grass under the trees; but it was not to pleasant dreams. "There came a shout over them so that they all awoke. Thus said the shout: 'Wake thou! Thorvald! and all thy companions, if thou wilt preserve life, and return thou to thy ship, with all thy men, and leave the land without delay.'" It was the savage war-whoop of the enraged Skrællings, come to avenge the murder of their fellows. The Northmen fled to their ship to defend themselves behind their battle-skreen.[3] "Fight little against them," was Thorvald's order, mindful now of the mercy he should have shown before. When the fight was over, and the Skrællings had retired, the answer to Thorvald's inquiry as

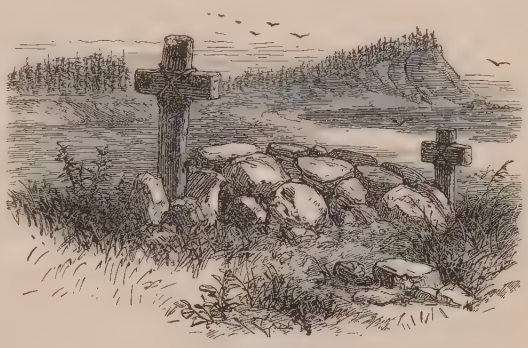
[1] It is conjectured that this point is Nantasket Beach, at the end of which is Point Alderton, a noble promontory opposite the narrow entrance to Boston Harbor. But this can hardly be, for Nantasket Beach is not "a point," but a peninsula between three and four miles long, not "stretching out" into the sea, but making a continuation of the coast line from Cohasset Rocks to the channel connecting Boston Harbor with the sea, and inclosing on one side the inner bay into which various rivers empty south of Boston. This peninsula is, most of it, a long, narrow beach of white sea sand, and can never have been covered with wood. Point Alderton, moreover, is a hill several hundred feet in height, and is one of a group of similar hills within a mile or two. The description in the Saga does not in the least conform to the natural features of this locality, and the "remarkable grove of trees" referred to in *Antiquitates Americanæ* as mentioned in Laurie and Whittie's Sailing Directions, and the Duke of Saxe Weimar's Travels, is a singular grove of small wild crab trees covering an acre or two of ground, but not visible from Point Alderton or Nantasket Beach. There is at Cohasset, about ten miles south of Point Alderton, a point of land, a bold, rocky promontory, jutting out from beautiful wooded hills, which might well have impressed Thorvald with its beauty, and have been a favorite place of resort, in its sheltered nooks and for its neighborhood to good fishing-grounds, to the Skrællings.

[2] The Northmen were used to calling the Esquimaux Skrællings, a term of contempt, meaning, says Crantz, "chips, parings, *i. e.*, dwarfs." The assumption is that these people of the Vinland vicinity were Esquimaux. If that be true, and the term was not used merely for want of any other to apply to copper-colored natives, then we are to conclude that the Indians were later comers in that part of the country. Did they first displace the Mound-building people, and then, in the course of time, move upon and displace the Esquimaux of the Atlantic coast? Was it this race who were not smokers, and who made the shell-heaps where no pipes are found?

[3] A shield made of large planks of wood.

to who was wounded was, None. Then said he, "I have gotten a wound under the arm, for an arrow fled between the edge of the ship and the shield, in under my arm, and here is the arrow, and it will prove a mortal wound to me. Now counsel I ye, that ye get ready instantly to depart, but ye shall bear me to that cape where I thought it best to dwell; it may be that a true word fell from my mouth, that I should dwell there for a time; there shall ye bury me, and set up crosses at my head and feet, and call the place Krossaness forever, in all time to come." And it was as he said; he died, and they buried him on the pleasant cape that looked out upon the shores and waters of Massachusetts Bay; at his head and feet they planted crosses, and then sailed back to Vinland to their companions with the heavy tidings of the death of their young commander. In the spring the colony, with another load of grapes and timber, returned to Greenland.

Thorvald killed.



Burial-place of Thorvald.

There was still another son of Eric, Thorstein of Ericsfiord. He had married Gudrid, the widow of Thorer, captain of that crew of shipwrecked mariners whom Leif had rescued. Thorstein, taking his wife with him, sailed in the spring or summer of 1005 for Vinland, chiefly, however, to find Krossaness and bring home the body of his unfortunate brother Thorvald. But Vinland he did not find, nor Krossaness; and after cruising about for months without once seeing land, they returned early in the winter and landed in the western settlement, at some distance from Ericsfiord. It was not long before sickness broke out here among the crew; many died, and among them Thorstein. Wonderful marvels attended this season of death; the dead sat up in their beds and talked; they shook the house, as they lay down again, till all its timbers creaked; and they made themselves preternaturally heavy when taken out for burial. Thorstein was one of these ghostly performers. He prophesied to the weeping Gudrid, telling her, first, for her comfort, that he had "come to a good resting-place." She would be married again, he said, and from her and her husband would descend "a numerous posterity, powerful, distinguished, and excellent, sweet, and well-favoured." Many

Eric's son Thorstein.

other pleasant things he told her, all of which came to pass in due season.[1]

Thorfinn Karlsefne's Expedition.

The next and most important expedition of all those to Vinland, next to Leif's first voyage, was made by Thorfinn, surnamed Karlsefne, that is, the promising, or the man destined to become great. He was a merchant of Iceland, wealthy, and of distinguished lineage. A trading voyage had brought him to Greenland in 1006, and he remained for the winter at Brattahlid, the family seat and old home of Eric, which Leif had inherited. It was a winter of festivities. "They set up the game of chess" to beguile the long winter evenings, and "sought amusement in the reciting of history, and in many other things, and were able to pass life joyfully." The Yule feast was of more than usual profusion and richness, and that was speedily followed by a marriage, which was celebrated with great rejoicings. Gudrid, who had returned home in the spring with the body of her late husband, Thorstein, had found favor in the eyes of Karlsefne, for she was "a grave and dignified woman, and therewith sensible, and knew well how to carry herself among strangers." Thus, before the first year of her widowhood was over, was brought to pass the first item in her late husband's prophecy, by her marriage to an Icelander.

Norse Ruins in Greenland.

Vinland the Good was not forgotten; the conversation often turned upon it, and "it was said that a voyage thither would be particularly profitable by reason of the fertility of the land." With Karlsefne from Iceland had come three other merchants, Snorri Thorbrandson, in the ship with Karlsefne, and Bjarni (or Biarne) Grimolfson and Thorhall Gamlason, in a ship of their own. The talk of the new land had its due effect on these strangers, and an expedition was planned to consist of these two Iceland vessels, and a third commanded by a Greenlander, Thorvard. This man had married Freydis, a natural

[1] Sir Walter Scott, in his Abstract of the *Eyrbyggia Saga*, alluding to stories of this sort among the Icelanders, many of which are curiously like the alleged phenomena of modern "Spiritualism," says, "Such incidents make an invariable part of the history of a rude age, and the chronicles which do not afford these marks of human credulity may be grievously suspected as being deficient in authenticity." Beamish (*Discovery of the Northmen*) cites this remark as peculiarly applicable to the narratives relating to Vinland.

daughter of Eric the Red, who had a conspicuous part to play in the subsequent attempts at colonization. Thus in one winter, at a Greenland fireside, was organized a voluntary expedition, to consist of three ships and one hundred and forty men and women,[1] about equalling in size that for which, four centuries later, Columbus waited seven years, with prayers and in poverty, upon the Spanish sovereigns.

The adventurers sailed in the spring of 1007. Gudrid and Freydis embarked with their husbands; and there were on board many other women, married and unmarried; which was not, as it turned out, fortunate, for among their subsequent troubles, and when they divided into parties, "the women," says one of the narratives, "were the cause of it, for those who were unmarried would injure those who were married, and hence arose great disturbance." But the object evidently was to make a permanent settlement, and that, of course, was out of the question without women. They took with them also cattle of all kinds.

The enterprise was plainly full of promise at its beginning; but it met with various misfortunes, and, at the end of three years, was abandoned. It does not seem certain at what precise spot the colony was planted. The first landfall of the fleet after leaving Markland — for they touched there as well as at Helluland — was Kjalarness, which they recognized by the keel set up there by the unfortunate Thorvald three years before. They ran past Cape Cod, and because "it was long to sail by," they called it Furdustrands, or Wonderstrands. Somewhere along this coast they put in at a cove, and Karlsefne sent out as scouts two Scotch slaves, who were very swift of foot, and who had been given, years before, to Leif the Lucky by the King of Norway, as one of the inducements to persuade him to become a Christian. The historians are careful to describe the apparel of these Scots, — a man and a woman, — which must have been good for running, as it consisted of only one garment, and was a happy combination of a hat and a breech-cloth, covering the head, buttoning between the legs, but open everywhere else, and without sleeves. These scouts were gone three days, and came back with encouraging reports of the pleasantness and fruitfulness of the country, one carrying a bunch of grapes, the other an ear of corn. Nantucket, or Martha's Vineyard, which the fleet next reached, and where eider-ducks[2] were

[1] The Northmen counted by the long and the short hundred. If the number of Karlsefne's expedition were reckoned by the long hundred, they counted one hundred and sixty persons.

[2] Though the eider-duck is no longer known on those shores, the Northmen are not likely to have made any mistake as to the birds they saw in such numbers. That particular duck was as familiar to them, no doubt, as to the modern Greenlanders and Icelanders, to whom the down has long been held as so precious an article of traffic that the bird is under uni-

so plentiful that it was difficult to walk without treading on their eggs, they called Stream Island, and the bay beyond — Buzzard's Bay — Stream Frith, because of the rapid currents around their shores. On the shores of this bay they spent the first winter.

Malcontents in the colony.

And with this winter their troubles began. They had improvidently neglected to lay in a sufficient stock of provisions, and when, the next summer, the fishing was poor there came absolute scarcity. Now in Thorvard's ship was one Thorhall, who had been the huntsman in summer, and in winter the steward of Eric the Red. He was, it is said, "a large man, and strong, black, and like a giant, silent, and foul-mouthed in his speech, and always egged

Scots Returning to the Ship.

on (*eggjadi*) Eric to the worst; he was a bad Christian." Perhaps it was only hunger that first drove him to desert; but he pretended, after three days' absence in the wilderness, and the others believed him, that while they were praying to God for food without an answer, his invocations to Thor had caused a whale to be cast upon the beach during this season of scarcity, of which they all eat, and were all made sick. But he was insubordinate as well as morose and impious, for when soon after it was proposed to seek a new and better habitation, and Karlsefne thought it best that they should go southward, Thorhall refused, and would go northward. It was made plain presently

versal protection. See *Letters on Iceland*, during the Banks' Expedition in 1772. London, 1780, p. 144, *et seq.* Crantz's *Greenland*, book ii. chap. 1. *Description of Greenland*, by Hans Egede, chap. v.

that he meant to abandon the expedition and return to Greenland, and he persuaded nine others of the company to follow him. As the manner was with these old vikings, in times of unusual excitement, he took to verse, and jeered at and satirized Vinland the Good. As he carried water to his ship, of which they seem to have allowed him to take possession, he sang, —

"People told me when I came
Hither, all would be so fine;
The good Vinland, known to fame,
Rich in fruits and choicest wine;
Now the water-pail they send;
To the fountain I must bend;
Nor from out this land divine
Have I quaffed one drop of wine."

And once more, as he hoisted his sails to desert his comrades in distress, he sang another song, mocking at their disaster and reminding them how, by the help of the "red-bearded" Thor, he had poisoned them with boiled whale, thus: —

"Let our trusty band
Haste to Fatherland;
Let our vessel brave
Plough the angry wave,
While those few who love
Vinland here may rove,
Or, with idle toil,
Fetid whales may boil,
Here on Furdustrand
Far from Fatherland." [1]

But disaster attended these deserters. After doubling Cape Cod a gale from the west struck their vessel, and merchants from Ireland afterward reported that she was driven before the wind to the coast of that country, where Thorhall and his companions were seized by the natives and reduced to slavery.

Karlsefne explores coast of Rhode Island.

After the departure of the malcontents, the two other ships, commanded by Karlsefne and Bjarni (Biarne) Grimolfson, set sail from the settlement at Buzzard's Bay upon an exploring expedition southward along the coast. According to two of the three narratives, and these the best and most circumstantial, they sailed "a long time" before they came "to a river that ran out from the land through a lake to the sea." The other account is, that they went directly on their arrival to Leif's booths, and Leif, it will be remembered, went also up a river that flowed through a lake. The supposition is that Karlsefne and his companions anchored

[1] Beamish's Translations.

in Mount Hope Bay, where, it is supposed, Leif had passed the winter, partly because of this river and lake, the sandy shoals and the ebb of the tide, which answer to the character of that bay; and partly because they called the place where they landed Hop, and a hill near Bristol, Rhode Island, the seat of the Indian chief, King Philip, was known to the first English settlers as Mount Hope.[1] The Indians, it is assumed, had preserved the name, and thus the settlement of the Northmen is fixed, — a fanciful and rather violent supposition, which will hardly bear close examination. As they "sailed long to the south," and as their course from Buzzard's Bay to Mount Hope Bay would be first southwest, and then northward, it seems quite as likely that they finally reached some other point on the coast; where, is and always must be a matter of conjecture.

First winter in Vinland.

But wherever it was, they set themselves down on the upper side of the lake or bay, some putting up houses directly on the shore and others going farther inland. For one winter, at least, it proved a pleasant abiding place. The streams were full of fish; on the meadows they found fields of "self-sown wheat," — that is, of maize or Indian corn, sown probably by the natives; on the uplands, the trees were festooned with grape-vines, so precious in their eyes; and the woods were full of game. All the winter long there was no snow upon the ground, and the cattle sustained themselves upon the still green and juicy grasses of the fields.[2] There seemed to

[1] "How, when, or by whom this noted point received the name of Mount Hope, does not appear. Dr. Stiles notes, in his edition of Church's *History*, that 'its name is *Monthaup*, a mountain in Bristol.' The editor of *Yamoden* says, 'The Indians called it *Montaun* or *Mont-haup*;' and Alden, *Epitaphs*, iv. 77, that, 'according to authentic tradition, however, *Mon Top* was the genuine Aboriginal name of this celebrated eminence.' But these are most likely all corruptions of *Mount Hope*." Drake's edition of Hubbard's *Indian Wars*, Roxbury, 1865, vol. i. p. 46; note by the editor.

[2] As the mildness of the winter and absence of snow are dwelt upon in the narratives of the different voyages, it is probable that the climate of North America was, nine centuries ago, more moderate than now, as it is positively known that of Greenland and Iceland was. And this would be entirely in accordance with the astronomical theory of that gradual change whereby, through the precession of the equinoxes, the order of the seasons is completely reversed in every period of 10,500 years. If we are now in that cycle which is slowly bringing longer winters and more intense cold to the northern hemisphere, — as some astronomers suppose, — one tenth of that period would make quite change enough to account for these statements of the Northmen. Even six hundred years later, Edward Winslow, who was exceedingly careful and conscientious in all his statements, wrote in 1624 (*Narrative of the Plantations:* Purchas, vol. iv.), "Then for the temperature of the air, in almost three years' experience I can scarce distinguish New England from Old England in respect of heat and cold, frost, snow, rain, wind, etc.; . . . . if it (the heat) do exceed England, it is so little as must require better judgments to discern it. And for the winter, I rather think (if there be difference) it is both sharper and longer in New England than Old; and yet the want of those comforts in the one, which I have enjoyed in the other, may deceive my judgment also. . . . . I cannot conceive of any (climate) to agree better with the constitutions of the English, not being oppressed with the extremity of heat, nor

be none in this pleasant land to molest them or make them afraid, for when, soon after their arrival, a great number of the natives came upon them suddenly, they came with signs of peace. They landed from their canoes, and loitered about the settlement, gazing in wonder upon the strangers and all that belonged to them, but they had apparently no hostile intent, and neither meddled nor were they meddled with. When they left, they disappeared beyond the cape, and nothing more was seen of them till the following spring. They are described as "black and ill-favored (or fierce), and with coarse hair on the head; they had large eyes and broad cheeks."

But in the spring (1009) they came back again in much augmented numbers, "so many," it is related, "as if the sea was sowen with coal." But still they came in amity, and a brisk trade at once sprung up between them and the colonists. Red cloth was exchanged, as long as it lasted, for skins, sables, and other furs; when that was all gone the women made milk porridge, which satisfied the savages quite as well and brought quite as much as the bits of red cloth, though, as the Saga says, they only carried away in their bellies the results of a barter of which the Northmen gained the more substantial benefit. But this pleasing state of things was interrupted by an unfortunate incident. A bull belonging to Karlsefne rushed out of the woods with a hideous bellow, and so frightened the Skrællings that they fled to their boats and paddled away with all the strength that a new terror could give them. It was a ludicrous interruption to the profitable traffic of porridge for peltries; but the natives evidently looked upon it as a hostile demonstration, having the same dread of this huge, unknown beast, that the Indians of Hispaniola had some centuries later of the horses of the Spaniards.

Trade with the natives

Esquimaux Skin-boat.

For weeks, perhaps for months, for the accounts differ, nothing more was seen of the Skrællings; but when they returned again, they came "like a rushing torrent," with the poles of their boats now turned away from the sun, whereas in their previous visit they had been turned toward it. The Northmen looked upon this as a sign of hostility, and accepted the challenge, holding up to them the red shield of war instead of the white shield of peace.

nipped by biting cold." No truthful and accurate observer could write thus now of the bitter climate of Massachusetts, with its extremes of temperature in summer and winter.

Battle with Skrællings.

Then began a furious battle. The Northmen had the advantage of weapons, for they fought with swords. But they were overpowered by numbers, and soon fled. Something like a panic, moreover, seized upon them, even more senseless than the fright which overcame the Skrællings the spring before at the bellowings of the bull. It is said that a huge ball at the end of a pole was flourished over them, and thrown to the ground with a horrid noise. The noise and the novelty of this method of warfare, with the accompaniment of shouts and yells, seem to have been the only frightful thing about it, for it did the Northmen no harm, though they fled before it like affrighted children. But there was one among them who was not frightened; this was Freydis, the natural daughter of Eric the Red, and wife of Thorvard. Rushing out among the combatants, she shrieked, "Why do ye run, stout men as ye are, before these miserable wretches, whom I thought ye would knock down like cattle? And if I had weapons, methinks I could fight better than any of ye." But they gave no heed to the dauntless woman, still seeking safety in flight to the shelter of the woods. Freydis, who was heavy with child, followed closely behind, pursued by the Skrællings. Coming presently to the dead body of a countryman, — dead with a stone arrow in his brain, — she seized his sword and was ready to defend herself.

Bravery of Freydis.

She did more than this, for she completely turned the tide of battle, and that in a way which has no parallel in any other record of Amazonian exploits. She turned and faced the advancing savages; but instead of attacking them, she tore open her dress, and exposing her naked breasts, beat them with the sword with the aspect and the cries of a fury. The Skrællings, terrified at this strange action, turned and ran with all speed to the canoes, and seizing the paddles, flew, like a flock of startled wild duck just skimming the surface of the water in their swift flight, down the bay. Perhaps they thought the woman some powerful priestess whose incantations and imprecations would bring upon them swift destruction; or it may be that her frantic gestures and cries, her courageous defiance, and the exposure of her bare bosom to their attacks, daunted them because it was something they could not understand; but this picture of the fierce Norse warriors flying before a sheep's paunch tied to the end of a pole, and owing their safety to the fury of a woman beside herself with rage, is in ludicrous contrast with the tradition of their reckless and invincible courage.

The colony abandoned.

This was virtually the end of Karlsefne's attempt at colonization, though it was not absolutely abandoned till the following spring, of 1010. He and his companions were not again mo-

lested by the Skrællings, but they thought it not worth while to remain in a country, however otherwise desirable, where they were liable to such attacks. This decision was probably confirmed by meeting, on one of their excursions, with a Uniped, who, after killing one of their number, fled out to sea. Such marvels were believed in even in a much later and more enlightened age.[1] Other natives were sometimes met and generally killed, no doubt without much compunction. Two boys they took as prisoners were carried back to Greenland, taught Norse, and baptized. From them it was learned that there were two kings over the Skrællings, one named Avalidania, the other, Valldidia; their people had no houses, but lived in dens and caves. In another part of the country, however, there was, they said, another people, who "wore white clothes, and shouted loud, and carried poles with flags." And this was supposed to be the White Man's Land, a mythical colony of Irish somewhere south of Vinland.[2]

[1] Charlevoix (*History of New France*, vol. i. pp. 124, 128, Shea's edition) repeats the stories told five centuries later, of voyagers who saw or heard of Unipeds, — men with only one leg and foot, and with two hands on the same arm, — of pygmies, of giants, of men who never eat, of headless men, and of other monsters, of which, he says, "it is easy to believe that there is some exaggeration, but it is easier to deny extraordinary facts than to explain them."

[2] The Northmen called the country somewhere south of Vinland the White Man's Land, or Great Ireland, and believed that it was occupied by the Irish. Professor Rafn supposes it to have extended from Chesapeake Bay to East Florida. One of their narratives relates that in the year 928, one Ari Marson, an Icelander, was driven there by an easterly storm, and was not permitted to go away again. The story came from a Limerick merchant and from the Earl of the Orkneys, and it is therefore presumed that occasional intercourse was kept up between the people of this Hvitramanna-land and Europe. A romantic story is also told of one Bjarni Asbrandson, a famous viking, who was always fighting, or singing songs, or making love. The marital bond sat loosely upon the women of Iceland, and it was nothing unusual that Bjarni should overstep the limits of morality and propriety in his attentions to another man's wife, and that her husband and his friends should therefore attempt to kill him. The husband of this woman Thurid, Bjarni seems to have held in great contempt; but for her brother, Snorri, the high-priest, he entertained a very different feeling. After an encounter with him, in which they both showed a good deal of magnanimity, Snorri trying to kill Bjarni and failing, but frankly acknowledging his intention, and Bjarni having it in his power to kill Snorri but choosing not to do so, it was agreed between them that Bjarni should go abroad and not see Thurid for a year. He went, and the vessel he sailed in was never heard of afterward. Thirty years later an Icelandic ship was driven westward by a storm upon an unknown coast, where all her people were made prisoners. They were surrounded by a great crowd, and "it rather seemed to them that they spoke Irish." The prisoners were bound and taken inland, where they met, surrounded by a large number of persons, a white-haired and martial-looking chieftain, with a banner borne before him, whom all treated with the greatest deference. He spoke to the strangers in the Northern tongue, and when he learned that they came from Iceland and the district of Bogafiord, he asked for all the principal men of those parts by name, and was especially minute in inquiries about Snorri the priest, Thurid his sister, and her son Kjartan. The prisoners were soon released by his orders, with injunctions to depart with all speed from that country and never to return again, or to permit others to come thither. As they were about to leave, he took from his finger a gold ring, and putting that, and also

Karlsefne and his ship reached Greenland in safety. On board of her was the first child, so far as is known, born of European parentage on this continent. This was Snorri, the son of Karlsefne and Gudrid, born in Vinland, A. D. 1007. He was their only child, and in him was fulfilled another of the prophecies of Gudrid's former husband, as he lay dead in his bed, for in Snorri began a long line of distinguished descendants.[1]

First European child born on this continent.

There remains to be briefly told the story of Freydis, with whom ends all positive history of these attempted settlements on the coast of the North American continent. Other voyages, it is supposed, were made at different times for the next two centuries, as allusions to such adventures, though there are no distinct narrations, are, according to Professor Rafn, scattered through Icelandic literature. It is even conjectured that the colony at Vinland may have been kept alive, notwithstanding the gloomy memory of the deeds of Freydis, which would, it might be supposed, have made the spot dreaded as one haunted by the victims of the savage fury of a cruel and unrelenting woman. If any efforts, however, were made to found future colonies, they must needs have been feeble and desultory, or they would have left some permanent signs behind them.

That Freydis was a fearless woman we have seen already in her encounter with the savages. It was with her, at least, no dread of them that induced her to return with her countrymen to Greenland. Greenland, with its savage rocks, its ice-bound waters, its mountains of perpetual snow, its gloomy fiords, its barren soil, its long winters where the sun just crept above the horizon, was to her a poor exchange for the fair, bright land where the winters were sunshiny and mild; where the pleasant waters of its sequestered bays washed, all the seasons through, the smooth beaches of clean, white sand; where the great oaks, and elms, and pines, and maples cast their grateful shadows

a good sword, into the hands of the Icelandic captain, he said, "If the fates permit you to come to your own country, then shall you take this sword to the yeoman, Kjartan of Froda, but the ring to Thurid his mother." When asked from whom it should be said these gifts came, he answered, "Say, he sends them who loved the lady of Froda better than her brother, the priest of Helgafell; but if any man therefore thinks that he knows who has owned these gifts, then say these my words, that I forbid any one to come to me, for it is the most dangerous expedition, unless it happens as fortunately with others at the landing-place as with you; but here is the land great, and bad as to harbours, and in all part may strangers expect hostility, when it does not turn out as has been with you." So saying, he turned away with his banner waving over him. Gudlief, the Icelandic captain, on his return, faithfully delivered the ring to Thurid, the lady of Froda, and the sword to Kjartan her son, who was now supposed to be the son of Bjarni also. For it was plain that the stately, white-haired chieftain of Hvitramanna-land was Bjarni Asbrandson, who, thirty years before, had disappeared from Iceland.

[1] Thorvaldsen, the eminent Danish sculptor, and Finn Magnusson, the distinguished Danish scholar, are among the later descendants of Snorri.

over the rich verdure of the meadows, and in the deep woods the long vines, climbing to the tops of the lofty trees, festooned them with clusters of rich fruit.

The restless woman had hardly reached home before she set her active brain at work to plan a return to that land of promise, to reap a fresh harvest in the trade for furs with the natives, in shiploads of timber, in boat-loads of dried grapes. Such persuasions, however, were futile with her own people, either because they knew as much about Vinland as she did and cared less, or because they knew her; but they succeeded with two strangers. There came that summer (1010) to Greenland from Norway two brothers, Helgi and Finnbogi, Icelanders, in a ship of their own, laden with merchandise.

Colony of Freydis.

Leif's Booths.

Freydis was at home at Garde when she heard of their arrival, but she sought them out at once, and laid a proposition before them. An expedition was agreed upon on joint and equal account. The brothers were to have thirty fighting men on board their ship, and Freydis the same number, among whom she permitted her husband, Thorvard, to count one. Of Leif, her brother, she asked the gift of the houses or booths in Vinland, built by him ten years before, — a gift he declined to make, though he was quite willing to lend them to this expedition as he had to others. It was a question fraught with future trouble, for Freydis meant that these shelters should belong exclusively to her and not to the enterprise.

They set sail in the spring of 1011. On board of Freydis's ship went five more fighting men than the stipulated number, stowed

away out of sight. Helgi and Finnbogi were the first to reach Vinland, and before the other ship arrived they had landed goods and stored them in Leif's booths, assuming that joint occupation was a part of the agreement. But when Freydis came and found the buildings thus partially occupied, she resented it as an unauthorized intrusion, and high words followed between her and the brothers.

Leif's Booths.

"Leif lent the houses to me, not to you," the woman asserted.

"We thought it was to both," said the brothers.

They had discovered by this time that she had cheated them as to the number of fighting men which each party was to take, and they added that she was more than a match for them with her sharp practices. So they left the booths to which Freydis claimed that she had the exclusive right, built a house for themselves, and into it moved their company and their goods.

The brothers were clearly of a sociable and cheerful disposition, desiring nothing so much as harmony and peace. It was they who yielded always, and Freydis who encroached. Winter amusement is no less a duty than a pleasure with those who live in high latitudes, when without it men would sink into apathy and despair in the long dark night of months, as all Arctic voyagers know. The good Icelandic custom of "passing life joyfully" in the winter time Helgi and Finnbogi maintained in Vinland, more, of course, to keep their people occupied than because of any exigency of climate. They contrived games and sports within doors and without, inviting the Freydis people to these diversions, doing all they could to keep up a pleasant intercourse between the two houses. But discord crept in; evil reports were circulated; jealousies and enmities were aroused on the right hand and on the left; perhaps more even than in Karlsefne's time, two years before, women were implicated in these troubles; one at least was at the bottom of them all, and she was unsparing of the rest. The games first languished, then dropped; visits, friendly greetings, intercourse of any kind between the two companies became less and less frequent, and finally ceased altogether. The evil influence was at last triumphant. The colony of perhaps seventy-five people divided into two hostile camps, hating each other, ready to fly at each other's throats. Such was the miserable state of feeling nearly all winter, growing worse the longer it lasted; none the less bitter and implacable that it was without any visible and sufficient cause.

Discord in the colony.

When the alienation was complete, and the mutual exasperation at its height, Finnbogi was surprised, one day, to see, in the dim twilight of the early morning, Freydis standing, silent and alone, in the door-

way of his house. He was shocked, perhaps, as well as surprised, at a visit at such an unseemly hour; but raising himself in his bed, he said, —

"What wilt thou here, Freydis?"

She answered, "I wish that thou wouldst get up, and go out with me, for I would speak with thee."

Finnbogi rose and followed her to the trunk of a tree, not far from the house, but out of hearing of any one within, where they sat down.

"How art thou satisfied here?" asked Freydis.

The answer which Finnbogi gave was unfortunate — even fatal; for the question was a leading one, and Freydis hoped to hear him say that he was not satisfied at all, and longed to be gone. But he said, —

"Well think I of the land's fruitfulness, but ill do I think of the discord that has sprung up betwixt us, for it appears to me that no cause has been given."

She artfully agreed to this, for her purpose evidently was to show that so great was that discord, either one party or the other must go away. Finnbogi's assertion gave little hope that his would be that party. For she said, —

"Thou sayest as it is, and so think I; but my business here with thee is, that I wish to change ships with thy brother, for ye have a larger ship than I, and it is my wish to go from hence."

"That must I agree to, if such is thy wish," was the reply. Then the conference broke up.

This acquiescence in her departure and readiness to expedite it, on the part of Finnbogi, and his avowed satisfaction with the country, which had no drawback except this discord which would be removed by that departure, were not what she meant to get by that early visit. She must find some other way, however desperate, of gaining her end. Returning to her house and bed, this misplaced woman, so clearly fitted to be a queen, determined to move her husband to a desperate deed. She had gone barefooted through the dew to Finnbogi's house. The Saga is careful to relate that when she got up "she dressed herself, but took no shoes or stockings, and the weather was such that much dew had fallen;" but it was also such that "she took her husband's cloak." So now on her return, exasperated at the failure of her errand, she got into bed cold and wet, and the sleeping Thorvard, awakened in this unpleasant way, demanded resentfully why she was in this condition. She retorted angrily, —

"I was gone to the brothers, to make a bargain with them about their ship, for I wished to buy the large ship; but they took it so ill, that they beat me and used me shamefully; but thou! miserable

man! wilt surely neither avenge my disgrace or thine own, and it is easy to see that I am no longer in Greenland, and I will separate from thee if thou avengest not this."

Such approaches and reproaches could not be withstood by the placable and obedient Thorvard. With all speed he called his men to arms, and went at once to the house of the brothers. It was yet early, for Freydis had lost no time, and Helgi and Finnbogi, and all their people, were still asleep. By a sudden and stealthy attack Thorvard and his men overwhelmed and bound them; one by one they were led from the building, and one by one they were dispatched as they came out. Not a man was left.

Murder of Helgi, Finnbogi, and their people

But among them were five women, and on these no man would lay his hands.

"Give me an axe!" shrieked Freydis.

The axe was given her; she fell upon the five women, and no man stayed her hand; and "she did not stop till they were all dead."

This cruel and cowardly work finished, they returned to their own dwelling; and Freydis, says the faithful chronicle, "did not appear otherwise than as if she had done well." But, nevertheless, it was a deed to be concealed, and she was not the woman to forget that necessity even at such a moment. Turning, therefore, to her people, she gave them this assurance of her future conduct:—

"If it be permitted us," she said, "to come again to Greenland, I will take the life of that man who tells of this business! Now should we say this — that they remained behind when we went away."

She was now in sole command and in sole possession, for Thorvard, the husband, can hardly be supposed to possess any will or authority of his own in such a vigorous presence. None ventured to disobey the imperious and desperate woman. Under her stern rule the rest of the winter was spent in cutting timber and gathering together such other commodities as the country afforded; and so successful were they in this work, that when the spring came and they were ready for departure, the larger ship of the two brothers, which Freydis had so coveted and had obtained at such bloody cost, was loaded with all that she could carry.

It was, it is to be hoped, a gloomy winter, though thus crowded with work. The silent and empty house of Helgi and Finnbogi, where, for many weeks, "life had passed joyfully" with games, and sports, and tale, and song, after the manner of their country, was always before them; in the murmurs of the lonely sea, in the sighs and sobs of the winds in the deep solitude of the melancholy woods, they heard the voices of those late comrades; the graves of almost as many dead as they could count of their living company

Gloom which followed the massacre.

reminded them continually of that cowardly and cruel slaughter of defenceless men; and visions would come to sleepless eyes, in the long winter nights, of the relentless woman in her naked, bloody feet, with her bare arms red with blood, as she cut down the helpless creatures whom none else would kill, and they were not men enough to save.

But their consciences were stronger than the threats or the blandishments of Freydis; for though she lavished many gifts upon them on their return to Greenland, though she had assured them she "would take the life of that man who told of this business," whispers, nevertheless, were soon abroad of frightful deeds done in Vinland, and circulating swiftly from mouth to mouth. These soon reached the ears of Leif, who, seizing two of his sister's followers, put them to the torture and extorted a confession of all the atrocities which, under the leadership of Freydis, had been done in the colony. Then said Leif, "I like not to do that to Freydis, my sister, which she has deserved, but this will I predict, that their posterity will never thrive." It certainly was not a severe punishment for the murder of thirty-two men and five women, that no one from that time forth thought otherwise than ill of Freydis and her accomplices. But she disappears from history with this mark of execration, and with her ends also essentially the history of the Northmen in Vinland the Good.

Enthusiastic antiquaries have sought to find in the region supposed to be Vinland some visible relics of its several colonies. If there were any it would be much more remarkable than that there are none, after the lapse of nine hundred years. Leif's booths, though they were probably solid structures of hewn timber, would hardly abide the onslaughts of the elements for so many centuries; and there is no intimation in any of the narratives that the Northmen erected more lasting monuments, to become, in

Relics of Northmen sought in New England.

"Unswept stone, besmeared with sluttish time,"

the witnesses of their former presence.

Newport Tower.

There is at Newport, R. I., a round stone tower, which Professor Rafn and others believed was built by the Northmen; but Palfrey, in his "History of New England," shows quite conclusively that this is only an old stone mill, erected by Governor Arnold late in the seventeeth century, who in his will referred to it as "my stone-built wind-mill." "Without doubt," says Dr. Palfrey, with peculiar force, "it is extraordinary that no record exists of the

erection of so singular an edifice by early English inhabitants of Rhode Island. But it would be much more strange that the first English settlers should not have mentioned the fact, if, on their arrival, they had found a vestige of a former civilization, so different from everything else within their view." Beside, the harbor of Newport was undoubtedly visited by more than one voyager before any permanent settlement was made, and it is incredible, if the tower was in existence, that it should never have been alluded to by anybody in log-book or journal, till Governor Arnold speaks of it as his windmill. Dr. Palfrey says, moreover, that the Arnold family is supposed to have come from Warwickshire, England. Governor Arnold had a farm which he called "Lemmington Farm;" and in Warwickshire there is a Leamington, three miles from which, at Chesterton, is a round stone mill, the counterpart of that at Newport. The tradition in regard to this mill is that it was from a design by Inigo Jones. If so, it was probably built when Arnold was a boy, or not long before, and would be, as the work of an eminent architect, the admiration of the country round about. What more natural than that Governor Arnold, when advanced in life, should reproduce, as nearly as he could, an edifice supposed to be a masterpiece of architecture of its kind, and endeared to him by all the memories and associations of his early home?[1]

Stone tower at Newport proved Gov. Arnold's windmill.

Chesterton Mill.

The Danish antiquaries adduce also the Dighton Rock, as it is called, as an evidence of the visits of the Northmen to New England. This rock is on the bank of the Taunton River, in the town of Berkeley, Mass., opposite Dighton. Upon it are carved rude hieroglyphics, which have been an object of curious interest for nearly two centuries. Various copies, differing much from each other, have been taken at different times during all that period, and some of them have been sent to Europe for the consideration of learned societies. The characters have been assumed to be Phœnician, Scythian, Roman, and even Hebrew, until the Danish antiquaries pronounced them to

Dighton Rock.

[1] See Palfrey's *History of New England*, p. 56, *et seq.*

be Runic. They profess to find the name of Thorfinn in the middle of the inscription, in certain rude characters, some of which are clearly Roman letters; other marks above are interpreted as signifying the Roman numerals, CXXXI., the number of Thorfinn Karlsefne's company after the desertion of Thorhall and his companions; below is the figure of an animal of some sort, — perhaps, if we may make a suggestion, the bull that frightened the Skrællings, — and a ship, which one must be an antiquary to find; on the right are Gudrid and her son Snorri, born in Vinland; on the left Karlsefne himself, with a companion. These and other fanciful interpretations are held to be a complete record of the expedition of Karlsefne and its leading incidents.

Dighton Rock.

On the other hand, the rude pictures have been declared by more than one Indian chief to be the record only of a successful Indian hunt; and General Washington, when taken to the rock, said the figures resembled those he had often seen upon the buffalo robes of the Western Indians. The letters and numerals were probably added by another and later artist. Such picture-writings upon rocks, to commemorate successful hunts or successful fights, were not uncommon among the Indians, and they have been found in various parts of the country. There is an instance of it on the Virginia shore of the Ohio River, near Steubenville, Ohio,[1] bearing

Steubenville Rock.

[1] *Ancient Monuments of the Mississippi Valley.* By Squier and Davis.

a marked resemblance to that of the Dighton Rock. In 1850, Mr. J. G. Bruff found, in the Sierra Nevada Mountains, a defile fifteen or twenty miles in length, where the face of the precipices was covered with picture-writing, some of it on the under surface of rocks, where it could have been done only by the aid of platforms. These sculptured hieroglyphics are so numerous that it is estimated to have painted them with a brush would have required the labor of many workmen for several months.[1]

Icelandic Sagas. Their evidence.

But the claim for the discovery of America by the Northmen requires no support from such questionable evidence, and is rather injured than otherwise by a resort to it. Its real strength lies in the narratives themselves, which, if what is claimed for them be true, decide the question beyond controversy. The Icelanders, like all the Scandinavians, were excessively fond of listening to the poems of their Skalds and the stories of their Sagamen. In Iceland and Greenland, especially, condemned by the rigor of the climate to live an in-door life for the larger part of the year, it was necessary, not merely "to make life pass joyfully," but to render it tolerable, to have some other resource than merely eating and drinking. They resorted to "recitals of history" and of songs or poems, often of inordinate length; sometimes mythological, sometimes imaginative, more generally tales of the deeds of dead and living heroes; often, no doubt, exaggerated and adorned, when the deeds related were of heroes listening to the praises of their own achievements; but nevertheless these were faithful relations, in the main, of actual occurrences. This habit of the people, degenerating on the one hand into a mere love of gossip, feeding an insatiable appetite for details of the affairs of their neighbors, on the other hand preserved every event of interest or importance to be handed down by word of mouth from generation to generation. When with Christianity the Roman alphabet was introduced, these Sagas were reduced to writing by diligent and studious men; inestimable treasures laid up for the use of future historians.

Such records in regard to the settlement of the Northmen on the American coast were known to have been made, and the fact was frequently referred to by early writers. Thus Adam of Bremen, who wrote an ecclesiastical history about the middle of the eleventh century, has a passage relating to the subject which, if it be not a subsequent interpolation, of which there is no evidence, is an incontestible proof of the discovery of Vinland. He made a visit to Denmark, and was informed, he says, by the king, "that a region called Vinland had been found by many in that ocean, because there vines grew spon-

[1] *Smithsonian Report*, 1873, p. 409.

taneously, making the best wine; for that fruits grow there which were not planted, we know, not by mere rumor, but by the positive report of the Danes." But, though several historians of different countries, who have written within the last two hundred years, have recognized that this discovery was actually made, the details of so interesting a fact were not fully known until the different narratives were gathered together by the Northern Antiquarian Society of Denmark, and published in a single volume.[1]

The fullest and most important of these relations exist in manuscript, in a collection known as the "Codex Flatöiensis," written between the years 1387 and 1395. These, now preserved in the Royal Library at Copenhagen, were found in a monastery on the Island of Flato — on the west coast of Iceland, — where they had lain forgotten and unnoticed for centuries. There is no serious question now of the authenticity of these Sagas, as whatever doubt may, at one time, have been entertained has been effectually put to rest. Like other chronicles, relating to the early history of Greenland and Iceland, of Sweden and Norway, they were long preserved by oral tradition, from century to century, and at length committed to writing, long after the time to which they referred. The main facts related in them are unquestionably true; the incongruities, discrepancies, and even absurdities which can be pointed out, are such as would inevitably occur in verbal repetitions, for nearly three centuries, of the circumstantial details of distant voyages and adventures; and such errors, moreover, are incontestible evidence that the narratives were not constructed for a purpose long after the date of a pretended event, but are veritable relations of actual occurrences told by those who took part in them, and unconsciously changed by those who repeated them, from time to time, on points which seemed to them of little interest or importance. Not less conclusive is the simplicity, sometimes even childishness, of the narratives, — the preservation of unimportant particulars, remarkable only for their singularity, so characteristic of all uncultivated people, who, like children, delight in marvels and are captured by novelty.

[1] *Antiquitates Americanæ, sive Scriptores Septentrionales Rerum Columbianarum in America. Samling af de i Nordens Old-skrifter*, etc., etc. Edidit Societas Regia Antiquariorum Septentrionalium. Copenhagen: Hafniæ, 1837.

The Sea of Darkness.

CHAPTER IV.

PRE-COLUMBIAN VOYAGES WESTWARD.

Arabian Sailors on the Sea of Darkness. — Welsh Tradition of American Discovery. — Voyage of Madoc, Prince of Wales. — Evidence adduced. — Supposed Traces of Welsh among Doegs, Mandans, and Mound Builders. — Narrative of the Brothers Zeni. — Shipwreck of Nicolo Zeno at Frisland. — His Account of Engroneland. — Adventures of a Frisland Fisherman. — The Western Voyage of Prince Zichmni. — Chinese Discovery of Fusang. — State of Nautical and Geographical Knowledge before Columbus.

In the town of Bristol, England, there is a suburb called Cathay, so preserving the memory of that prosperous time when Bristol, next to London, was the richest and most important city of the kingdom, — of that proud period when her merchants carried on a thriving trade with the Indies, before Columbus sailed to find a Western passage to the far East. So in Lisbon, as late as the beginning of the thirteenth century, there was a street called Almagrurin, — which means in English "Those that go astray," — so named in commemoration of a bold adventure of some Arab sailors, who had ventured

further toward the Sea of Darkness than any others were known to have sailed before.[1]

The Arab geographers relate the incident, the memory of which the street preserves, and some historians have found in it a suggestion of possible American discovery, as early as the twelfth century, and far south of the colony at Vinland. Lisbon was then still in possession of the Arabs, who, above all other people of that period, were students of geometry and astronomy, applied those sciences to geography and navigation, and were the boldest sailors of the age. Eight of these hardy and well-instructed men, bound together by ties of relationship, determined to explore that mighty and mysterious ocean which stretched from the coast of Portugal to the setting sun, on whose western horizon no sail ever crept up against the sky, or disappeared from sight beneath its waters.

Expedition of eight Arab sailors.

Building themselves a vessel, they put on board provisions for several months, showing thereby a determination that their explorations should not be cut short for want of time. Taking an east wind they steered fearlessly westward, and after eleven days their ship ploughed into a sea thick with grass, concealing, as they thought, many reefs of sunken rocks, and giving forth a fetid smell. They imagined that the light of the sun was failing them as they approached the confines of that dreary sea, whose mysterious waters, they did not doubt, in accordance with the belief of the time, were concealed in perpetual night, haunted by demons, and filled with strange creatures of monstrous shapes. Alarmed at these portents, they turned their vessel's head southward, and in twelve days more reached an island which they named El Ghanam, meaning "small cattle," because they found upon it numerous flocks of sheep. Here they landed, but saw no people. Some of the sheep they killed, but the flesh was so bitter as to be unfit for food, and they found nothing else worth taking except figs and fresh water.

Then they sailed away again southward; at the end of twelve days, on approaching an island the people came out to meet them in boats and made them all prisoners. When taken on shore they were carried before the king of the country, who, on hearing through an interpreter, who spoke Arabic, the object of their voyage, laughed at them heartily for their folly. His father, he told them, had once sent slaves into that Western Ocean, who, after cruising about for a month, lost sight of the sun, and thus were compelled to return without the voyage profiting them anything. From this interview the Arabs were dismissed to prison; but as soon as the wind

Course and incidents of their voyage.

[1] *Notices et Extraits de la Bibliotheque du Roi,* cited in *The History of The New World* by Don Juan Baptista Munoz, p. 119.

veered to the west they were put, blindfolded and pinioned, into a boat, carried out to sea, and abandoned to the mercy of the winds and waves. They drifted, within three days, upon the mainland of Africa, where they were kindly treated by the natives — Berbers — and whence they returned to Lisbon. Thereafter they were known among their countrymen as "the strayed ones." [1]

From the direction in which these Arabs had sailed, and from the length of their voyage, the most reasonable supposition is that they first reached the Madeira group, where the flesh of the wild goat is bitter, as the animals browse on a plant called *la coquerel*,[2] and that the next land they saw was the Cape Verde Islands. But the natives of that country they described as of a red color, with straight black hair, and for this reason, and because some of the accounts have given the voyage as being thirty or five and thirty days, instead of twelve, before land was reached, it has been supposed that these wanderers had touched the shores of America or some of the islands upon its coast. If, however, the narrative of Edrisi, the Arabian geographer, be accepted as authentic, according to the translation which we have followed, the course pursued by these Arabs from Lisbon could hardly have taken them to the westward of the Azores. One claim, therefore, to the discovery of the western world, whether by accident or design, before the voyages of the navigators of the fifteenth century, may be held to be disposed of.

Discovery of America by Madoc.

The tradition that America was discovered about the year 1170 by a Welsh prince named Madog, or Madoc, is still more circumstantial, and attempts to support it by later evidence have been made from time to time for the last two hundred years. Even so cautious and judicial a critic as Humboldt says in allusion to it: "I do not share the scorn with which national traditions are too often treated, and am of the opinion that with more research the discovery of facts, entirely unknown, would throw much light on many historical problems."

Certainly we are not to forget the distinction between a tradition and an invention; it is impossible to establish the one, and, as a lie can never be made the truth, it is not worth repeating; but the other is an honest relation, accepted as such by those who first repeated it, and which may yet be sustained by evidence. This tradition relating to Madoc had, no doubt, some actual basis of truth, however much it may have been misapprehended; the evidence adduced from time to time in support of it has been believed by many, and is curious

[1] Edrisi, the Arabian geographer's account of *The Voyage of the Arabs*, in Major's *Life of Prince Henry the Navigator*, p. 147 *et seq.* Humboldt's *Examen Critique*, p. 137, T. 2.

[2] Berthelot's *Natural History of the Canaries*, quoted from M. d'Avezac by Major.

and entertaining; the tradition itself in its original baldness has found a place in historical narrative for three hundred years; for each and all of these reasons it demands brief consideration.

The story was first related in Caradoc's "History of Wales," published by Dr. David Powell in 1584. Caradoc's history, however, came down only to 1157, and Humphrey Llwyd (Lloyd), who translated it, added the later story of Madoc. Lloyd received it from Guttun Owen, a bard who, about the year 1480, copied the registers of current events which, as late as the year 1270, were kept in the Abbeys of Conway, North Wales, and Strat Flur, South Wales, and compared together every three years by the bards belonging to the two houses. Another bard, Cynfrig ab Gronow, referred to the tradition of western discovery by Madoc about the same time with Owen; and another allusion to it is claimed in the following lines — literally translated — written three years earlier by Sir Meredyth ab Rhy: —

Authorities for the Welsh story.

Welsh Bard.

"On a happy Hour, I, on the water,
Of Mannaers mild, the Huntsman will be,
Madog bold of pleasing Countenance,
Of the true Lineage of Owen Gwyned.
I coveted not Land, my Ambition was,
Not great Wealth, but the Seas."[1]

This may certainly be accepted as conclusive evidence, at least, that the mild-mannered and good-looking prince was fond of the sea; but it is difficult to find anything else in it that can be supposed to refer to the discovery of America. The only real authorities may properly

[1] Williams's *Enquiry*.

be considered as reduced to two — the bards Guttun Owen and Cynfrig ab Gronow.[1]

The story is briefly this: When Owen Gwynedd, Prince of North Wales, was gathered to his fathers, a strife arose among his sons as to who should reign in his stead. The eldest legitimate son, Edward, was put aside, or put himself aside, as unfit to govern, "because of the maime upon his face," — he was known as "Edward with the broken-nose," — and the government was seized by Howel who was illegitimate, "a base son begotten of an Irish woman." But the next brother, David, refused allegiance to this Howel, and civil war followed. At length the usurper was killed in battle, and the rightful heritage established, David holding the reins of government as regent till the son of Edward, the eldest brother, was of age. In this contention Madoc took no part, but endeavored to escape from it; which, inasmuch as it was a struggle for the lineal succession of his family, was not much to his credit. Leaving his

David, Prince of Wales.

[1] Compare Lyttleton's *History of Henry II.*, vol. vi. *An Enquiry Concerning the First Discovery of America*, by John Williams, LL. D. London, 1791. *Jones's Musical Relicks of Welsh Bards*, vol. i. From Dr. Powell's *History*, Hakluyt copied the story at length, — referring also to Guttun Owen, — asserting, however, in his first edition, of 1589, that the land which Madoc reached was, in his opinion, Mexico; in his second edition, of 1600, that it was some part of the West Indies. In this, as in most other accounts of early voyagers, later writers have followed Hakluyt. But here, Dr. Belknap interposes a word of caution. "The design," he says, "of his (Hakluyt) bringing forward the voyage of Madoc appears, from what he says of Columbus, to have been the asserting of a discovery prior to his, and consequently the right of the Crown of England to the sovereignty of America; a point at that time warmly contested between the two nations. The remarks which the same author makes on several other voyages, evidently tend to the establishment of that claim." [*American Biography*, etc., by Jeremy Belknap, p. 65.] While of Powell, from whom Hakluyt copies, Robertson says: "The memory of a transaction so remote must have been very imperfectly preserved, and would require to be confirmed by some author of greater credit, and nearer to the æra of Madoc's voyage than Powell." [*Robertson's History of America*, vol. ii., note 17.] Thus the story at the outset has to contend with a reflection upon the credibility of the author who first promulgated it, and upon the motive of him on whose authority it has generally been repeated. But, on the other hand, it is the registers of the Welsh abbeys of Conway and Strat Flur, copied by Guttun Owen, and the statement of Cynfrig ab Gronow, upon which Powell, or rather Humphrey Llwyd, the translator of Caradoc's *History*, relied as authority for the tradition. The writings of these bards are supposed to be lost; but if they really related the story, the trustworthiness of Powell, and the motives of Hakluyt, are of no importance whatever, as it was told by the earlier writers twelve years before Columbus made his first voyage. If Madoc's discovery — supposing there were any — was made upon knowledge, that knowledge could only have come from Iceland or Greenland.

brothers (about 1170) to fight it out among them, he got together a fleet and put to sea in search of adventures. He sailed westward, leaving Ireland to the north, which, it may be remarked, is nearly the only thing he could do in sailing from Wales, unless he laid his course northward through the Irish Sea. But at length he came to an unknown country, where the natives differed from any people he had ever seen before, and all things were strange and new. Seeing that this land was pleasant and fertile, he put on shore and left behind most of those in his ships and returned to Wales.

Historical account of Madoc's voyage.

Coming among his friends again, after so eventful a voyage, he told them of the fair and extensive region he had found; there, he assured them, all could live in peace and plenty, instead of cutting each other's

Madoc leaving Wales.

throats for the possession of a rugged district of rocks and mountains. The advantages he offered were so obvious, or his eloquence so persuasive, that enough determined to go with him to fill ten ships. There is no account of their ever having returned to Wales; but on the contrary, it is said, "they followed the manners of the land they came to, and used the language they found there," — a statement which, if true, shows, not only that they did not return, but that some intercourse was preserved with their native land. Their numbers, nevertheless, must have been sufficient to have formed a considerable colony, and if, as the narrative asserts, the new country "was void of inhabitants" — meaning, probably, that it was only sparsely peopled — it is difficult to believe that they could have become so entirely assimilated to the savages as to lose their own customs and their own tongue.

The Welsh Colony.

Moreover, if such were the fact it destroys all other evidence, which was supposed to be subsequently found, of the existence of such a colony. That supposed evidence is, that a tribe of Indians of light complexion and speaking the old British language, was found within the present limits of the United States in the seventeenth century, and that traces of such a people were still evident at a quite recent period.

Testimonies to its existence.

The earliest testimony on this point is a letter[1] to Dr. Thomas Lloyd, of Pennsylvania, and by him transmitted to his brother, Mr. C. H. S. Lloyd, in Wales. The letter purported to have been written by the Rev. Morgan Jones, and was dated New York, March 10th, 1685–6, more than half a century before its publication in the Magazine. The Rev. Mr. Jones declares that in the year 1660 — twenty-five years before the date of the letter — he was sent as chaplain of an expedition from Virginia to Port Royal, South Carolina, where he remained eight months. Suffering much from want of food, he and five others at the end of that time started to return to Virginia by land. On the way they were taken prisoners by an Indian tribe, the Tuscaroras, and condemned to die. On hearing this sentence, Mr. Jones "being very much dejected," exclaimed "in the British (*i. e.* Welsh) tongue," "Have I escaped so many dangers, and must I now be knocked on the Head like a Dog." Immediately he was seized around the waist by a War Captain, belonging to the Doegs, and assured in the same language that he should not die. He was immediately taken to the "Emperor of the Tuscaroras," and, with his five companions, ransomed. The providential Doeg took them to his own village, where they were kindly welcomed and hospitably entertained. For four months Mr. Jones remained among these Indians, often conversing with them, and preaching to them three times a week in the British language. The conclusion is that these Indians were descendants of the Welsh colonists under Madoc.

The Mr. Lloyd to whom this letter was sent, subsequently adduced some oral and hearsay testimony, to the same effect; as, for example, that a sailor declared he had met with some Indians on the coast, somewhere between Virginia and Florida, who informed him in good Welsh, that their people came from Gwynedd, North Wales. But such testimony is so vague that it may be set aside without hesitation, leaving the letter of Mr. Jones the sole evidence of this Welsh survival on this continent, within the first century of its settlement by the English. In the next century, however, there came forth fresh witnesses.

First. A missionary from New York, a Mr. Charles Beatty, travel-

[1] First published in *The* (London) *Gentleman's Magazine*, vol. x., 1740.

ling in 1776, to the Southwest, four or five hundred miles, though he did not himself see any of these Welsh Indians, met with several others who had seen and talked with them. A Mr. Benjamin Sutton assured him that he had visited an Indian town on the west side of the Mississippi, whose people were not so tawny as other natives, and whose language was the Welsh. They had a book which they cherished with great care, though none among them could read it, which Mr. Sutton assumed to be a Welsh Bible, — manuscript, it must have been, as the art of printing was not invented when Madoc is supposed to have left Wales, in 1170. One Levi Hicks, who had been among Indians from his youth, also told Mr. Beatty that he had visited such a town west of the Mississippi, where the language spoken, he was informed, was Welsh; and Joseph, Mr. Beatty's interpreter, had seen natives whom he supposed to be of the same tribe, and who, he was sure, spoke Welsh, because he had some little knowledge of that tongue. Mr. Beatty, in repeating these statements, relates, in corroboration of them, the story of the Rev. Mr. Jones, adding to it, however, that that clergyman had also found a Welsh Bible in possession of the Doegs, which they could not read, but held him in all the more esteem because he could, — a circumstance which Mr. Jones does not mention in his letter, but would hardly have omitted had it been true.

Welshman.

Second. In 1785 was published a narration by a Capt. Isaac Stewart, to the effect that, having been taken prisoner by the Indians, with a Welshman named David, about the year 1767, they were carried seven hundred miles up the Red River, when they came to "a nation of Indians remarkably white, and whose hair was of a red color, — at least, mostly so." The Welshman found these people were of his own race. Their story was that their forefathers came from a foreign country and landed on a coast east of the Mississippi, which, from the description, must have been Florida. When afterward the Spaniards took possession of Mexico they fled west of the Mississippi, and up the Red River; and, as an evidence of the truth of this account, they showed to Captain Stewart some rolls of parchment, covered with writing in blue ink, which they kept wrapped up in skins with great care. Unfortunately neither Captain Stewart nor his Welsh companion could read these precious documents.

Third. Mr. Williams, the author of "An Enquiry Concerning the First Discovery of America by the Europeans," from whose book we condense these narratives, asserts on an authority for which he vouches as respectable and truthful, that a Welshman, living on the banks of the Ohio, declares, in a letter dated October 1, 1778, that he had been several times among Indians who spoke the old British, and that he knew of another person in Virginia who had visited a tribe of Welsh Indians living on the Missouri River. four hundred miles above its junction with the Mississippi.

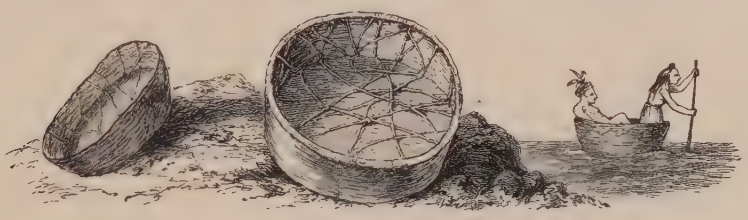
Such, it has been assumed, is the conclusive evidence that the descendants of Madoc and his companions, who migrated from Wales in 1170, were seen about five hundred years later — in 1660 — somewhere between Jamestown, Virginia, and Port Royal, South Carolina, having carefully preserved their nationality and language. That about one hundred years afterward — in 1767 — the same tribe, or others of the same lineage, were living on the Red River, seven hundred miles from its mouth, still speaking the Welsh tongue; that ten years afterward a similar people, with the same language, were seen by two witnesses somewhere in the same region; that ten years later still, another person knew of a similar tribe on the Missouri; and that Indians had been met with by other persons at various times and in various places, who spoke Welsh. The discrepancies in the accounts, — save the one remarkable fact that some of the witnesses observe that these Indians were white, while others do not mention a peculiarity so striking that it could hardly fail, if it existed, to excite their wonder, — are not greater than are consistent with truth under the ordinary rules of evidence. But the one point on which they all agree — the speaking of ancient British — is the most formidable argument, and by the probability of its truth all these narratives can be most conclusively tested.

The thorough exploration of all the territory of the United States within the last half century has left little to be learned of any of the Indian tribes, and there are none among them known to speak a tongue which would be recognized as Welsh. Yet if there was such a tribe a hundred, or even two hundred years ago, who had for six hundred years preserved their language when surrounded by a savage, alien race, it is hardly possible that a century later, such a people could have become so utterly extinct, or so absorbed by savages whose influence they had so long resisted, as to leave no certain trace of their origin.

But all that is pretended by the later inquirers is, that a tribe of Indians, the Mandans, showed, if not traces of an intermixture with the blood of the whites, at least a marked difference between themselves

and other native tribes. Among them were in use certain words in which is a resemblance, or a fancied resemblance, to the old British language. In the manufacture of their pottery, and in the making of blue beads, they are said to have shown a superiority over the ordinary savage. Mr. Catlin believed them to be a cross between the Indians and the Welsh, and is inclined to accept a theory, favored also by some other writers, that the Mandans are the descendants of the Mound Builders, and that the builders of those numerous earth-works were the people originating in Madoc's Colony.[1] The boat they used, Catlin says, was more like the coracle of the Welsh than the canoe of other Indians; and he asserts that in complexion, in the color of their hair and eyes, they seemed rather

Mr. Catlin's theory and argument.



Mandan Boats.

to be allied to the white than the red race. Even the late Albert Gallatin, deservedly a high authority on any point relating to the North American Indians, acknowledges that a chief of this tribe whom

[1] Messrs. Lewis and Clarke, in their expedition across the continent, passed the winter of 1804–5, among the Mandans and other Indians on the Upper Missouri; but there is nothing in their journal to indicate that they observed those striking differences in complexion, in character, and customs, between the Mandans and other tribes, which Catlin describes at great length. The method of making the beads which Mr. Catlin considers so significant a fact, Lewis and Clarke say was known to the Ricarees as well as to the Mandans. As the material used was pounded glass, the process must have come into use since the introduction of glass by modern Europeans, and not have been handed down from the Welsh. To pound up glass, however, and make it into a new form, is an indication of extraordinary intelligence in a North American Indian. The Mandan tradition of their origin is, that the nation once lived under ground, near a lake. A grape-vine extending its root through the earth reached their village and let in the light of day. Some of the more daring climbed up this root, and, to their astonishment and delight, came out upon a country charming to look upon, rich in fruits of various kinds, and covered with great herds of buffaloes. The grapes which they carried back, and their report of the delights of that upper region, set the whole nation wild to ascend and take possession of a land so bountiful and so beautiful. Immediately, men, women, and children rushed to the root of the vine, and about half the people had climbed up in safety, when the weight of a woman of unusual corpulence broke the tough root from the stem, and the light of the sun was shut out forever from those who were left behind. Nevertheless, the Mandans believed that when they died the good among them would return across the lake to this subterranean village, and rejoin their kindred; but that the wicked would never reach that ancient home, for the heavy burdens of their sins would sink them beneath the waters of the lake. The tradition is essentially Indian in character.

he saw in Washington, was of a lighter shade of complexion than other red men, and that he was the only full-blooded Indian he had ever seen with blue eyes. But he nevertheless rejects the supposition that they are descendants from the Welsh, and speaking their tongue, "a fable" he considers set at rest by a knowledge of the Indian dialects. Certainly it is not pretended that any Indian tribe living within the memory of man has used the old British tongue, as was asserted to be the fact by the witnesses of a century and two centuries ago. The slight resemblances in certain Mandan words to Welsh, which Mr. Catlin found, but which had no weight with Mr. Gallatin, are not enough to have enabled the Rev. Mr. Jones to converse familiarly with the Doegs, or preach to them three times a week for four months in their own tongue and his.

Welsh Coracle.

Attempt to identify Welsh with the Mound Builders.

The supposition that the Mound Builders and the Welsh were identical, is equally untenable. Some of the works of the former are known, by the trees growing upon them, to have been erected before the date of Madoc's leaving Wales; and a colony of a few hundred persons could not have so increased and multiplied to the number of the millions who must have been engaged in the erection of the Mound Builders' works, and have utterly perished and disappeared again within a period of four hundred years.[1] The Welsh tradition of Madoc's adventure may nevertheless be true, notwithstanding a failure to sustain it by evidence of its subsequent existence within the present limits of the United States. Such a colony may have been founded, and have perished as other colonies have done since; or a mere remnant of it may have survived to be absorbed by some tribe of Indians, on which it stamped in language and in look some feeble impression of its own origin. But the story must rest upon whatever intrinsic probability of truth it pos-

[1] The Mandan tribe contained about two thousand persons. As a tribe it was completely extinguished by the small-pox, in 1838, the few whom the pestilence spared being made captives of by the Ricarees, who took possession of their village. This the Sioux soon after attacked, and, in the thick of the fight the unhappy Mandans rushed out beyond the pickets and called upon the Sioux to kill them, for "they were Ricaree dogs, their friends were all dead, and they did not wish to live." They fell upon the besiegers at the same time with such impetuosity, that they were to a man destroyed. —*Catlin's North American Indians*, vol. ii, Appendix A.

sesses, rather than upon any evidence that a people whose color inclined to white, and whose tongue was Old British, can be traced on this continent from the middle of the seventeenth century to our own time. Should the original sources of the narrative, the registers of the Welsh bards, be ever recovered, or should other manuscripts be found touching this subject, in the diligent search of later years for fresh knowledge on these old voyages of discovery, there may be some further light let in upon this of the Welsh prince. If his course was westward, leaving Ireland to the north, it may be that he and his people settled, not in Florida, but in one of the Azores or of the West India Islands.[1]

Mandan Indian.

It is a superficial objection to the truth of any narrative, that no mention is made of the event it relates by any contemporaneous writer. It is, nevertheless, true that an event which when it happened was not worth a newspaper paragraph, or, if there were no newspapers, wanted the vitality to get itself repeated, may, a century or two afterward, from its consequences or its relations, be of intense interest, and of the highest importance. That the ancient annalist, — who did not believe that the author of History should ever condescend to anything that was not an affair of state, — should have no ear for the adventures of a petty Welsh prince, of some gallant private gentleman, or of some rough master-mariner, can hardly excite surprise, however much it may be regretted that treaties and protocols, and the enactment of laws were not forgotten for a moment, and the details of incidents so interesting inquired into and recorded. There is to be considered always, not only the old historians' lofty notion of the dignity of history, but that the circumstances of time and place may not have been favorable to the

Relative values of historical facts.

[1] It is a curious fact that this story of the Welsh should have recently appeared in a new form still further west. Among the Zuni of New Mexico, there are said to be white Indians with fair complexions, blue eyes, and light hair. Among the New Mexicans is a tradition that long ago some Welsh miners wandered into that country with their wives and children, and that the Zuni killed the men and married the women. The Zuni deny the truth of the tradition ; but there is, nevertheless, a remarkable resemblance between some of the words of the Zuni language and the English. Thus, "Eat-a," is *to eat;* "Eat-on-o-way," is *eaten enough;* and the Zunians, to express admiration, exclaim, "Look ye!" or "Look ye here!" The surveyors of a route for a railroad from the Mississippi River to the Pacific coast, in whose Report (vol. iii., part 1, p. 63), we find this statement, "did not see those white Indians at the time of their visit, as the small-pox was raging among the Zuni, nor did they give much heed to the tradition of the New Mexicans."

rapid transmission of intelligence, and that the intelligence itself may not have been supposed to be worthy of transmission. And especially where a question of American discovery is concerned, another important fact must have its due weight, — that it was not till long after the death of Columbus that any historian thought it worth while to inquire into the truth of any report of a pre-Columbian voyage, or even that there were any such reports to inquire into. If, then, we are in earnest search after the truth, we shall first seek to know if, in regard to any alleged voyage, there is any contemporaneous record or clear tradition of it; and failing these, if the report be above all suspicion of having been invented, exaggerated, or perverted, that it might aid in robbing one of the greatest and most unfortunate of men of the immortal fame which he hoped might at length rest upon his name, — a hope which was almost the sole compensation and consolation for a life of many sorrows.

The story of the brothers Zeni, resting upon no tradition, and upon no contemporary testimony, is open to all these considerations. The Zeni were a noble and distinguished family of Venice; in her wars with her neighbors, these brothers, and others of their kindred, had won renown, and were thought worthy of a place in history for their deeds of valor and their services to the state. But no contemporaneous historian had seen fit to relate other achievements of theirs, which, apart from the special importance afterward attached to them, were full of romantic interest; no Skald, or Saga-man of the North, had even mentioned that island of their Northern seas, where these achievements were said to have been performed. One hundred and seventy-eight years later, in the middle of the sixteenth century, when nations were approaching that great power and opulence which their discoveries and possessions in the New World had given them; when national jealousies as well as national interests were aroused for the honor of having originated, or of sharing in the most marvellous accomplishment of human genius the world had ever seen, then it was that a claim was put forth, unheard of before, that these Venetian brothers, by more than a century, preceded Columbus, and that his laurels must be shared with them.

The Zeni family.

In 1558, Francisco Marcolini, of Venice, published a volume of letters, arranged and edited by Nicolo Zeno, purporting to be those of his ancestors, Nicolo and Antonio Zeno, written between the years 1380 and 1404. The letters and a map had remained in the family archives, apparently unnoticed and unknown, till coming into the possession of this Nicolo the younger in his childhood, as playthings, he had torn them into fragments. When he came at an age to understand their value, he put together

Publication of the Zeni letters.

such of these torn and scattered fragments as he could recover, and gave them to the world. The little volume was afterward included in Ramusio's "History of Early Voyages," — but not till after Ramusio's death, — and was subsequently translated and transferred by Hakluyt to his own works. From that day to this it has been, and is still, a controverted question whether the story is true or false. By

Shipwreck of Nicolo Zeno.

some writers it is denounced as a fraud, easily compiled from information not difficult to be got from various sources in the middle of the sixteenth century; by others it is accepted on internal evidence, and especially on the testimony of the restored map, as worthy of belief.[1]

Their story.

In the year 1380, according to the Nicolo Zeno of 1558, his ancestor of the same name, who was wealthy, brave, eager to see the world, and who found at home no occupation suited to his active and daring disposition, fitted out a ship at his own charges, and sailed away northward for England and Flanders in search of adventures. Nor did he seek long, for a storm overtook him, drove his ship out of her course, casting her, at length, on an unknown and inhospitable coast. He and his crew escaped with their lives the perils of the shipwreck only to run a new risk, — as they were thrown helpless and exhausted on the shore, — in an attack from the natives. But from this they were saved by the appearance, at the critical moment, of the king of the neighboring island of Porland at the head of an army, who rescued the strangers from the hands of the people. Addressing them in Latin, and learning that they were Venetians, he not

[1] The latest essay on the subject, and in favor of the Zeni Narrative, is by R. H. Major, published by the Hakluyt Society of London. His argument, however, is, for the most part, an elaboration of that of Reinholdt Forster in his *Northern Voyages*.

only gave them a hearty welcome, but begged them to remain in his service. To this they consented, and served him so well by their courage and their skill in seamanship that Nicolo Zeno was made a knight and the captain of the king's navy. Then Nicolo sent to Venice for his brother Antonio, who soon joined him to share in his prosperity, leaving behind, at home, the third brother, Carlo, to whom all the subsequent letters were written. The name of the king whom the two Venetians followed, and who had saved their lives, was Zichmni, and the country was called the island of Frisland. This island he had, not long before Nicolo's shipwreck, wrested, or was about to wrest by conquest from the king of Norway.

It is a notable fact that this island of Frisland, which was said to be larger than Iceland, and which carried on a brisk trade in fish and other merchandise with "Britain, England, Scotland, Flanders, Norway, and Denmark," and between which and Venice there seems to have been not infrequent communication, should never have been mentioned anywhere but about the time of these letters of the brothers Zeni, and that it certainly has had no existence for some hundreds of years.[1] And not only Frisland; there were various other islands in those northern seas held by this Zichmni, "a prince," says Antonio Zeno, in one of his letters, "as worthy of immortal memory as any that ever lived for his great valiance and singular humanitie." By those who accept the account as true, some suppose that Frisland must have been one of the Faroe Islands, and that among the Hebrides, the Shetland, and the Orkney Islands may be found the rest of the dominion subdued by the prowess of this great prince; but others suppose that Frisland and the rest were long ago swallowed up by the sea in some mighty cataclysm, which is the reason why they have been so difficult to find.[2]

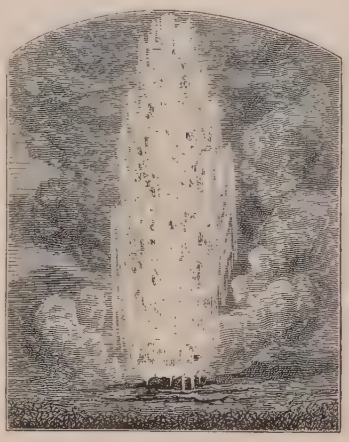
With Zichmni the Zeni remained, — Nicolo four years, till he died, and Antonio ten years longer. So long as Nicolo lived he did the king good service in aiding in the subjection of a number of the islands of an Icelandic archipelago. But he also sailed as far westward as Engroneland, which is supposed to mean Greenland. He gives a minute and interesting account of a monastery of friars of the order of the Preachers, and of a church dedicated to St. Thomas, which he found in that distant country. These friars lived in that severe climate with a remarkable degree of comfort, and even of luxury. Their monastery was built near a hill from which gushed forth a perennial fountain of hot water; this they

A monastery in Engroneland.

[1] The name was sometimes applied to Iceland; but the Zeni letters speak of it as an island distinct from Iceland.

[2] See *Frobisher's Voyages*, Hakluyt, vol. ii.; Forster's *Northern Voyages; Belknap's History*, vol. ii.; Captain C. C. Zahrtman in *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society*, vol. v.; and particularly the *Voyage of the Venetian Brothers, Nicolo and Antonio Zeno to the Northern Seas in the 14th Century*, translated and edited by R. H. Major, Hakluyt Society publications, 1873.

turned to many useful purposes by conveying it in pipes into the church and monastery, warming their cells, cooking their food, heating their covered winter gardens, cultivating the fruits and flowers of more temperate zones, putting it to all uses for which heat is requisite as a substitute for fire. Thus they so modified the rigor of that hyperborean region with little or no labor or trouble to themselves, that those jolly monks made their homes as cheerful as if they were beneath the sunny sky of Italy. Even for the buildings of the monastery this volcanic mountain furnished them with ample material; for on the stones which were cast out of its crater they had only to throw water when "burning hot" to reduce them to excellent lime, which on being used so hardened as to last forever.[1]



Greenland Geyser.

[1] A German writer, Dethmar Blefkins, a minister sent to Iceland from Hamburg in 1563, tells much the same story, which he learned from a monk who entered this monastery of St. Thomas in 1546. Blefkins, whose tract is in Purchas, vol. iii., says: "This Monke told us marvellous strange things, that there was in the Monastery of St. Thomas (where he lived) a Fountaine, which sent forth burning and flaming water, that this water was conveyed through Pipes of stone, to the several Cels of the Monks, and that it made them warme as stoves do with us, and all kinds of meats might be boyled in this Fountaine, and fiery water, and no otherwise than if it had bin on a fire indeed, he advertised moreover, that the walls of the Monastery were made with Pumice stones, out of a certain mountain not farre from the Monastery: like to Hecla in Iceland, for if you powre this water upon the Pumice stone, there will follow a slymie matter, which instead of lyme they use for mortar."

Crantz, in his *History of Greenland* (p. 265 *et seq.*), in treating of "lost" Greenland, refers to this statement of the monk as related by Blefkin, but says "it is confessed that the story is told a little incoherently, and its truth is much doubted." "But yet," he adds, "I find a sort of voucher for it in *Cæsar Longinus's Extracts of all Journies and Voyages*." There, it is said that an English sailor, Jacob (or James) Hall, in the service of Denmark, made several voyages to Iceland and Greenland and wrote a description of the wild Greenlanders, the most particular, ample, and conformable to truth of all that had written: this man affirms that he also had spoken with the aforesaid monk in Iceland in the presence of the Governor, and had inquired of him about the state of Greenland. He told him, likewise, several things about St. Thomas's cloyster, particularly "that there was a fountain of hot water conveyed by pipes into all their apartments, so that not only their sitting-rooms, but also their sleeping-chambers were warmed by it, and that in this same water meat might be boiled as soon as in a pot over the fire. The walls of the cloyster were all made of pumace-stone, and if they poured this hot water upon the stones, they would become clammy and viscid, and so they used them instead of lime." The Danish Chronicle of Greenland [continues Crantz] also makes mention of this cloyster, and speaks besides of a garden through which a rivulet of this hot fountain flowed, and made the soil so fruitful that it produced the most beautiful flowers and fruits.

Thus this monk of the German author, Blefken, and the English sailor, Hall, told in 1546

But discoveries more interesting still were yet to be made. Nicolo died soon after his return from Engroneland, and Antonio proposed to return to Venice, but was not permitted to do so by Zichmni, who retained him for further service. There had arrived at Frisland an ancient fisherman, who had been absent many years in strange lands, and the tale he told was one which might well arouse so bold a navigator and adventurous a Viking as Zichmni. Six and twenty years before, he said, four fisher-boats from Frisland were driven by a mighty tempest a thousand miles to the westward, when one of them was wrecked upon an island called Estotiland — supposed to be Newfoundland — and taken prisoners by the inhabitants. They were led to "a faire and populous city" and brought before the king, who, learning who and what they were, through an interpreter — also a shipwrecked sailor — who spoke Latin, determined they should be retained in his service. Five years they lived there and found it to be a rich country, "with all the commodities of the world," with mines of all manner of metals, and especially abounding in gold. In the middle of it was a high mountain from which sprung four great rivers that went forth and watered all the land. The inhabitants they found to be a "witty people," having "all the arts and faculties" of civilized nations, speaking a language of their own, with letters and characters peculiar to themselves. Yet they had intercourse with other countries, for in the king's library there were Latin books which, however, none could read, and they imported merchandise of various kinds from Engroneland. Southward of this kingdom was another great and populous country, very rich in gold, where there were many cities and castles, and where the people raised corn and brewed ale. They were also a maritime people, though they did not understand the use of the compass; but seeing this wonderful instrument in the hands of the fishermen, and discerning its great utility at sea, they held these strangers in such esteem that they fitted out twelve barks and sent them southward, under their direction, to that other land called Drogeo.

Adventures of a fisherman.

Estotiland.

precisely the same story, in almost identical language, of the Monastery and Church of St. Thomas, in Greenland, and the ingenious hot-water works, supplied from a geyser, which was told by Nicolo Zeno nearly two hundred years before. The monk could not have borrowed from the Venetian book, for that was not published till twelve years after he is said to have entered the Monastery of St. Thomas, in Greenland, where he saw this remarkable oasis in the arctic wilderness, but which nobody but he and Nicolo Zeno had ever thought worthy of description. If, therefore, Blefken and Cæsar Longinus may be relied upon, and there really was such a monk, telling such a story, about the time of the publication of the Zeni letters, it shows, at least, that other sources of information in regard to Greenland, were open to Nicolo Zeno the younger, than the mutilated fragments of his ancestor's letters

It was an unhappy expedition; for though the fishermen escaped death at sea in their storm-tossed vessels, they met on land a fate more cruel. Helpless and exhausted, they were made prisoners as they were thrown upon the shore, and most of them were immediately eaten by the savage people "which feed upon man's flesh as the sweetest meat in their judgment, as is." But the man who had got back to Frisland, and some of his companions, were saved; for however excellent they might be for eating, they were held as better still for slaves. He taught these people the art of taking fish with nets, and so grew presently into great favor; so great, indeed, that powerful chiefs quarrelled for the possession of his person, and went to war about him, so that he was the royal fisher in turn to no less than twenty-five of these copper-colored lords. For thirteen years he lived among them and thus saw many parts of the country. It was, he said, a very great country, as it were a new world; "but the people were very rude, very fierce and cruel, and voide of all goodness;" so savage that they all went naked; so wanting in intelligence that they had not even the wit to cover themselves with the skins of the beasts they killed with their wooden spears and arrows, though they suffered from the cold. Yet they had laws peculiar to each tribe, and one custom that was universal, — that they should kill all they could in constant wars, and eat all they killed. It is not an attractive picture, but is thought by those who maintain the Zeni letters to be authentic, to answer accurately to the character of the Indians afterward found within the present limits of the United States.

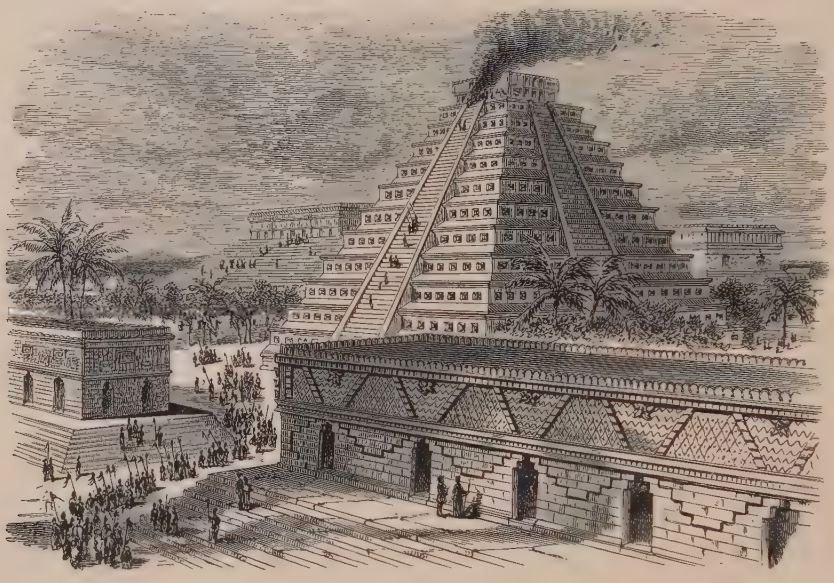
Drogeo.

But farther to the southwest the fisherman found a people of more "civility," as he found a more temperate climate, where they had cities and temples for their idols. To these idols they sacrificed men whom they afterward ate. They understood the use of gold and silver, whereas the more northern people knew nothing of metals. This, it is assumed, is a description of Mexico and her semi-civilization, thus giving to the fisherman a wide field of observation, who must have travelled, granting the truth of the narrative, down the Atlantic coast, along the whole of the northern, and part of the western coast of the Gulf of Mexico. The discovery, if discovery it was, was more extensive than that of Columbus himself, and of other navigators, in the next two centuries; and the marvel is, that there should be no record or tradition of an event so interesting as this finding "as it were of a new world," except in these forgotten letters to Carlo Zeno, of Venice, and that such letters should have been unknown for nearly two hundred years.

For the fisherman, after his twenty-six years absence and travel in these strange lands and among these barbarous people, returned to

Frisland, where his tale was generally believed and even confirmed by other mariners who also knew something of that far country. So intense was the interest excited that the prince Zichmni resolved at once to fit out an expedition, and so many came forward to join it, that Antonio believed that it would be

Expedition of Prince Zichmni.



Aztec City.

at no cost to the state. Zichmni commanded in person, setting forth with many barks and men. Two days before sailing, the fisherman, who was to have piloted the fleet, unfortunately died, and his place had to be supplied by other sailors who had returned with him from Estotiland. Soon after leaving the last island which owed Zichmni allegiance, he encountered a gale which lasted for eight days and wrecked most of his vessels. Nevertheless, pushing boldly westward, he reached, at length, an island where he found a safe and commodious harbor, but where "an infinite number of people came rushing furiously to the water-side" and forbade a landing. Zichmni made signs of peace, when ten men came off to him, speaking ten distinct languages, none of which could he understand except that of one from Iceland. From him the prince learned that the island was called Icaria, and the people Icari, after the first king of the place, who was the son of Dædalus, a king of Scotland. This Dædalus had formerly conquered the island, and left his son there to reign in his stead, while he, setting forth in search of new conquests, was overwhelmed by a tempest, and the sea, in memory of him who was drowned in

it, was thenceforth called the Icarian Sea. The laws and the land which he had given them they valued far more than life, and they would not tolerate the presence of strangers. One man only from the fleet would they permit to come among them, and he must speak Italian that they might add that to the ten other tongues of their ten interpreters.

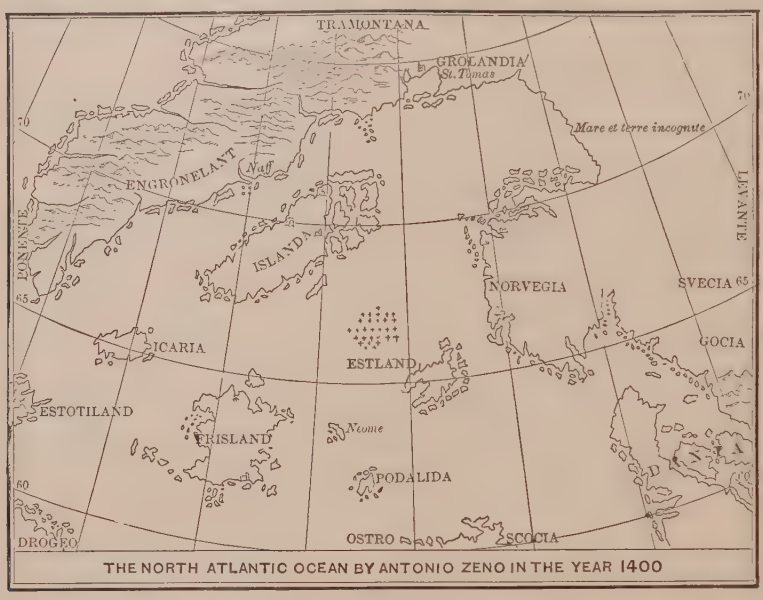
The prince, making a pretence of departing in compliance with the commands of the natives, circumnavigated Icaria, but a multitude of armed men watched the vessels from the hill-tops, kept pace along the beaches with its progress, and menaced it continually; and when a second attempt was made to go on shore, the Frislanders were repulsed, many killed, and more wounded. Against this fierce obstinacy Zichmni was convinced at last that it was useless to contend. Once more he set sail, still steering to the west.

He steered to the west for five days with a fair breeze; then the weather changed, and the wind came out from the southwest. With this "wind in the powpe" he sailed four days more — sailed, that is, before the wind for four days to the northeast, when once more land loomed up above the sea-line. On what part of the American coast this land may have been, it is not considered prudent even to conjecture; for, given a starting-point, Frisland, which never existed; a voyage thence westward of not less than ten days to another fabulous island, Icaria; thence still westward for five days more; thence for four days in a northeast direction, and the imagination need submit to no trammels of latitude and longitude. But wherever it was, it was so pleasant a country, its days of June were so delicious, its soil was so fruitful, its rivers so fair, its fish and its fowl in such abundance, that here Zichmni resolved to remain, to build a city, to found a state. The harbor where he anchored he called Trin, and the point which stretched out into the sea and embraced it, he called Capo di Trin. In the centre of the island was an active volcano, visible from the coast, and out of the base of it ran a certain matter like pitch, that flowed into the sea. The country was densely populated by a people small of stature, timid, half wild, and living in caves of the earth. Zichmni sent his ships back to Frisland, under the command of Antonio Zeno, retaining only his boats and a portion of his people; but whether he himself ever returned thence, or what was the subsequent fate of him and his colony, except that he built his town and explored much of the neighboring region, there is no account. The last letter of Zeno declares that he has written many interesting things in a book, which he should bring home with him, respecting the adventures of his brother and himself, of the prince Zichmni, the many islands he reigned over, and the new lands he dis-

Western lands discovered.

covered; but this the younger Zeno had destroyed in his youth, and here, therefore, the narrative ends.

The warmest defenders of this irreconcilable story do not venture to deny that much of it is fable, and of that which they accept as



The Zeni Map.

true, some of its essential facts of geography and navigation stand in need of the most ingenious explanation. It is difficult to believe that any actual navigator should have described so many islands that had no existence in the places where he put them, both in the narrative and on a map; and quite as hard to believe that they have all been since sunk in the sea, if they ever had an existence. If it is assumed that the requisite number, and the conquest and discovery of those referred to, may be found by looking for them among the Faroe Islands, the Orkneys, or the Hebrides, it is hard to reconcile such a supposition to the known facts of history — that Norway, at the end of the 14th century was governed not by a king, but by a queen, Margaret; that the Orkneys and Shetland isles were never wrested from that crown, but belonged to it till late in the 15th century; that Henry Sinclair, Earl of Orkney, held possession of the islands of that name as a loyal subject of Norway at the very time that Zichmni is said to have conquered Frisland; that the Hebrides have been in continual possession of Scotland since the latter part of the 13th century. While it is exceedingly difficult to

Objections to this narrative.

adjust the main statements of the narrative to any reasonable theory consistent with their truth, the meagre information it gives in regard to the Western Continent was possibly accessible from various sources when the letters were published. The most rational conclusion, therefore, seems to be that if the story were not a clumsy attempt to patch up an account of a voyage, some record of which had been preserved in mutilated and unintelligible fragments of old letters, then it was a bold, but still clumsy, fabrication, whereby it was hoped that the glory of the great discovery might be snatched from Spain and Columbus. In nothing, in either case, is that clumsiness so apparent as in the adaptation of the Grecian names and fables of Dædalus and Icarus to persons and places in the frozen North.

There is a still older claim to the discovery of the western hemisphere than can be made either for Northmen, Arabs, Welsh, or Venetians. In the Chinese Year-Books, in which are recorded from year to year for many centuries, every event of interest that occurred in the empire, is the relation of a Buddhist priest named Hoei-Shin, who, in the last year of the fifth century, visited a country fifteen thousand *li* east of Tahan. Precisely the distance measured by twenty thousand *li* in the year 499, and whether by Tahan was meant Kamtschatka, Alaska, or Siberia, are questions about which there is a good deal of doubt, while on a clear understanding of them depends any application of the narrative to American discovery.

Chinese claim to American Discovery.

The country which the priest reached, however, he called Fusang, from its most remarkable product, a tree possessed of many valuable qualities. Its sprouts were like those of the bamboo, and were used for food; it bore an excellent fruit, red in color, in shape like a pear, and which would keep the whole year round; its bark was fibrous, and from it the natives made a kind of linen for their clothing, and the paper on which they wrote; for they were so cultured a people that they used written characters. Another fruit they had was apples; from a kind of reed they made mats. As beasts of burden they used horses, oxen, and stags; these were harnessed to wagons. The hinds were kept also for their milk, from which cheese was made; and the oxen had horns so large that they would hold ten bushels, and were useful as receptacles of household goods. Iron they had not; but copper, gold, and silver were plentiful, though but little valued.

Description of Fusang.

Fusang was governed by a king, who when he appeared in public was heralded by the music of horns and trumpets; he clothed himself apparently in accordance with some astronomical theory, as the color of his garments was changed every two years for a cycle of ten years,

when the same order was begun again. The title of this king was Ichi, and he was surrounded by a nobility divided into three ranks. The people were peaceful and had no weapons of war. Offences against the law were punished by imprisonment; when this was for life, the offenders were allowed to marry, but their children were sold as slaves.

A thousand *li* east of Fusang, the monk said, the people were white, were covered with hair, and were all women. When they wished to become mothers they had only to bathe in a certain river. Their children they nourished, not from the breast but from a tuft of hair upon the shoulder. Other wonderful things he related, but these the learned translator, the late Professor Neumann of the University of Munich, thought too absurd to repeat. The old Chinese poets found a potent stimulant to their imaginations in these stories of Hoei-Shin, and made of Fusang a delightful region of many marvels where the mulberry trees were thousands of feet in height, and the silk-worms more than six feet in length. In a land blessed with such capabilities for making silk, a Chinaman could conceive of nothing wanting.

Chinese Junk.

Not the least remarkable of the observations of Hoei-Shin is that the people of this distant land were all Buddhists. For he was not the first discoverer; twenty-nine years before his visit, he said, five beggar-monks from China had reached Fusang and introduced the religion of Buddha, with his holy books and images, instructed the people in the principles of monastic life, and thus wrought a great change in those few years in their belief and their manner of living.

This alleged discovery has been the subject of a good deal of controversy. There is nothing incredible in the supposition that the Chinese may have sailed across the Pacific long before Europeans ventured over the Atlantic Ocean; for they were early navigators; knew in the second century of our era the use of the mariner's compass; and their junks, which have changed little in form since they were first known to Europeans, have been found wrecked upon the west coast of America, at different periods, from the time of the first Spanish voyages in the Pacific.

While there is no intrinsic improbability, then, of such a discovery, those who see in Hoei-Shin's narrative a record of it, maintain that Fusang was either California or Mexico; that the Fusang-tree was the great American aloe, or "Maguey," as the Indians call it; that the oxen with enormous horns were bison; that the stags were reindeer, which may have once been used farther south than now; that the horses were of a race that afterward became extinct, and whose fossil remains have been found by geologists in the western territories of the United States; that the ancient Mexicans were accustomed to milk the bison-cows and hinds, and to manufacture cheese; that though Peru was not Mexico, from one the people may have gone to the other; and Ichi may have meant Inca, the title of the sovereign of Peru, which may have been brought from Mexico; that orders of nobility were known both in Mexico and Peru; that the Mexicans had some knowledge of astronomy, and the cycle of ten years, the observance of which determined the Ichi in the color of his garments, may have been a subdivision of the Mexican astronomical period of fifty-two years; and finally, that Tahan was Alaska, and according to the most reasonable computation of the length of a *li* of the fifth century, the coast of Mexico is about twenty thousand *li* from Alaska.

On the other hand, it is observed that the monk speaks of no long voyage to the country he calls Fusang; that in using the vague term 20,000 *li*, he meant to indicate a great distance rather than any definite measurement in miles; and that he may have referred to no region farther off than Kamtschatka, the island of Saghalien or than Japan; that by Tahan he may have meant Siberia; that as his narrative is acknowledged to be largely made up of fables, so that which is true is composed of facts and rumors in regard to various countries; as, for example, a tree similar in its characteristics to those ascribed to the Fusang is found in one of the Aleutian islands; the reindeer are common to Asia as well as America, and other peoples beside the Mexicans are known to have been ignorant of the use of iron and to have used copper instead.

If the story of Hoei-Shin was not meant to deceive — and some Oriental scholars do not hesitate to call him "a lying priest," — it is too indefinite, until supported by further evidence, to be accepted as an authentic narrative of a veritable discovery of the Western continent. Its meagre statement of the character and manners of the people of Fusang and of the productions of the country can hardly be made to apply to the ancient Mexicans by seeking for similarities from the Arctic regions to Peru.[1]

[1] See Humboldt's *Examen Critique*, tome 2, p. 62, *et seq.*, and *Fusang, or The Discovery of America by Chinese Buddhist Priests in the Fifth Century*, by Charles G. Leland.

We have devoted these earlier chapters to periods which, in previous histories of the United States and of America, have either had no place at all, or have been dismissed in a page or a paragraph. Should it ever be possible to penetrate the mystery and darkness which shrouded one half the world almost as completely as if it had been another planet, from the time of its creation to a thousand years after Jesus Christ, such an addition to human knowledge would be of inestimable value and intense interest. Modern science has only begun to read this story of races and of civilizations that long since disappeared, leaving no other record than those relics which till recently have been either overlooked or misunderstood.

Claim of these pre-historic periods on our interest.

What point in time, or what degree of knowledge, may be thus reached by future discoveries and deductions from them in a field as yet but little explored, it would be rash to hazard even a guess. But it is well to know what ground there is for presuming that it is possible to learn anything of that pre-historic period. And still more in actual history, even though its records be obscure and imperfect, or only traditions reduced to writing; even though the period of which we can gain only such imperfect information be, in some respects, legendary and romantic, we may, nevertheless, profitably and properly go further back than the ordinary starting-point by five hundred years.

Hitherto the legitimate commencement of American history has been held to be toward the end of the fifteenth century, and all beyond fabulous or inscrutable. But there were bold men and skilful sailors before Columbus. Ever since men sailed upon the sea, or possessed a literature, there have been glimpses, sometimes transient or illusory, at other times distinct, of a mysterious world in the Western Ocean, the subject of curious conjecture, of vague prophecy, and oftener, perhaps, than is supposed, of attempted discovery. Though there was no permanent occupation and no positive recognition of this as a new quarter of the globe till the Columbian era, the real or supposed approaches to its possession for the five hundred previous years appeal as much to human sympathy, and are as pertinent to human progress, as the mythical periods of the historical nations of the Old World.

From discoveries made without design and in ignorance of their real character, we are led, in the gradual progress of events and the slow advance of knowledge, to that later time when the ocean was traversed with a distinct and intelligent purpose and with unhesitating faith. The Northmen, the Welsh, the Venetians — assuming their narratives to be wholly or partially

Vague notions of early navigators.

true — while they were certain that they had sailed into unknown seas, and were cast upon new lands and among strange peoples beyond the accredited limits of the inhabited world, also believed, no doubt, that they had only reached the farther shores or the out-lying islands of the continent whence they came. The notions as to the shape and the extent of the earth were, at that period, so vague, even among the learned, and the art of navigation was so little developed, that there was not much speculation as to the possibility of penetrating beyond the known limits of the continents and out of the accustomed tracks of ships. All that mariners dared to do was to creep along the coast from headland to headland, with a fair wind, to go to places frequently visited.

Imperfection of nautical instruments and knowledge.

The boldest who first ventured out of sight of land, had only the sun by day and the stars by night to steer by ; when these were obscured for more than a day or two they lost all reckoning and were at the mercy of the winds and currents. They were without the mariner's compass of later times, for the magnetic needle was not in general use till early in the fourteenth century, either because a knowledge of its properties was confined to a few, or because there was a timid hesitation to spread the knowledge of an instrument which, it was supposed, would certainly be looked upon among the ignorant as belonging to the Black Art, and one with which no sensible seaman, who thought of his salvation, would trust himself at sea. It was impossible to ascertain the position of a ship out of sight of land, for it was the middle of the fifteenth century before there was any nautical instrument by which the altitude of the sun and stars could be taken with any approach to accuracy. Even sailing on a wind is supposed to have been unknown till the Northmen found it possible, with the wind on the quarter, to still keep the ship on her course if they ventured to haul their tacks aboard. Before that time the sailor was no wiser than the nautilus, which can only sail with a breeze from astern. What little knowledge there was of distant parts of the earth was gained by a few travellers over land in search of information ; by priests devoted to the propagation of the Christian faith among the heathen ; by travelling merchants of different countries, who, meeting each other at certain great marts for the exchange of merchandise, exchanged information also as to the regions whence they came, or others which they had visited in the pursuit of their calling.

Of the three continents, Europe, Asia, Africa, into which the world was then supposed to be divided, the boundaries were unknown, and the extreme parts, if not uninhabited, — at the north, because of the intensity of the cold ; in the torrid zone, because of the intensity of

the heat, — were believed to be either absolutely impenetrable by those born in more temperate climates, or to be entered only at the risk of life. It was death from cold to go too far northward; to venture too far southward might be worse than death, for if heat did not at once consume the flesh and bones of the unhappy traveller, it would singe his hair to a crispy wool, and tan his skin to the blackness of a coal.

But when, at length, vessels were driven by the fury of tempests, or drifted by irresistible currents westward upon unknown coasts, though the bewildered crews may have believed that they had only reached the farther confines of the continent of Europe, extending northward to the pole, thence southward and westward to some unapproachable boundary, such voyages were, nevertheless, the natural consequence of that boldness which, little by little, ventured farther out to sea, and led at length to such grand results. They were the pioneers of subsequent discovery, and the traditions, speculations, and prophecy scattered through ancient literature, of islands and continents in and beyond the Sea of Darkness, arose in part at least from vague reports of ships having sometimes sailed into those mysterious waters and touched upon distant shores.

Then in the fifteenth century came the revival of learning in Europe. Enthusiasm was kindled in the study of science; especially was this true in regard to cosmography. All that the scholars of the earlier ages had taught was diligently learned; and the new theories which the student formed in his closet, the adventurous voyager sought to test by actual experiment. To the political jealousy of states was added a nobler rivalry in efforts to enlarge the boundaries of geographical knowledge and to augment the commerce of the world. Sailing upon the sea grew into an art; it became possible to ascertain with some precision the position of a ship out of sight of land; to tell almost with absolute certainty the direction in which she should be steered, though blackest clouds and darkest night obscured the sky. It is not easy now to conceive how immense an impulse this was to the activity and intelligence of that age; but it opened the whole world to those who could avail themselves of these means of knowledge, and was the dawn of a new era in civilization. New wants were created; luxury increased, as the products of different and distant countries became known; a demand arose which gave a new importance and power to commerce and to expeditions to find out new and shorter routes to those distant lands.[1]

Effect of revival of scientific learning.

And there was no discovery which offered so magnificent a return,

[1] See Robertson's *History of America*, book ii.

none which was sought for with so much intrepidity and eagerness, as a shorter way to that marvellous India, with its fabulous riches and strange peoples, which such travellers as Marco Polo and Sir John Mandeville had visited and written of, but which, as yet, could only be reached by adventurous merchants through long and perilous journeys overland. The pursuit of this chimera, rendered possible by the fresh acquisitions of knowledge, and the wants of the age, was the crowning event which revealed a New World, whose existence had been held to be one of the curious fables of ancient philosophers.

The "Far Cathay."

CHAPTER V.

INDIA — THE EL DORADO OF COLUMBUS.

The Kingdom of Cathay. — Efforts in Europe to find a Sea-way to India. — Prince Henry the Navigator. — Birth and Early Life of Christopher Columbus. — His Design of a Western Voyage to India. — Faith in his Divine Mission. — The Theories of Contemporary Geographers. — His Life in Spain. — The Council at Salamanca. — His First Voyage. — His belief that he has discovered India. — The Delusion of his Life. — His brief Honor and Final Disgrace.

In the far East had reigned for centuries a line of mighty monarchs of the race of Kublai Khan. Among many provinces owing them

allegiance was that of Mangi, bordering on the sea. In this province alone, Marco Polo said, there were twelve thousand cities, all within a few days' travel of each other. Quinsai, whose circuit was a hundred miles, was only one of a hundred and forty cities standing in such contiguity that they seemed but one. A permanent garrison of thirty thousand soldiers guarded Quinsai alone; a police force of some hundreds of thousands of men was always on duty to preserve its domestic peace and order. Spanning its many streets were twelve thousand noble bridges, some of them so lofty that ships could sail beneath without interruption to the passage of the multitudes that were continually crossing them, to and fro. Its principal street, forty paces in width, bridged in many places by these works of beautiful architecture, extended from one side of the city to the other in a straight line. At intervals of every four miles on this magnificent avenue of thirty-three miles were market-places, each two miles in compass; behind them ran a canal, on the banks of which were great stone warehouses always filled with precious merchandise. In these spacious marts from forty to fifty thousand people met three days in the week to trade, thronging through the streets that radiated in every direction. These thoroughfares were all of great width and length, and paved with stone, as indeed were all the highways, in city and country, of the province of Mangi.

The province of Mangi in India.

The sewerage of Quinsai was more perfect than that of any modern city, for the waters of a river, that bounded it on one side, were led through the streets and washed completely away all filth and waste matter to a lake on the other side, whence they were carried out to sea. Besides this system of thorough drainage, for the preservation of the public health, there were free baths of hot and cold water, with attendants, male and female, for daily bathing was the habit of this luxurious people from earliest childhood; and for the sick and feeble the hospitals were "exceeding many," where all were taken care of who were not able to work. A trained fire-department was in constant readiness to protect the city from conflagrations, and at a fixed hour of the night the putting out of domestic lights and fires was enforced by severe penalties, as a safeguard against accident. All the inhabitants were required to be within their houses at a certain time, and from every guard-house and on every bridge each hour of the day and night was struck on great resounding basons or gongs.

City of Quinsai.

The marble palace of the king, with its arcades and corridors, its terraces and courts, its lakes and groves and gardens, filled a circuit of ten miles; its wide expanse of roof, profusely wrought in gold, rested upon hundreds of pillars of pure gold cunningly adorned in arabesque

of azure, to heighten the native richness of the yellow metal. Here on holydays, sacred to their gods, were feasts of ten and twelve days' continuance, with guests ten thousand at a time.

The annual revenue of the king from salt alone, from Quinsai and its associated cities, comprising only one ninth of Mangi, was six million, four hundred thousand ducats; from other products, sixteen million eight hundred thousand more. The population of this one of the one hundred and forty contiguous cities was one million and six hundred thousand families; they consumed daily nine thousand four hundred and sixty pounds of pepper, and "hence," says Polo, "may be guessed the quantity of victuals, flesh, wine, and spices were there spent." So wealthy and prosperous and luxurious were these people, that a part of every day was given up to pleasure in boats and barges fitted up for banquets on the lake; in driving about the long and beautiful streets in chariots lined with cushions and cloths of silk; in feasting in palaces gorgeously furnished and kept for public use; in loitering in public gardens, or resting in inviting bowers scattered through them at convenient distances. And this city, "for the excellency thereof," said Marco Polo, "hath the name of the city of Heaven; for in the world there is not the like, or a place in which are found so many pleasures, that a man would think he were in Paradise."

Of all the provinces of the East, Mangi was the richest, as it was also the most accessible from the sea. But all the kingdoms, both of Mangi and Cathay, teemed with people, abounded in precious commodities of nature and of art, and their cities, villages, fortresses, and palaces were tens upon tens of thousands. Armenia the Greater was, like Mangi and Cathay, tributary to the great Khan. There also were many opulent communities; out of its soil sprang wholesome hot waters for the curing of all diseases; on the top of one of its mountains Noah's Ark still rested. At the city of Cambalu, on the northeast of Cathay, where the Khan resided for three winter months, his palace was of marble with a roof of gold, so blazoned in many colors that nothing but gold and imagery met the eye. It stood in the centre of the city, which was a succession of courts from one to six miles in width, each surrounded with a wall, the outer wall of all extending eight miles on each side of a square. In one of these courts stood always a guard of ten thousand soldiers; in the imperial stables near by were five thousand elephants.

Magnificence of the Great Khan.

From Cambalu radiated roads to the most distant boundaries of the empire; at every twenty-five or thirty miles on these highways were post-houses, wherein were many chambers fit to lodge a king, and relays of horses were kept always in readi-

ness for the use of the royal messengers. Of these post-houses there were about ten thousand in the whole empire, and the number of horses kept in them exceeded two hundred thousand. Between these houses, at intervals of three or four miles, were other stations where runners swift of foot always stood ready to carry letters on the king's business, having at their girdles little bells, the ringing whereof gave notice of their coming, and as they met, the letters were handed from one to another and thus hurried forward without a moment's delay. The bridges on these roads, over the many rivers and canals which watered this wonderful country, were noble works of art, built sometimes of polished serpentine, sometimes of beautiful marbles, stately with many columns, ornamented with great stone lions and other sculptures, curiously and beautifully wrought.

In another city, Ciandu, the Khan made his residence for three of the summer months, and there also was "a marvellous palace of marble and other stones," in an enclosure of sixteen miles. So large was the banquet-hall of this royal residence, that the Khan's table in the centre was eighty yards high. Here the royal stud was a herd of white horses and mares to the number of ten thousand, which were in a manner sacred; for none dared to go before or to hinder these animals wherever they went, and none were allowed to drink of the milk of the mares except they were of the imperial blood.

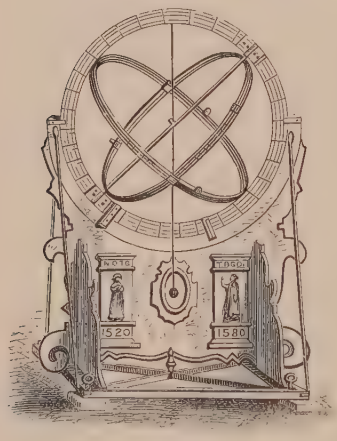
The Khan's army was almost like the sands of the sea for numbers, and so magnificent was the state of its many generals that they sat in chairs of solid silver. The royal fleet was fifteen thousand sail, and each vessel carried fifteen horses and twenty men, or two hundred and twenty-five thousand horses and three hundred thousand men for the fleet. But the merchant marine far exceeded this, for in a single port Polo saw five thousand ships engaged in trade, and there were many cities that numbered still more.

In one province a mountain of turquoises pierced the clouds; in a valley of another nestled a lake where pearls were so plentiful that had there been freedom to gather them, pearls would have been so common as to be of little worth. There were many mines of silver, many rivers whose beds were spangled with gold. The beasts and birds were various and wonderful: serpents with two little feet near their heads, with claws like lions, with eyes bigger than a loaf; hens that had no feathers, but were covered with hair; birds of gorgeous plumage; oxen as large as elephants, with manes as fine as silk; game of all kinds, which the Khan hunted with hawks and with leopards seated on the backs of horses, whence they sprang at the prey. Spices grew everywhere; and of fruit there were nuts as large as a child's head, filled with a delicious milk, pears that weighed ten

pounds, peaches two pounds each; canes fifteen paces long and four palms thick, somewhat, no doubt, like those washed up on the beach of the island of Porto Santo and seen by Columbus, grew everywhere in abundance. The people of this favored land clothed themselves in cloth of gold, in silks, in lawns and cambrics of the finest fabric, in furs of ermine and of sable, which they called "the Queen of Furs."

Fifteen hundred miles from the coast of Mangi was the island of Cipango, — Japan, — where gold was so plentiful that the palace of the king was covered with golden plates, as the churches of Europe were roofed with lead; the windows were gilded; the floors even were paved with gold. There also were many precious pearls. In the surrounding sea there were four hundred and forty other islands, most of them peopled, whereon grew not a tree that yielded not a good smell, while many bore spices, and where also gold abounded.

All the people of these numerous and opulent kingdoms were infidels and idolaters, and whoever should make of them and their rich possessions a prey would be doing a service to God and the true Church. Of the right to do so there was no question, for it was held to be as much the duty of the Christian as the privilege of the conqueror, to spoil the unbelievers. Even if they were not spoiled, a power and prosperity hitherto unknown would surely come to the nation that should open easy communication with a people whose riches seemed inexhaustible, whose commerce exceeded that of all the world beside, whose arts were far beyond anything known in Europe, whose luxury was of a refinement and magnificence hardly to be conceived of by the ordinary European mind.



Astrolabe.

The great problem of the age was to reach this "far Cathay" by sea. Navigation grew to a science, drawing all other sciences to its aid. Dominion over the sea increased with the common use of the magnetic needle in the new mariners' compass; with the improved methods of drawing sea-charts; with the additions made to the astrolabe — which the quadrant afterwards superseded — by Martin Behaim and Rodrigo and Joseph the Jew, the king's physicians, the three ablest astronomers and geographers of Portugal. But however much this increase of knowledge advanced the commerce and civilization of Europe, to push out beyond its confines and find the

Endeavors to reach India by sea.

way to that "East" of marvels and mysteries was the impelling motive of the most enlightened and most energetic minds of the fifteenth century. It was only in royal treasure-chests, however, that the means could often be found for the expenditure involved in long expeditions; still more the civil conditions, and moral and intellectual subservience of the age, suppressed all individual effort that wanted a regal sanction. But fortunately in the fifteenth century there came forward a princely adventurer, Henry of Portugal, surnamed The Navigator, who not only was willing to listen to and to aid all those who proposed voyages of discovery, but was himself diligent above all other men of his time in forwarding such enterprises. By his energy, generosity, and success, an impulse was given to cosmographical studies, and expeditions under his auspices or by his example were pushed to parts where hitherto it was supposed impossible to penetrate.[1] Rejecting the absurdities which some of the wisest of men then accepted as true, — that human life could hardly be sustained in the intense heat of the torrid zone, and that it was impossible the antipodal regions could be inhabited, because it was absurd to suppose that there could be a people that went about their ordinary business with their heads downward, — rejecting all such conjectures as unphilosophical, he devoted his princely revenues and all the energies of a richly endowed character, to enlarging the boundaries of geographical knowledge.

Henry of Portugal, called the Navigator

Prince Henry the Navigator.

The love of science was, perhaps, the primal motive which ruled Prince Henry; but to this was added a desire to enhance the glory of Portugal, and to extend the blessings of the Christian religion for the salvation of souls. A desire to do good — "*talent de bien faire*" — was his chosen motto, and such, undoubtedly, was the aim of his life. The particular good, however, that he never lost sight of, was — India. He gathered men learned in the sciences about him in his secluded home on the promontory of Sagres, where the unmeasured, restless sea was always before his eyes, and the melancholy murmur or the mighty roar of those mysterious waters never left his ears. Of his princely court he made a sort of geographical college; he proposed that his seamen should fearlessly cross the line and breathe the heated air which none, it was said, could breathe and live; he would

[1] See *Life of Prince Henry of Portugal, surnamed The Navigator; and its Results.* By Richard Henry Major. London, 1868.

pass Cape Nam or Non — so called because, according to the proverb, "Whoever passes Cape Not will return or *not;*" he would bring the benighted heathen of Africa, from its Mediterranean coast to its farthest southern limit, to a knowledge of Christ and the true Church; but the end of all was to double that southern extremity and open a new route to India.

India — always India. It was well to win souls to God; it was well to dispel the clouds of human ignorance, whether Christian or heathen; it was well to augment the glory of states and dynasties, and add to the sum of human happiness, by the discovery of strange countries. But commerce with the gorgeous East, so teeming with all precious things, would enrich kingdoms and make states and princes powerful. Courts and palaces, lords and ladies, the increasing wealth, refinement, and luxury of the age, demanded its rich stuffs, its precious stones, its aromatic spices, all its costly merchandise. Now they could be had only in some small degree by tedious, dangerous, and expensive travel, partly overland through wide deserts, through hostile countries, a devious and a doubtful way. Great, then, would be, not the glory only, but the profit also, of that man or that people who should shorten that way in distance, remove its difficulties and its perils, and pour the precious commodities of Asia in unstinted abundance into the lap of Europe.

The devotion of a long life and of his great revenues by Henry did not solve this problem while he lived; but the success and importance of the many expeditions undertaken by his orders, and the maritime policy he established, so extended the knowledge of the globe, so added to the power and wealth of Portugal, and led generally to results so brilliant, that thenceforward for nearly two hundred years, the spirit of adventure and the zeal for discovery animated every maritime state of Europe, and opened a new world to the races and the civilization of the old. Not, indeed, that the modern discoverers of the Western Hemisphere were in search of another continent; they were as far from being guided by any such definite purpose as their predecessors of earlier centuries were innocent of all knowledge that they had made such a discovery when accident threw them upon strange shores.

Columbus, like the navigators of Prince Henry, meant to find a new route to the East, only in a fresh direction; and he died in the belief, after four voyages to the New World, that the countries he had discovered were literally the Western Indies — the coasts of Asia reached by sailing west. The difference between him and those who by chance crossed the Atlantic before him was that he, impelled by a fervid religious faith and by conclusions drawn from scientific

study, had boldly sought to explore the unknown on which they had only been ignorantly driven.

The father of Columbus had followed the humble calling of a carder of wool. But among his kindred were some who led a seafaring life, and with them from the age of fourteen a ship was the home of the son. One or two of these relatives were the servants of any state that would give them a roving commission to fight against its enemies; and if a commission were wanting, they sought and found a foe in any ship carrying a cargo worth the taking. They did not differ much from what in later times was called a pirate; but in their own age they had the reputation which a privateer has had in ours. It was with such sea rovers that the great captain learned the practice of navigation; learned how to carry himself in fight when, sword in hand, he sprang over the bulwarks of a hostile vessel; learned how to control the rough and lawless men with whom he sailed, now by the enforcement of an iron discipline, now by those arts of persuasion of which, with his winning speech and commanding presence, he was master. In one of these sea fights, off the coast of Portugal, which lasted from morning till night, the vessels, lashed together by iron grapplings, became enveloped in flames, and the only escape from the fire was to jump into the sea. Columbus went overboard with the rest, and, being an expert swimmer, swam, with the aid of an oar, eight leagues to land. He found himself not far from Lisbon, where there were many of his countrymen, — Genoese, — who received him kindly. The incident is related on the authority of his son Fernando, and if there is an anachronism, as there seems to be, as to the date of the particular naval battle referred to and the time of the residence of Columbus in Lisbon, the mistake, probably, is in confounding one engagement with another. In Lisbon, at any rate, he was living before he was thirty years of age, having abandoned his roving life, and supporting himself and his father's family at home in Genoa by drawing maps and sea-charts.

Christopher Columbus.

Here in Lisbon he became acquainted with, and soon married, the Doña Felipa Moniz Perestrello, a daughter of a late governor of Porto Santo, one of the Madeira Islands, and a renowned navigator under Prince Henry. The charts and journals of Perestrello thus came into possession of Columbus; and going afterward to Porto Santo, with his wife, he was brought into familiar intercourse with Pedro Correo, a navigator of some distinction, who had married another daughter of the late governor. This family connection was both an incentive and a help to his cosmographical studies, and it was at this period of his life that he became persuaded of the feasibility of a western passage to India. In the

Residence of Columbus at the Madeiras.

Madeiras he found people who believed they had seen ample evidence of the truth of the strange stories of the islands of St. Brandan and of The Seven Cities, which were supposed to be somewhere in the Western Ocean. He was told of pieces of curiously-carved wood, one of them found by Correo, his brother-in-law; joints of gigantic cane, such as Ptolemy said grew in India; branches of pine; covered canoes; the bodies of two strange men, differing in complexion from either Europeans or Africans; and all these had been picked up at sea, or were found upon the beach, and had evidently drifted from the west. There is also a story which seems to have been current in the life-time of Columbus, accepted by some historians, rejected by others as an attempt to detract from his fair fame, but passed over in silence by those who might, from their own knowledge, have either contradicted or confirmed it. It is that about the year 1484 a vessel commanded by one Alonzo Sanchez was driven across the ocean by storm, and that he and his crew landed and spent some time on the island of Hispaniola. On their return they again encountered tempestuous weather, and only five out of sixteen survived the hardships they were compelled to suffer. Sanchez found a refuge in the house of Columbus, who learned from him the particulars of his western voyage and the land he had discovered, receiving from him also, when he died, his charts and journal. If the story be true, the information Columbus thus gained could have only helped to confirm his theory, which certainly was not founded on a single fact or a single supposition.

Ship of Fifteenth Century.

He found from ancient authors that a belief in such western lands, sometimes under one name, sometimes under another, and a belief in the possibility of the navigation of the western seas, had long existed.

His theory of the size of the globe.

From his geographical and astronomical studies, in works ancient and modern, he had come to the conclusion that the earth was in shape a sphere, but that it was much smaller than it had been generally supposed to be. Two thirds of it at least, he was sure, was occupied by Europe and Asia, and the eastern coast of Asia must, in that case, come within the other third of the whole circumference and stretch toward the western coast of Europe. Other

men more learned than he had held this opinion, but he was the first who proposed to put it to a practical test. If he were right as to the size of the globe, — the one weak point of his argument, and the one which his opponents seem to have strangely overlooked, or, at least, did not answer, resorting rather to any dogmatic absurdity in reply to him, — if he were right in that, his reasoning was unanswerable. A shorter and a better way to India than that sought by Prince Henry's navigators, round the extremity of Africa, would be to sail directly west.

The Sea of Darkness and the monsters that guarded it were fables fit only to frighten children. Modern voyagers had exposed the fallacy of the supposed fatal heat of the tropics. In one of his roving voyages Columbus himself had sailed, as he says in a letter to his son Fernando, a hundred leagues beyond the island of Thule, to another island, — Iceland, — where "the English, especially those from Bristol, go with their merchandise." This voyage was made in 1467, long before his attention was turned to the question which so absorbed him ten years later. Some have conjectured that he then gained a knowledge of the discoveries of the Northmen and the colonization of Vinland more than four and a half centuries earlier. But this is very unlikely. It is possible that the ship in which he sailed, and which, no doubt, was on a privateering cruise, made a short stay in Iceland; but the young sailor of one-and-twenty, if ashore at all, would find something else to do than to ransack dusty monastic archives for forgotten manuscripts in ancient Norse, or to seek for old traditions among learned monks who would relate them in Latin. He recalled the fact, however, that he had sailed so far beyond the uttermost western boundary of Northern Europe, as one among the many other reasons he had for maintaining that navigation to the west was possible. The Indies, the kingdoms of the Great Khan, the dominions of that mysterious potentate, Prester John, the island of Cipango, or Japan, perhaps many another island along the Asiatic coast, could easily, he was sure, be reached by the mariner bold enough to defy all fancied terrors, and to sail for thirty or forty days and about a thousand leagues into those unknown seas.

This was the work to which Columbus consecrated his life, and it was for this, he believed, that God had singled him out and set him apart from his fellow-men. He was a most diligent student of the Bible. Its prophecies, he was persuaded, were to be fulfilled when rapid and easy communication was established between the uttermost parts of the earth, and all the human family were brought within the saving influence of the Holy Catholic Church. He looked upon himself as the destined "Christ-bearer" to far-distant and benighted

lands.[1] "God made me," he said, "the messenger of the new heaven and the new earth of which He spoke in the Apocalypse by St. John, after having spoken of it by the mouth of Isaiah; and He showed me the spot where to find it."[2] The power and the riches which, he was persuaded, he could win for himself and the sovereign whom he should serve, he would win to the glory of God in the bringing of souls to Christ in the East and in the West, and his share of the treasure gained he would devote to equipping armies to be led to the rescue of the Holy Sepulchre from the hands of the Infidel. He was as genuine a fanatic as Peter the Hermit, or a modern "Adventist." "In the execution of my western enterprise to India," he said, "human reason, mathematics, and charts availed me nothing. The design was simply accomplished as the prophet Isaiah had predicted. Before the end of the world, all the prophecies must be fulfilled, the gospel be preached all over the earth, and the holy city restored to the Church. Our Lord wished to do a miracle by my voyage to India. It was necessary to hasten his purpose, because, according to my calculations, there only remain one hundred and fifty years to the end of the world."[3]

The Christ-bearer, from Map of Juan de la Cosa.

Fanaticism of Columbus.

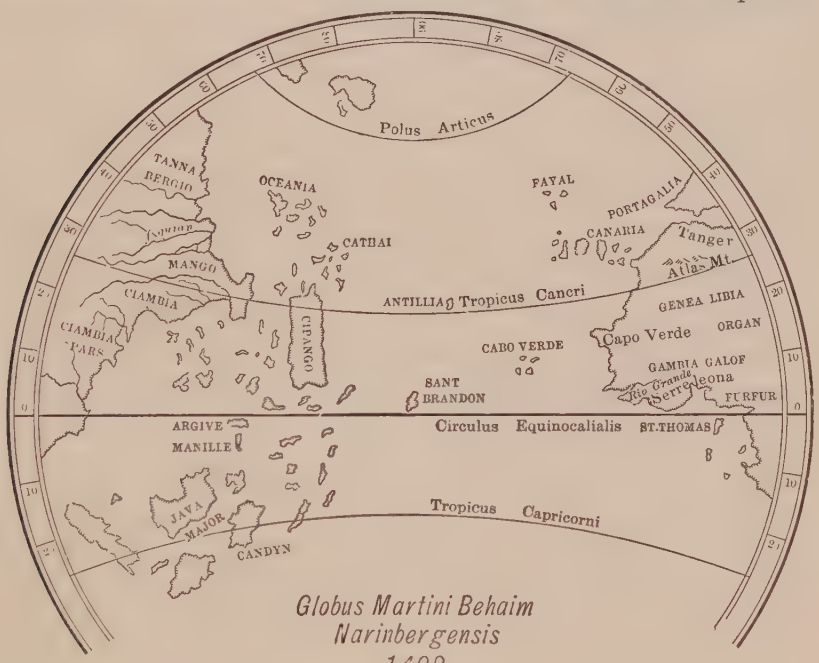
But this faith in his divine mission was, nevertheless, a corollary to

[1] His son Ferdinand says that as most of his father's affairs were guarded by a special providence, so there was "a mystery" about his name and surname. He was a true Columbus or Columba (a dove), inasmuch as he conveyed the knowledge of Christ to the people of the New World even as the Holy Ghost was revealed in the figure of a dove at St. John's baptism. And as St. Christopher was so called — Christopher, or Christ-bearer — because he had carried the Saviour, according to the legend, across the deep waters at his own imminent peril, so this Christopher "went over safe himself, and his company, that those Indian nations might become citizens and inhabitants of the Church triumphant in heaven." The representation of Columbus as the Christ-bearer on the old maps is copied from the pictures of the gigantic and popular saint, — St. Christopher, — which were common in the churches early in the sixteenth century.

[2] Letter of the Admiral to the (quondam) nurse of the Prince John, in the *Select Letters of Christopher Columbus*, translated by R. H. Major, for the Hakluyt Society, p. 148.

[3] Letter of Columbus to Ferdinand and Isabella, in the *Profecias*. See Humboldt' *Examen Critique*, Tome I., p. 15.

the logic of the sphere. It was because the world was round, because one third of it yet remained to sail across, and because it was possible to sail across it, that God had given him that mission. On the everlasting truths of science must rest the possibility of human achievement. God would not appoint to him the task of bringing the ends of the earth together if it could not be done. The theory of the spherical form of the earth was not new, for that was taught five hundred years before the Christian era. But the ancient geographers supposed that the ocean of the western hemisphere was of such expanse as to be practically if not absolutely impassable. It was on this all-important



Globe of Martin Behaim.

point, the size of the globe, that the learned men of modern times assumed that they had received new light. The globe was much smaller than the ancients supposed; the ocean west of Europe covered only one third of it, and then came Asia. Columbus was not a man of wide learning, but he had diligently informed himself of all that had been advanced on these points by both ancient and modern writers, and he knew that the geographers of the highest reputation of his own time maintained the theory, on which he relied, not only of the shape but of the size of the earth.

From these he sought argument and encouragement. He can hardly

have failed to know Martin Behaim, in the service of the King of Portugal while Columbus was in vain attendance upon that court, and who showed upon his famous globe, completed in 1492, that he had no doubt of the proximity of Asia to the western coast of Europe. From Paul Toscanelli, of Florence, we know that he received encouraging assurances of sympathy. That learned physician and cosmographer confirmed his opinion as to the certainty and ease of a western passage to India, and of the fame that awaited him who should thus bring within easy reach those empires and kingdoms described by Marco Polo, whose account of their opulence and grandeur had so inflamed the imagination and fed the fanaticism of Columbus. Toscanelli sent him a chart whereon he had laid down the coast of Asia in accordance with the descriptions of the Venetian traveller, and in the intervening ocean between that continent and Europe he placed the islands of Antilla and Cipango, at convenient distances, as stopping-places for water and fresh provisions on the western voyage to the city of Quinsai, in the province of Cathay.

Behaim and Toscanelli.

It was this sublime faith, and a knowledge of these supposed newly-discovered facts of science, which sustained Columbus for eighteen years as a suppliant, struggling with poverty and obscurity in his own person, with stupidity, obstinacy, incredulity in others, begging from court to court for a royal sanction to his enterprise, and a few ships to undertake it. And when the eighteen years were passed and their labor seemed all for naught, he simply turned, sadly and wearily indeed, but with undiminished zeal and unmoved convictions, to seek in a new quarter the aid he must have, and which he was sure would come at last. Should he find himself once on board his fleet, and with its prows turned westward, nothing but the hand of death could have stayed his progress. To turn back would have been with him to fly in the face of Heaven, to disregard the plain counsels of God. The story, always doubted by the most trustworthy historians, that a day or two before he sighted Guanahani he promised his mutinous and despairing followers to return if land was not seen within three days, is best confuted by its own absurdity. It was a moral impossibility for him to turn back. His faith was of the kind that removes mountains, for he was chosen of God to bear the glad tidings of salvation to millions of his fellow-men before the heavens should be rolled together as a scroll, that near time when the first heaven and the first earth should have passed away, and when there should be no more sea.

Faith of Columbus in his mission.

The geographical theory which alone saved the proposition of a western passage to Cathay, or China, from being preposterous, and on which he based his faith in his divine mission and all his hopes of

worldly greatness, he never abandoned. Even after his last voyage, when he had four times crossed and recrossed the Atlantic, he said: "The world is but small; out of seven divisions of it the dry part occupies six, and the seventh is entirely covered with water." In all his voyages he was constantly finding some fancied resemblance in the names of persons and places among the Indians to cities or provinces or princes of the East mentioned by Marco Polo. The impression which the wonderful stories of that traveller had made upon a mind

Columbus on Shipboard.

always ruled by a poetic temperament and a vivid imagination, and the confidence he had in the importance and magnificence of the discovery he proposed to make, were deepened by still another conviction. The wealth of David and Solomon in gold and silver, of which he read in Scripture, he believed came from those parts of the world he expected to reach. Had he only hoped to find a new continent, inhabited by some nations of savages, though he might still have represented to the sovereigns of Portugal, of England, and of Spain the importance and the glory of such a discovery, he would have had little of that enthusiasm and perseverance with which his belief in the certainty of arriving, in little more than a month, on the

confines of the glorious East inspired him and enabled him to inspire others. The value and the character of a new continent could have been only conjectural; but of the fabulous wealth, the noble cities, the splendor of the palaces, the magnitude of the commerce, the millions of souls waiting for the coming of a knowledge of Christ in that continent to which he meant to open a new way, he was sure he knew. He asked for aid to enable him to take possession, not of some speculative advantage, some shadowy good, but of power and riches and dominion that had been seen of the eyes of men.

With a patience that nothing could wear out, and a perseverance that was absolutely unconquerable, Columbus waited and labored for eighteen years, appealing to minds that wanted light and to ears that wanted hearing. His ideas of the possibilities of navigation were before his time. It was one thing to creep along the coast of Africa, where the hold upon the land need never be lost; another, to steer out boldly into that wilderness of waters over which mystery and darkness brooded. Only the learned could understand that the world was a globe, and that it might be as safe to sail upon one part of its surface as another; only the enlightened could see that to penetrate the unknown might be to find that which was worth knowing. His knowledge was disbelieved in; his religious zeal and aspirations derided.

His proposals to Genoa and Portugal.

He first asked aid of Genoa; or rather he first offered without success the empire he proposed to acquire to that, his native, city. Then he assured John II. of Portugal that he would add India to his crown by an easy voyage of less than two months, instead of the dubious route around the distant and stormy cape of Africa. John II., who inherited much of the enthusiasm of his great uncle Prince Henry the Navigator, for maritime adventure, and who had sent one or two expeditions in search of that mysterious potentate, Prester John, who reigned, it was supposed, now in Central Africa, now in farthest India, listened with so much interest and attention to the proposition and the arguments of Columbus that he referred the question of the possibility of such a voyage to the most eminent men of learning in church and state in the kingdom. The decision was against the project as visionary and impracticable. This was so unsatisfactory to the king that, it seems probable, had Columbus yielded something of his demand of honor and profit to himself in case of success, the application to John, in spite of the advice of his council, might have been successful.

But at length, when Columbus had been kept for years in suspense and doubt, the Bishop of Ceuta, either to get rid of him, in any event, or to satisfy the king, suggested that a caravel be secretly dispatched

on such a voyage as Columbus had proposed. The advice was treacherous and base, but the king was weak enough to accept it. A caravel was sent out, under a false pretext, provided with the charts and other documents which Columbus had laid before the council to sustain his proposition. But those in command of her had little inclination for a venture which they could only look upon as mad, and certain, if persevered in, to end in their own destruction. They only went, therefore, as far as the Cape de Verde Islands, and reported, on their return, that the proposed westward voyage was absurd and impossible. When Columbus learned of the trickery and trifling of which he was made the subject, he shook the dust of Portugal from off his feet to go and offer, as he believed, to some other prince who should be wise enough to accept them, the richest kingdoms of all the earth.

He left Lisbon in 1483 or 1484, and first went, it is supposed, to Genoa, to urge in person upon the senate of his native city the proposal he had previously made in writing. But whether made in person or by letter only, the offer was rejected, and he is next heard of in Spain, seven or eight years before he sailed on his first voyage. During those years he was often in attendance upon Ferdinand and Isabella, then busily engaged in war for the recovery of Grenada, sometimes serving in the campaigns against the Moors, but always watchful for an opportunity to urge his suit upon the sovereigns, or to commend it to any great man of the court whom he could get to listen to him. He was thought, at length, so far worthy of respect that means were provided for his maintenance when his proposition was actually under consideration, but he supported himself, some part of the time at least, by making maps and charts, as he had done in Portugal.

His attendance on the sovereigns of Spain.

He gained some friends among the powerful and influential, but none were more useful and devoted than those of humbler rank whom he found without seeking. Stopping, foot-sore and weary, on his journey to the court of Spain, at the gate of the convent of Santa Maria de Rabida, near Palos, to ask for bread and water for his little son, his appearance and conversation so interested the prior, Juan Perez de Marchina, that he persuaded the travellers to remain for a longer rest than Columbus had intended. Rabida became thenceforth the permanent home of his son, and an occasional one for himself, for several years.

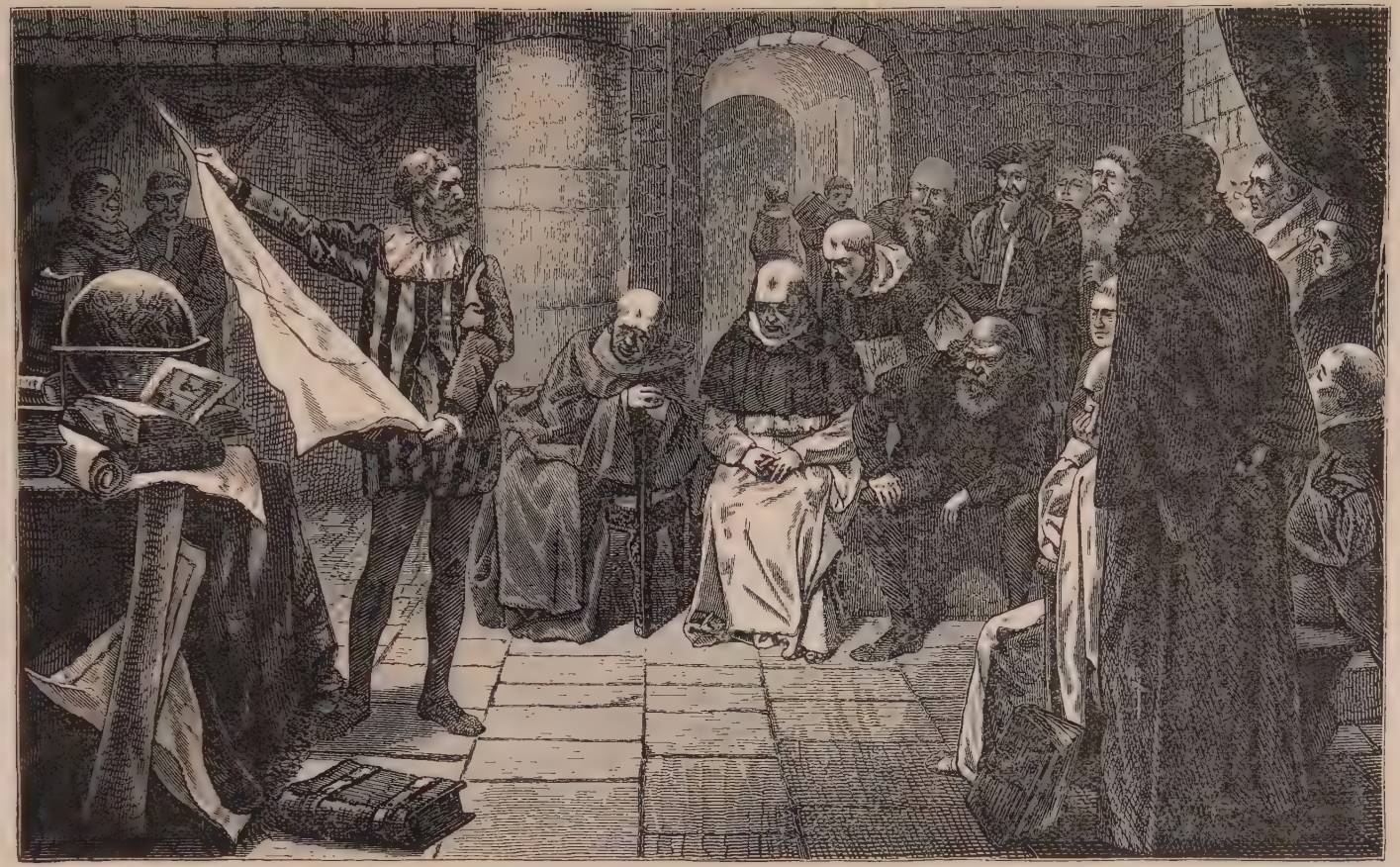
There lived at the neighboring port of Palos a family of seafaring men, the Pinzons, and a physician, Garcia Fernandez, learned in geography and mathematics. The prior, Juan Perez, was himself interested in all maritime subjects, and Columbus found in these men a

little circle of friends so well informed as to feel at once an enthusiastic interest in the magnitude and importance of his project. With them he discussed his plans, his geographical theories, his astronomical problems, his pious aims. From them he received encouragement and sympathy in the darkest hours of doubt and despondency. They took up the enterprise with as much zeal as if it had been their own; Juan Perez, who had once been confessor to the queen, used all his personal influence with her to forward the interests of Columbus, and to secure him friends at court; and when at last his negotiations with the king and queen were successful, it was among these good friends that he found the means to contribute his eighth part of the expenses of the expedition, and two of his three vessels were commanded by the Pinzons.

His eight years of probation were weary years of poverty, humiliation, and hope deferred. He was not only derided as an enthusiast, almost as a madman, but was in danger of being denounced as a heretic for devising theories in direct contradiction to the received doctrines of the fathers as to the shape and habitation of the globe. He was looked upon with cold suspicion as a foreigner, and sneered at as vainglorious for assuming to be wiser than many of the learned of his own time, and all those of the past. The Council of Salamanca, summoned by royal order to meet at the convent of St. Stephen, and listen to his plea, decided against him. The most reverent and powerful prelates, fired with holy zeal, and dogged in their hostility to new-fangled and presumptuous notions, ridiculed with great success a project involving such an absurdity as the existence of the antipodes, where men walked with their heels above their heads, where the trees grew downward, where the snow and rain fell upward from a nether heaven. To maintain that the earth was inhabited beyond the tropics savored of blasphemy. The Bible taught that all men are descended from Adam and Eve, whose primal home was on the banks of the Shat-el-Arab, north of the Persian Gulf; and as the torrid zone was impassable, to assume that there were human beings beyond that line was to assume that there were races of men who did not descend from Adam and Eve.

Decision of the Council of Salamanca.

Moreover, it was denied by these bigots that the earth was a globe, for the Scriptures and the fathers taught that it was a level, extended plain, whose extremity could only be reached, if it could be reached at all, by a voyage of several years. But if the world was a globe, then, they triumphantly asserted, such a voyage as this ignorant enthusiast proposed would be absolutely impossible; for either one way or the other, in going or returning, the sailing would be all up-hill. There were, indeed, men in that grave assembly too enlightened not to detect



COLUMBUS BEFORE THE COUNCIL AT SALAMANCA.

the fallacies and absurdities involved in such statements, and to wonder at the ignorance that could believe in them; others there were ready with facts of navigation and geography, few as they were in that age, to show that, whether Columbus were right or wrong, such objections to his theories were more baseless than his wildest dreams. And there were some, perhaps, who thought, if they did not say so, that the laws of the universe could not be limited to texts of Scripture, or assertions sanctified by nothing but priestly authority. It was a gain, nevertheless, to get the subject before so august a body as this Council of Salamanca, and the eloquence which Columbus brought to its discussion, the special scientific facts of which he showed himself the master, the skill with which he parried attack, and the sagacity with which he avoided the pitfalls and ambushes with which the wily monks beset his path, made him new friends and strengthened his old ones.

Isabella, Queen of Castile.

Doubtful of success in Spain, he at one time sent his brother Bartholomew to England to open negotiations, if possible, with Henry VII.; at another time he entered into correspondence with Louis XI. of France. From Ferdinand and his counsellors he could get only evasive answers, and wearied out at length with procrastination, and negotiations that came to nothing, he bade farewell to his friends and started for France and England. But among those who sincerely believed in him and his project was Luis de Santangel, receiver of the ecclesiastical revenues of Aragon, who, on hearing that Columbus had actually started to leave the country, hastened to the queen and begged her to recall him. His entreaties and representations, seconded by those of Alonzo de Quintanilla, the Minister of Finance, who happened to be present, prevailed with Isabella. They convinced her that the loss and the shame to Spain would be great and irreparable if such an opportunity to add to her dominion and wealth, by the discovery of a short passage to India, should fall into the hands of any other power. A messenger was immediately dispatched to bring Columbus back, the queen declaring that the enterprise should now be her own, and that she would pawn the royal jewels to defray its expenses. This generous sacrifice on her part, however, was rendered unneces-

Application to England and France.

Queen Isabella decides on the enterprise.

sary by Santangel, who took it upon himself to advance the requisite sum. On the arrival of Columbus, negotiation was resumed, and an agreement was at length drawn up between Ferdinand and Isabella and himself by which he was made admiral and viceroy of all the seas and lands he should discover; a tenth part of all the revenues to be derived from them was to be his; and he was to provide an eighth part of the expenses. Armed with such authority, he repaired to Palos to make arrangements for the voyage.

The departure from Palos.

The agreement was signed in April or May, 1492, and on the third of the following August he sailed from Palos in command of an expedition consisting of three vessels and one hundred and twenty men. The largest ship, the Santa Maria, on which flew the admiral's pennant, was probably not more than one hundred tons' burden; the other two, the Pinta and the Niña, commanded respectively by his friends Martin Alonzo Pinzon and Vincente Yanez Pinzon, of Palos, were still smaller vessels, called caravels, with no decks amidships, but built high out of the water at the stem and stern.

The Fleet of Columbus.

But not only were his vessels small; they were hardly seaworthy, and one of them, the Pinta, unshipped her rudder before they reached the Canaries. It is conjectured, indeed, that this was not accidental, but was contrived by the owners of the vessel before she left port, they not liking the adventure on which they were compelled to send her. The admiral, however, had great difficulty in getting any vessels at all, so intense was the feeling in Palos against the enterprise. The royal mandate; the promise of immunity from civil or criminal process against any person who would enlist in it; the example of the Pinzons, the most respectable and experienced mariners of the port; and the priestly influence of Juan Perez, the prior of Rabida, were means and influences all needed and all used to procure crews. When the expedition sailed, it was followed by prayers and tears and lamentations for men most of whom were constrained by authority or ne-

cessity to enter upon an adventure which seemed desperate to the last degree.

The sum advanced from the treasury of Aragon by Santangel was one million one hundred and forty thousand maravedis, "being the sum he lent," says the account-book, "for paying the caravels which their highnesses ordered to go as the armada to the Indies, and for paying Christopher Columbus, who goes in the said armada." [1] If to this be added the one eighth share of the expenses which it was stipulated Columbus himself should provide, the whole cost of the expedition was one million two hundred and eighty-two thousand and five hundred maravedis, a sum hardly equal in its purchasing power to fifty thousand dollars of the money of our time. It is evident, therefore, that the expense of the expedition must always have been a secondary consideration with the sovereigns from whom Columbus had sought assistance. The real difficulty was not money, but the serious doubts as to the soundness of his theory of the possibility of a western voyage to India. It was those doubts, intensified into absolute terror, that filled Palos with wailing and consternation when he succeeded, at last, in making good his departure.

Expense of the expedition.

Seven months later he entered the same port with the halo of the most brilliant success about him, and prepared to proceed to court surrounded with the barbaric pomp of painted savages decked out with ornaments of gold, and crowned with coronets of brilliant feathers, attendants carrying in their hands birds of the gayest plumage, the stuffed skins of strange beasts, and specimens of trees and plants supposed to bear the most precious spices. No wonder that then the revulsion of feeling was tremendous, and he was hailed as the greatest and most fortunate of men. It was a short-lived triumph, however, never to be repeated on his return from either of his three subsequent voyages, for his was a success that had not succeeded.

The glory of the discovery he actually made has to a remarkable degree obscured the fact that in the long discussion before kings and councils of the discovery he proposed to make, it was Columbus who was in the wrong, and his opponents who were in the right, on the main question — a short western route to India. The ignorance, the obstinacy, the stupidity, with which he so long contended, were indeed obstacles in the way of an event so important to all civilized races as the possession of half the globe; but that event was no more proposed or foreseen by Columbus than it was opposed by those who withstood him the most persistently, or ridiculed him the most unmercifully. The very splendor of his

The mistake of the great navigator.

[1] Helps' *Life of Columbus*, p. 80.

promises may have made men incredulous of their fulfilment who would, perhaps, have listened to an argument in favor merely of the possibility of sailing westward and of reaching unknown countries, within a moderate distance, which might be worth exploring and worth possessing. But Columbus had no such argument to offer. Neither in his mind nor in theirs was there any thought of a great continent lying between two great oceans, extending almost from pole to pole, and separating the western coast of Europe from the eastern coast of Asia by an area of land and sea that covered half the globe. It was that distant Asia itself that he declared he could reach in less than forty days; and that they rightly said was impossible.

But at last, as he believed, and as they were forced to confess, by an event which all misapprehended, he was justified. The enthusiasm, the strength of faith, the tenacity of purpose, which through so many years had never faltered, had at length triumphed — triumphed even in the final struggle with the superstition and desperation of men who would have gladly sacrificed him to their fears. They had crossed the ocean hitherto believed to be guarded by strange and horrid monsters and shrouded in frightful darkness; but as they approached the land of the Western Hemisphere a new terror seized them. They fancied themselves lured by the powers of magic to certain destruction, gliding over smooth waters, favored by gentle breezes, beguiled by birds of gay plumage whose song was of the woods; by fishes of flashing hues whose natural haunts were the dark and still crevices of rocky shores; by fantastic clouds that took the semblance of distant mountains or of low beaches, making a dim line upon the edge of sky and sea, but fading into nothingness as they were approached; by the exquisite perfume of tropical vegetation, enwrapping all the senses, while around them were to be seen only the desolate waters, above them only the cruel sky. But the presence of the man of faith was stronger than the dread of the supernatural. He never faltered for a single instant; not one passing mist of doubt ever clouded his mind. He knew that God had led him to the threshold of the dominions of Kublai Khan; and when at daybreak on the 12th of October the morning light revealed the beautiful earth, never so hailed since the top of Ararat pierced the waters of a drowned world, — at that supreme moment he in his sublime faith saw the realization of the visions of a life-time. Before him rose all the splendor and opulence of the thousands of cities and palaces, the fleets of unnumbered ships laden with richest merchandise, the mountains of precious stones, the lakes of pearls, the rivers of gold, of the kingdoms of Mangi and

Approach to the New Hemisphere.

Cathay; these for his temporal sovereigns, the King and Queen of Spain: and before him gathered millions of his fellow-creatures, to whose perishing souls he, the "Christ-bearer," came as the messenger of the glad tidings of salvation, to lead them to the feet of his spiritual lord, the Holy Father at Rome.

And from that moment to the day of his death hardly a doubt seems ever to have cast a shadow over his belief. When he asked of the natives of Guanahani — the island he first saw, and appropriately named Salvador, or the Saviour — for Cipango, or Japan, they, supposing him to mean those mountains of Haiti called Cibao, pointed southward; and no suspicion crossed the mind of Columbus that there could be any misunderstanding either on his part or on theirs. From the ears and noses of these savages were suspended rude ornaments of gold; on these he fancied he could distinguish engraved characters, and that they were the coin of India. As he continued his voyage among other islands, the answer to the constant inquiry for gold was always the same; the Indians pointed to the south, and the fervid imagination of the Admiral led him to interpret their gestures as meaning that southward were kingdoms populous, powerful, rich in all precious things — the marvellous country of Marco Polo's narrative. When he reached the coast of Cuba, the Indians, pointing to the interior, contrived to impart the information that at a distance of four days' journey only was Cubanacan, where gold abounded; he recognized in that word — Cubanacan — a corruption of the name of that magnificent monarch of whom he was in search, Kublai Khan; and supposing he had reached the island of Cipango, he dispatched two messengers overland, to deliver to him the letter of which he was the bearer as ambassador from Ferdinand and Isabella.

The new continent supposed to be Asia.

So of all his voyages. Wherever he went, whatever he saw or heard, it only served to deepen this delusion. When he sailed west from Jamaica, he thought he had accomplished so much of the compass of the earth that he must needs be near the Aurea Chersonesus of ancient India. Hispaniola he was sure was Ophir, and in deep pits in the mountains he saw evidences of the ancient mines whence Solomon derived his gold. The extremity of Cuba he assumed to be the extremity of Asia, by doubling which he could sail along the known coasts of India, and reach at length the Red Sea, where, if he pleased, he could leave his own ships, cross the continent to the Mediterranean, and return to Spain, having circumnavigated the world. But there was method in this madness, for yielding on that occasion to the representations of his companions, that the condition of his ships would not admit of so extended a voyage, he

The delusion confirmed.

required an affidavit from all persons on board his fleet that they believed the coast of Cuba, along which they had sailed, was the coast of Asia. His own belief needed no confirmation, but he was gratified to hear that a neighboring province was called Mangon, and that its people had tails; for he remembered that Sir John Mandeville had described a tribe of men of that kind in the East, and he was quite certain, therefore, that he was within a few days' travel of the kingdom of Mangi.

He changed his mind in regard to places as he visited different regions, but he never ceased to affirm his conviction that he was on the very eve of the fulfilment of all his hopes. Ten years of observation and reflection upon the character of his discoveries moved him not in the least to any correction of this singular credulity. Even on his fourth and last voyage he wrote to the king and queen that on the coast of Veragua he had reached Mangi, "contiguous to Cathay;" nineteen days of land travel, he is confident, would take him to the river Ganges; the mines of Aurea, whence, according to Josephus, he reminds them, came the vast wealth of David and of Solomon, spoken of in Chronicles and the Book of Kings, were, he was now sure, identical with the mines of Veragua; "in the name of God" he pledged himself in the same letter to conduct any one, who would undertake the mission, to the Emperor of Cathay, to instruct him in the faith of Christ, as the Abbé Joaquim said would be done by some one who came from Spain.[1] And finally from his death-bed he wrote to the new sovereigns, Philip and Juana, that he would yet do them services the like of which had never been seen; and in his last solemn will and testament he said, "In the name of the Most Holy Trinity, who inspired me with the idea, and afterwards made it perfectly clear to me that I could navigate and go to the Indies from Spain, by traversing the ocean westwardly. . . . . And it pleased the Lord Almighty, that in the year one thousand four hundred and ninety-two I should discover the continent of the Indies and many islands, among them Hispaniola, which the Indians call Ayte, and the Monicongos, Cipango."

The last letter of Columbus.

When the successful discoverer returned to Spain from his first voyage, his reception was a triumph such as never waited upon any conqueror. The people from city and town, from village and country-side, crowded streets and highways as he travelled from Palos to Barcelona, to do homage to the man who had given India to Spain. At Barcelona the king and queen received him sitting on their thrones under a canopy in the open air, and hesitated

His triumphal return to Spain.

[1] Letter on the Fourth Voyage, in *Select Letters of Columbus*, edited by R. H. Major Hakluyt Soc. Pub.

when he approached to accept the customary mark of homage due from a subject to a sovereign. In Portugal, where before this arrival in Spain he was compelled by stress of weather to seek a haven, he was met with the most bitter exasperation that he should have suc-

Reception by Sovereigns.

ceeded in snatching from that kingdom the glory and power and riches her kings and princes had so long sought in the possession of that East which he by the boldness of his genius had found by a few days' westward sailing. Some of the advisers of John II. even counselled his assassination, in the hope that the way to his discovery would perish with him.

But the rage of the Portuguese and the admiration of the Spaniards were alike blind. Had it been known that the tidings he brought were of an unknown world, peopled, apparently, by naked savages only; that his theory as to the dimensions and divisions of the earth was proved to be a mistake; that the only feasible road to India was that which the Portuguese had so long sought, round the Cape of Good Hope; then he might indeed have aroused some languid curiosity for what he had done, but, still more, bitter ridicule and disappointment for his failure to fulfil the magnificent promise with which for nearly twenty years he had wearied almost every court in Europe that could command a ship. The Bahama Islands and The Great Antilles, whatever their discovery might lead to in the time to come, were a poor recompense for Mangi and Cathay. But he returned the herald, as it was supposed, of a splendor and prosperity to Spain unparalleled in history; of new power and dominion to the Holy See, and with offers of sudden riches to whomsoever would follow him to the empire of the "King of Kings." The half-crazy enthusiast had become a signal benefactor and hero; the utmost exaltation of his imagination had held out no promise that was not about to be fulfilled, and the nation fell at his feet.

Though Columbus himself never knew, or never acknowledged, that he had made a mistake; though never by a single word, so far as there is any record, did he anticipate the true cause of the undying fame that should wait upon his name, others saw when he returned from his second voyage only the dispelling of a gorgeous vision. The hidalgos who had thronged about him for that expedition, clamoring to be led to the possession of the East, found, not an empire filled with magnificent cities, their ports crowded with ships by thousands busy with the commerce of a third of the world; not temples roofed with gold, resting on golden pillars, cunningly wrought and colored; not a people clothed in silks and costly furs, decked with precious stones, leading lives of a magnificent luxury and ease, in cities of palaces such as Europe never knew; but only an unreclaimed wilderness peopled by naked savages, where he who would not work must starve, and where what gold they heard of was to be dug with weary toil out of the bowels of the earth. The "pauper pilot," as he was called in the days when he hung about the court a threadbare petitioner, had indeed discovered some islands in a distant ocean; but his promises were idle tales, his hopes the delusions of a morbid imagination, his India a figment; and he himself now proved to be a rank impostor, a foreign adventurer who had thrust himself into the ranks of the proudest nobility in Europe, and abused a nation with monstrous lies.

Such of these disappointed men as lived to return filled the kingdom with their clamors. Seating themselves in the very courts of the Alhambra, holding up the grapes of which they eat, and displaying the rags which hardly covered them, they would declare that they were reduced to this poor condition by their misfortunes. They had listened to fables and been deceived by lies. When the king came forth they surrounded him, reproaching him and the admiral as the cause of their wretched state, and cried out, "Pay! pay!" And if the sons of Columbus, who were pages to the queen, passed that way, "They shouted to the very heavens, saying, 'Look at the sons of the Admiral of Mosquitoland, of that man who has discovered the lands of deceit and disappointment, a place of sepulchre and wretchedness to Spanish hidalgos.'" [1]

His failure and disgrace.

This reaction in feeling and opinion made it possible to send him home in chains from his third expedition. The popular indifference to the injustice and cruelty which pursued him to the end of his days, and the bitter hostility of his many enemies, are explicable only by the disappointment of those magnificent hopes excited by his first discovery, and which he still held out in spite of the stern facts which had opened the eyes of everybody else. Small deference was paid to the authority of one who was looked upon, at best, as a half-crazed enthusiast, and the haughty Spaniards resented it as an insult that any power should still rest in the hands, or any confidence be placed in the word, of one whom they thought rather deserving of punishment as an impostor than of reward as a benefactor. He had promised power, dominion, riches; a short passage to Cathay; the conquest of the East: a savage island or two in the Western seas was as yet the only fulfilment of that promise. What else it was to be he never knew. Not till he was dead did the world begin to understand that he had found a New World.

[1] *The History of the Life and Actions of Admiral Christopher Colon*, etc. By his son, Don Ferdinand Colon.

CHAPTER VI.

COLUMBUS, VESPUCCI, AND THE CABOTS.

THIRD VOYAGE OF COLUMBUS. — HIS DISCOVERY OF THE MAIN LAND. — THE VOYAGE OF AMERIGO VESPUCCI. — FIRST PRINTED ACCOUNT OF THE NEW WORLD. — PUBLICATIONS OF ST. DIÉ COLLEGE. — THE PRINTER-MONKS, WALDSEEMÜLLER AND RINGMANN. — EXPEDITION OF THE CABOTS FROM ENGLAND. — NORTH AMERICA DISCOVERED. — MAP OF SEBASTIAN CABOT. — JOHN CABOT'S PATENTS FROM HENRY VII. — FIRST ENGLISH COLONY SENT TO THE NEW WORLD. — SEBASTIAN CABOT SAILS DOWN THE AMERICAN COAST.

ON the 30th of May, 1498, Columbus sailed from the port of San Lucar, in Spain, on his third voyage. His special purpose this time was to search for a country which he believed lay south of those lands he had previously discovered. On the 31st of July following, when he was about to abandon his southerly course in despair and turn northward for the Carribee Islands, one of his sailors saw from the masthead a range of three mountains. Giving many thanks to God for his mercy, for the supply of water was failing, the provision of corn and wine and meat was well-nigh exhausted, and the crews of the three vessels were in sore distress from exposure to the heat of the tropics, the admiral made for the land, which proved to be an island. To this he gave the name it still bears of Trinidad, in honor of the Holy Trinity, and also, perhaps, because of the three mountains which were first seen.

Columbus first touches the main land at mouth of the Orinoco. 1498.

Running along the coast, he soon saw, as he supposed, another island, at the south, but which was the low land of the delta of the great River Orinoco. Entering the Gulf of Paria, he sailed along for days with Trinidad on the one hand and the coast of the continent on the other, delighted with the beauty and verdure of the country and with the blandness of the climate, and astonished at the freshness and volume of the water which, with an "awful roaring," met and struggled with the sea. The innermost part of the gulf, to which he penetrated, he called the Gulf of Pearls, and into this poured the rivers whose waters, he believed, came from the earthly Paradise.[1]

[1] *Letters of Columbus*, translated by R. H. Major, and published by the Hakluyt Society Third Voyage.

For, according to his theory of the globe, the two hemispheres were not round alike, but the Eastern was shaped like the breast of a woman, or the half of a round pear with a raised projection at its stalk; and on this prominence, the spot highest and nearest the sky and under the equinoctial line, was the garden wherein God had planted Adam. He did not suppose it possible that mortal man could ever reach that blessed region; but as he had sailed westward, after passing a meridian line a hundred miles west of the Azores, he had noted that the North Star rose gradually higher in the heavens, the needle shifted from northeast to northwest, the heat, hitherto so intolerable that he thought they "should have been

The earthly Paradise.

Columbus entering the Orinoco.

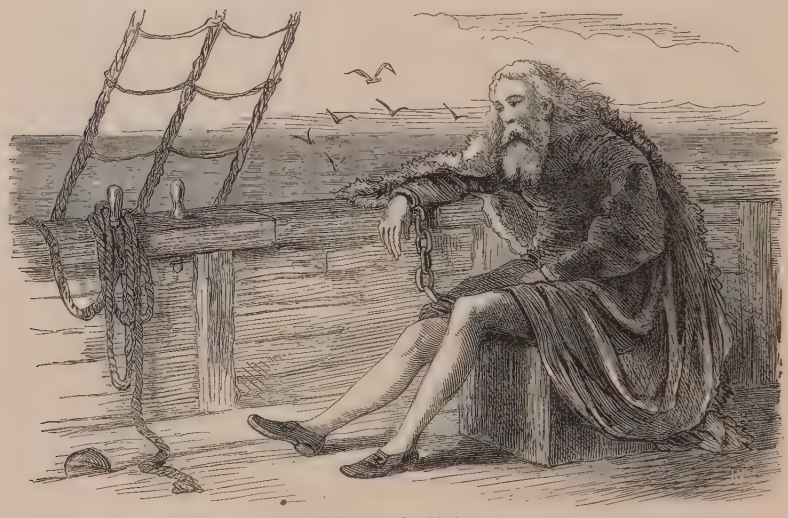
burnt," became more and more moderate, the air daily more refreshing and delightful, and he was persuaded that he was approaching the highest part of the globe. As he sailed westward his ships "had risen smoothly toward the sky," till he had come, at length, to this pleasant land "as fresh and green and beautiful as the gardens of Valencia in April," — to this mighty rush of sweet waters that filled the Gulf of Pearls and flowed far out to sea, coming as "on his soul" he believed from the Garden of Eden.[1]

[1] Irving (*Life of Columbus*, book x., chap. iii.) says that Columbus still supposed Paria to be an island, even after he had left the gulf and sailed westward along the outer coast. But Columbus himself, in his letter to the King and Queen, makes a distinction between the main land and Trinidad, in speaking of the one as an island and the other as the land of Gracia. Nor is it probable that he supposed the earthly paradise to be on an island, or that such a volume of water — of which he doubted if "there is any river in the world so large and so deep" — could have its course from the "nipple" of the globe except over a continent. Charlevoix (*History of New France*, Shea's translation, vol. i., p. 21) says:

It was hard no doubt, to turn away from this celestial land, even to go back to Spain and relate in person to his sovereigns the marvellous things he had discovered, and the approach he had made to the topmost pinnacle of the globe; harder still to thrust away from him considerations so sublime and so congenial to his profoundly religious nature, to attend to the vulgar affairs of a turbulent colony, where, as he afterward wrote, "there were few men who were not vagabonds, and there were none who had either wife or children." [1]

The colony at Hispaniola.

But in his absence rebellion and anarchy in Hispaniola had reached a point beyond his control, and when he appealed to his sovereigns for



Columbus in Chains.

a judge to decide between him and these turbulent Spaniards, who set all law, whether human or divine, at defiance, the court sent, not a judge, but an executioner. His enemies had at length so far prevailed against him that Bobadilla, who came professedly to look into these troubles, dared to usurp the government of the colony, to take up his residence in the house of Columbus, seizing all it contained, both of public and private property and public and private papers, and the moment the admiral came within his reach, to arrest and send him in chains on board ship for transportation to Spain as a felon. When Andreas Martin, the master of the caravel, moved to pity at the sight of so monstrous and cruel an in-

Brutal conduct of Bobadilla.

"On the 11th he had seen another land which also he, at first, took to be an island and styled Isla Santa, but he soon found it to be the continent."

[1] "Letter of Columbus to Doña Juana de la Torres," in *Select Letters*, edited by R. H. Major.

dignity, offered to strike these fetters from the limbs of his distinguished prisoner, Columbus refused, with the words, says his son Ferdinand, "that since their Catholic Majesties, by their letter directed him to perform whatsoever Bobadilla did in their name command him to do, in virtue of which authority and commission he had put him in irons, he would have none but their Highnesses themselves do their pleasure herein; and he was resolved to keep those fetters as relics, and a memorial of the reward of his many services."[1] Some atonement was attempted for this outrage in the reception given him by Ferdinand and Isabella. He nevertheless hung up the chains on the wall of his chamber, only to be taken down when, six years later, they were laid with him in his coffin.

Some months before his return to Spain he had sent home a report of the results of his voyage, the continent he had found, which he supposed to be the extremity of the Indies, its wonderful climate, its great rivers, and its strange and attractive people. The excitement which such news must have aroused in every port of Spain was, no doubt, intense, and landsmen, as well as sailors, burned to be off to this land where the natives hung breastplates of gold upon their naked bodies and wound great strings of pearls about their heads and necks. "Now there is not a man," says Columbus, in one of his letters, — reminding his sovereigns that he waited seven years at the royal court and was only treated with ridicule, — "Now there is not a man, down to the very tailors, who does not beg to be allowed to become a discoverer."

Voyage of Alonzo de Ojeda. May 20, 1499.

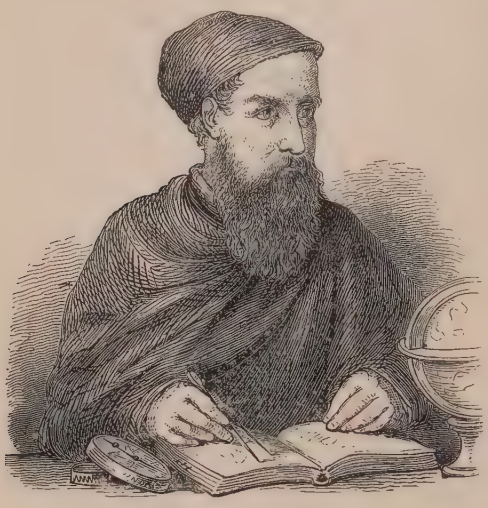
At Seville an intrepid and experienced navigator, Alonzo de Ojeda, who was with Columbus on his first voyage, and knew, therefore, the way to the Indies of the West, proposed at once a private expedition. Some merchants of Seville supplied the means, and his patron, the Bishop of Fonseca, superintendent of Indian affairs, and the most bitter and persistent enemy of Columbus, gave him license for the voyage, and treacherously procured for him the charts which the great navigator had sent home, notwithstanding the royal order that none should go without permission within fifty leagues of the lands he had last discovered.[2] Ojeda sailed from Port St. Mary on the 20th of May, 1499, and with him went Amerigo Vespucci, a native of Florence, but then residing in Seville as the agent of a commercial house. This Vespucci had assisted in the fitting out of other expeditions; he knew

Amerigo Vespucci

[1] *The Life of the Admiral*, by his son, Don Ferdinand Colon. *Pinkerton's Voyages*, vol. xii., p. 121.

[2] *History of the New World*. Girolamo Benzoni. Published by the Hakluyt Society, p. 37. Herrera, Decade I., book iv., chap. i.

Columbus and had doubtless talked with him of the Sphere and the Antipodes, of the New Indies and the Far Cathay, of the natives sometimes tractable as children, sometimes fierce as tigers; of the abundant gold and precious stones; of the odorous spices; of the gorgeous silks and other rich merchandises to be brought by this new route from that wonderful land. He was familiar with all the strange and stirring incidents of voyages which for the previous six years had been filling the ears of men with tales more alluring and more wonderful than were ever told by the boldest inventors of Eastern fable, and he longed to have a share in the profit and the glory of these great enterprises. In Ojeda's fleet he had command, if we may believe his own statement, of two caravels; the expedition, first touching the coast about two hundred leagues south of the Gulf of Paria, sailed thence leisurely along from point to point till it reached the Cape de la Veda, meeting, during the months of its progress, with various adventures, and the usual fortune which waited upon the first invaders, received sometimes by the simple and confiding natives as supernatural visitants, sometimes with desperate but generally futile resistance when their lust for slaves, for women, and for gold had come to be better understood.



Portrait of Vespucci.

This was, probably, the first voyage of Vespucci and his first sight of a continent which, partly by accident and partly through a reckless disregard of truth, came afterward to bear his name. If it was his first voyage, he was entitled to no special credit, for he was a subordinate in a fleet commanded by another, who guided the expedition by the charts which Columbus had drawn of the course to Trinidad and the coast of Paria eleven months before.

Vespucci's first sight of the continent. 1499.

In 1501, Vespucci left Spain at the invitation of the King of Portugal, and made another, his second, voyage to the West, sailing this time in the service of that king. He visited the coast of Brazil, of which, however, he was not the first discoverer, for in the course of the previous year — 1500 — three dif-

Second voyage of Vespucci. 1501

ferent expeditions under the guidance respectively of Vicente Yanez Pinzon, Diego de Lepe, and Rodrigo de Bastidas had sailed from Spain and made extensive explorations and important discoveries along that coast; and a Portuguese fleet, under Pedro Alvarez de Cabral, on its way to India round the Cape of Good Hope, stretched so far to the west to avoid the calms of the coast of Africa as to come by that chance in sight of the opposite land, where, believing it to be a part of a continent, De Cabral landed and took possession in the name of Portugal.

Vespucci at the Continent. [From De Bry.]

The expedition of Vespucci, nevertheless, was a bold one, and made important additions to astronomical science in his observations of the heavenly bodies of the Southern firmament, especially of the "Southern Cross," and to the knowledge of geography in his exploration of the Southern continent and sea of the Western Hemisphere. After leaving Cape Verde, he was sixty-seven days at sea before he made land again at 5° south, off Cape St. Roque, on the 17th of August. Thence he sailed down the coast, spending the whole winter in its exploration, till in the following April he was as far south as the

fifty-fourth parallel, farther than any navigator had been before. The nights were fifteen hours long; the weather tempestuous and foggy and very cold. The last land he saw is supposed to be the island of Georgia, where, finding no harbors, and seeing no people along its rugged shores, the little fleet turned to escape from these savage seas, where perpetual winter and almost perpetual darkness seemed to reign. They reached Lisbon again in 1502.

First printed narrative of discovery of the main land. 1504.

Vespucci wrote an account of this voyage in a letter to Lorenzo de Pier Francisco de Medici of Florence, which was published at Augsburg in 1504. No wonder that, as it was probably the first printed narrative of any discovery of the main land of the new continent, it should excite unusual attention. Several editions appeared, in the course of the next four years, in Latin and Italian, and among them one at Strasbourg in 1505 under the editorship of one Mathias Ringmann, a native of Schlestadt, a town in the lower department of the Rhine, twenty-five miles from Strasbourg. So earnest an admirer of Vespucci was this young student, that he appended to the narrative of the voyage a letter and some verses of his own in praise of the navigator, and he gave to the book the title of "*Americus Vesputius: De Ora Antarctica per Regem Portugalliæ pridem inventa*" (Americus Vespuccius: concerning a southern region recently discovered under the King of Portugal). Here was the suggestion of a new southern continent as distinct from the northern continent of Asia, to which the discoveries hitherto mainly north of the equator were supposed to belong.[1] And this supposition of such a new quarter of the globe gave rise, two years afterward, to a name, all growing naturally enough out of the enthusiasm of this Ringmann for Vespucci, and communicated by him to others.

College printing-press of St. Dié.

In the city of St. Dié, not far from Strasbourg, in the province of Lorraine, was a gymnasium or college established by Walter Lud, the secretary of the Duke of Lorraine. In this college was set up one of those newly-invented and marvellous machines, a printing-press; and Ringmann was appointed not merely the collegiate professor of Latin, but to the important post of proof-reader. In 1507, Lud, the Duke's secretary, and the head, apparently, of this little seminary of learning, published from the college printing-press a pamphlet of only four leaves relating to a narrative of *four* voyages to the New World by Amerigo Vespucci; this, it is

[1] The term "New World" was often used by the early writers, even by Columbus himself, in a vague way and not at all in the sense afterward attached to it of a new quarter of the globe; nor was there till long after the deaths of Columbus and Vespucci any definite determination that these newly found lands were not a part of Asia.

said by the writer, was sent to the Duke, and he — Lud — had caused it to be translated from the French, in which it was written, into Latin; and, as if in recognition of the influence which Ringmann had exercised upon the subject among his fellows of St. Dié, Lud immediately adds: "And the booksellers carry about a certain epigram of our Philesius (Ringmann) in a little book of Vespucci's translated from Italian into Latin by Giocondi of Verona, the architect from Venice." This refers to the Strasbourg edition of Vespucci's second voyage, edited by Ringmann two years before, and to which he attached his laudatory verses. This little book of Lud's, "Speculi

Printing of Vespucci's Book.

orbis Declaratio," etc., also contains some Latin verses, — *versiculi de incognita terra*, — the last lines of which are thus translated: —

> "But hold, enough! Of the American race,
> New found, the home, the manners here you trace
> By our small book set forth in little space."[1]

The narrative itself, of Vespucci's *four* voyages, thus referred to

[1] The original is: —

> "Sed ꝺ plura: ſitū, gentis moreſq; reptę
> Americi parua mole libellus habet."

Harrisse's *Bibliotheca Americana Vetustissima*, p. 100, gives and translates the lines. The

by Lud, was published the same year, 1507, in a book called "Cosmographiæ Introductio," of which it made about one half. This was the work of Martin Waldseemüller, and published under his Greco-latinized name of "Hylacomylus." He also belonged to the St. Dié college, where he was a teacher of geography, and his "Introductio" was printed on the college printing-press. Whether the letter was sent to St. Dié addressed to the Duke of Lorraine by Vespucci; or whether it was procured through the zeal of Ringmann and its address altered without the knowledge of Vespucci, are interesting questions. Interesting, because the letter falling by some means into the hands of Lud and Waldseemüller — Hylacomylus — the name of its author came to be imposed upon the whole Western Hemisphere.

The *Cosmographiæ Introductio* of Waldseemüller. 1507.

The same letter subsequently appeared in Italian, addressed to an eminent citizen of Venice, named Soderini, who is known to have been an early companion and school-fellow of Vespucci. That it was written originally to Soderini, is evident from certain allusions in it to youthful days and associations which could not refer to the Duke of Lorraine, but were proper enough when applied to the Venetian citizen. If Vespucci himself had the letter translated into French, altered its address, and then sent the copy to Ringmann, or Lud, or Waldseemüller, a suspicion is aroused that he was in collusion with them, either directly or suggestively, in the bestowal upon him of an honor that was not rightfully his. Such a suspicion may be altogether unjust; Vespucci may neither have sent the letter to the Duke nor have made any suggestion in regard to it; and perhaps no accusation would have ever been brought against him were there not serious doubts as to the number of voyages he assumes to have made, whether they were three or four; as to the year, 1497, in which he declares he went upon the first one; and by a certain confusion in the letter which might have been intended to mislead, and certainly did mislead, whether intentional or not.

The Soderini letter.

We do not propose to enter into any examination of a question which is one of circumstantial rather than positive evidence, and which probably will never be definitively settled. Giving to Vespucci the benefit of the doubt, there is much in the fortuitous circumstances of the case to explain this naming of a newly-discovered country by men who, perhaps, had never looked upon the sea, and who may have known little, except in a general way, of the different expeditions of the navigators of Spain and Portugal, and still less of the personal interest attached to their fortunes and their deeds. The Duke of Lorraine was a patron of learning; the young profes-

The men who gave America its name.

little four-leaved book, *Speculi orbis*, etc., from which they are taken, is in the British Museum. See also Major's *Henry the Navigator*, p. 383.

sors of the college under his protection were ambitious of literary fame and proud of their literary labors; it would bring, no doubt, great credit to St. Dié if, in a work from its printing-press, the world should be taught that these wonderful discoveries of the ten preceding years were not, as had been ignorantly supposed, the outlying islands and coasts of India, but of a new and unknown continent which separated Europe from Asia. The conclusion, very likely, was jumped at — a lucky guess of over-confident youth, rather than any superiority of judgment. Had these young book-makers lived in Cadiz or Lisbon, instead of the Vosges mountains, they might have hesitated to pronounce upon a question which had as yet hardly been raised, if it had been raised at all, among the older cosmographers and navigators. They rushed in where even Columbus had not thought to tread, and not only announced the discovery of a new continent but proposed to name it.

The narrative which Ringmann had edited two years before, "De Ora Antarctica," related only to the second expedition of Vespucci — the third, as he called it — of 1501. But, from the letter now before Lud and Waldseemüller, they learn much more of the achievements of the greatest of navigators, as they supposed him to be; for they are told that it was at a much earlier period he made the first discovery of these new countries; that he had subsequently explored them more extensively; and Waldseemüller concludes that they must be a fourth part of the world. "We departed," says Vespucci, "from the port of Cadiz, May 10th, 1497, taking our course on the great gulf of ocean, in which we employed eighteen months, discovering many lands and innumerable islands, chiefly inhabited, of which our ancestors make no mention."

Waldseemüller (Hylacomylus) assuming this date of 1497 to be correct — if it was so given in the letter Lud declared the Duke had received from Vespucci — says in his geographical work, the "Cosmographiæ Introductio": "And the fourth part of the world having been discovered by Americus may well be called Amerige, which is as much as to say, the land of Americus or America." Again he says: "But now these parts are more extensively explored, and, as will be seen by the following letters, another fourth has been discovered by Americus Vespuccius, which I see no reason why any one should forbid to be named Amerige, which is as much as to say the land of Americus or America, from its discoverer, Americus, who is a man of shrewd intellect; for Europe and Asia have both of them a feminine form of name from the names of women."

Preface of Waldseemüller to Vespucci's voyages.

Now in 1497 Vespucci was still residing at Seville engaged as factor

or partner in a commercial house. In May of the following year, 1498, Columbus sailed on his third voyage, and for several months previous Vespucci was busily occupied in fitting out the ships for that expedition.[1] It is impossible, therefore, that he can have gone to sea in May, 1497, to be absent eighteen months. There is no pretence in his letters, nor anywhere else, that he made a voyage earlier than 1497; he was in Seville in 1498; and he certainly was a pilot in Ojeda's fleet when that navigator, in 1499, followed Columbus to the coast of Paria. That Vespucci was the first discoverer of the Western continent is, therefore, clearly untrue, although it is true that his account of such a continental land in the west was the one first published, and by his zealous friends at St. Dié, who attached his name to it. In the suit between Don Diego Columbus and the crown of Spain, lasting from 1508 to 1513, the plaintiff demanded certain revenues by right of prior discovery by his father, the defence of the crown being that Columbus had no such priority. In the voluminous testimony on that trial Vespucci was not named as one for whom precedence could be claimed,[2] while Ojeda, under whom Vespucci went on his first voyage, distinctly asserts that the main land was discovered by Columbus.[3]

Vespucci's claim to original discovery unfounded.

It is, nevertheless, probably true that Vespucci explored along the American coast in his several voyages further than any navigator of his time, as he sailed from about the fifty-fourth degree of south latitude to the peninsula of Florida, and possibly to Chesapeake Bay at the north. Whether the St. Dié editors really believed, or whether the dates of his voyages were, in some way, so changed as to make it appear, that he was also the first discoverer of a western continent, are questions which may never be answered. But the use they made of his name was adopted in various works within the next few years, and thus in the course of time America became the designation of the whole Western Hemisphere.[4]

[1] Humboldt, *Examen Critique*, Tome v., p. 180.

[2] *Vespucci and his Voyages*, Santarem; Irving's *Life of Columbus*, Appendix.

[3] Irving (*Life of Columbus*, vol. iii., Appendix No. X.) examines carefully all the evidence known at the time he wrote on this question, and Major (*Life of Prince Henry the Navigator*, chap. xix.) gives some later facts, particularly those relating to the conscious or unconscious fraud of the priests of St. Dié. The subject is discussed at great length by Humboldt (*Examen Critique*), who believes that the fault was not in the statements of Vespucci, but in the erroneous printing of dates. Vespucci, however, in more than one place speaks of his "fourth voyage" without reference to dates, and it is difficult to understand his relation of the voyage of 1497 as anything else than a repetition of the incidents related by Ojeda as attending his expedition of 1499, on which Vespucci went with him. Harrisse, in his *Bibliotheca Americana Vetustissima*, gives a careful account of the books of Lud and Hylacomylus.

[4] Humboldt suggests (*Examen Critique*, Tome iv., p. 52) that Hylacomylus, a native of Germany, must have known that in inventing the word America to distinguish the new conti

But even if it were possible to reconcile beyond all cavil the rival claims of the two navigators, and give the honor where, as between them, it undoubtedly belongs, to Columbus, there is a third who takes precedence of both as the first great captain who pushed far enough into the unknown seas to touch the main land of the new continent. It is conceded that a voyage was made as early as 1497 by John Cabot, accompanied by his son Sebastian, from Bristol, England, to find the shorter path to India westward. In a little vessel called *The Matthew* he made his first land-fall on this side the Atlantic on the 24th of June of that year. Whether the land first seen — the *Terra primum visa* of the old maps — was Cape Breton, Newfoundland, or the coast of Labrador, is still an open question, though the latter is held to be the most probable by some of those who have given the subject most careful consideration.[1] But if the ship held its course of north by west from Bristol, it could hardly have been anything else. At any rate, they sailed along the coast for three hundred leagues, and that could only have been the shore of the main land. These Cabots, then, were the first discoverers of the continent, about a year before Columbus entered the Gulf of Paria, and two years before Ojeda's fleet, in which Vespucci sailed, touched the coast of South America two hundred leagues farther south.

Voyage of the Cabots.

But which Cabot commanded this expedition? Here again a doubt is started, and the father and the son has each his advocates. John Cabot was probably a native of Genoa; but he had lived for many years in Venice, whence he removed to London with his family "to follow the trade of merchandise." It is not known when he was born, in what year he emigrated to England, or how soon he removed from London to Bristol. He was, it is asserted, learned in cosmography and an accomplished navigator, had

Which Cabot commanded the expedition?

nent, he was giving it a name of Germanic origin. He quotes his learned friend Von der Hagen to prove this, who says that the Italian name Amerigo is found in the Ancient high-German under the form of Amalrich or Amelrich, which in the Gothic is Amalricks. The incursions and conquests of the northern people, and those of the Goths and Lombards spread this name Amalrich, from which Amerigo comes, among the Romance-speaking peoples. It was borne by many illustrious men.

An attempt has recently been made (*Atlantic Monthly*, April, 1875) to show that the word America was derived from a chain of mountains in Veragua called Amerique, heard of by the sailors of Columbus on his fourth voyage, and reported by them in Spain. If there were any mountains so called, and the Spaniards ever heard of them, they are not mentioned by any of the early writers, and the theory, however ingenious, cannot stand a moment in the light of the evidence in regard to the derivation of the word from Amerigo by Lud and Hylacomylus.

[1] Humboldt, *Examen Critique;* Biddle, *Memoir of Sebastian Cabot;* J. G. Kohl, *Coll. of Maine Hist. Soc.*, vol. i., Second Series. Stevens in his monograph, *The Cabots*, p. 17, thinks that their landfall was Cape Breton. Brevoort, *Journal of the Am. Geog. Soc.*, vol. iv., p. 214, agrees with Stevens.

travelled by land in the East, and had heard from men in the caravans of Arabia those strange and captivating tales of the boundless wealth and magnificence of "farthest Ind."[1] He disappears from history in 1498 as suddenly as he appeared two years before, and it is supposed that he died about that time. But whether it was as an old man whose work was happily finished, or as one cut off in the prime of his vigor and his days, there is no record.

Age of Sebastian Cabot.

The son, Sebastian, is said to have been only twenty years of age in 1497. He was undoubtedly a young man, but some suppose — a supposition necessary, indeed, to their theory in regard to him and his voyages — that he was not less than twenty-five years of age when he sailed on this voyage with his father. And his birth-place is as uncertain as the time of his birth. He may have been born in Venice; perhaps he was born in Bristol. In one account he is represented as saying: "When my father departed from *Venice* many yeeres since to dwell in England, to follow the trade of merchandises, hee tooke mee with him to the citie of *London*, while I was yet very yong, yet having neverthelesse some knowledge of letters of humanitie, and of the sphere."[2] But his friend Eden's testimony is: "Sebastian Cabot tould me that he was borne in Brystowe, and that at iiij yeare ould he was carried with his father to Venice, and so returned agayne to England with his father after certayne years, whereby he was thought to have been born in Venice."[3]

Both passages are relied upon as sufficient answer to the objection of Sebastian's youth for the command of so important an expedition; yet neither is conclusive, inasmuch as neither gives the date of the father's emigration to England, while the first proves altogether too much, as it goes on to say: "And when my father died in that time when newes were brought that Don Christopher Colonus Genoese had discovered the coasts of India, whereof was great talke in all the court of King Henry the Seventh, who then reigned, insomuch that all men with great admiration affirmed it to be a thing more divine than humane, to saile by the West into the East, where spices growe, by a way that was neuer knowen before, by this fame and report there increased in my heart a great flame of desire to attempt some notable thing."

Discourse of Sebastian Cabot.

That John Cabot was not dead at the period referred to is just as certain as that either he or his son, or both, sailed in search of a north-

[1] Letter of M. d'Avezac to Dr. Woods, *Maine Hist. Coll.*, vol. i., Second Series.

[2] Report of a conversation with Sebastian Cabot by Galeacius Butrigarius, the Pope's Legate in Spain, first published in Ramusio's *Collection of Voyages*, copied by Hakluyt and many succeeding authors.

[3] Richard Eden's *Decades of the New World.*

west passage. But this "discourse of Sebastian Cabot," as it is called, though interesting for the main facts to which it testifies, is entitled to no credit as strictly accurate evidence as to details, inasmuch as the narrative was not repeated by him — the Pope's Legate in Spain — who had it from Cabot, till years had passed away, and then some months elapsed before it was put in writing by the author — Ramusio — who first published it, and who cautioned his readers that he only presumed "to sketch out briefly, as it were, the heads of what I remember of it." No reliance, of course, can be put upon such a document on any disputed point.

Other old chroniclers, however, notably Fabian, Stow, and Gomara, speak of Sebastian Caboto as the navigator "very expert and cunning in knowledge of the circuit of the world, and islands of the same as by a sea card," who demonstrated to King Henry VII. the feasibility of a northwest passage to the Indies, and who was sent to find it; and on these writers Hakluyt[1] relied for his account of the voyage. But Hakluyt substituted the name of John, the father, for that of Sebastian the son,[2] and subsequent authors have, for the most part, accepted his correction.

Then the question of late is still further complicated by a MS. of Hakluyt's recently brought to light.[3] In this the great chronicler asserts not only that the first expedition was commanded by Sebastian Cabot, but that the voyage itself was made in 1496. His words are: "A great part of the continent, as well as of the islands, was first discovered for the King of England by Sebastian Gabote, an Englishman, born in Bristow, son of John Gabote, in 1496." And again: "Nay, more, Gabote discovered this large tract of firme land two years before Columbus ever saw any part of the continent. . . . . Columbus first saw the firme lande August 1, 1498, but Gabote made his great discovery in 1496."[4] There is certainly no trustworthy evidence, and little of any sort, of a voyage by either the father or the son in that year, and the main difficulty here is to reconcile Hakluyt to himself.

Hakluyt's account of the Cabot voyage.

It is less easy to dispose of a map discovered about twenty years ago in Germany, and which is in conflict with all the statements upon this point hitherto relied upon. The map,[5] which is now in the imperial library at Paris, covers the whole world; in its delineations of

[1] *Voyages, Navigations, etc.*, by Richard Hackluyt, vol. iii., p. 89.

[2] *Memoir of Sebastian Cabot*, Biddle, chap. v.; *Life of Sebastian Cabot*, by J. F. Nichols, City Librarian, Bristol, England, p. 46.

[3] Rev. Dr. Wood in vol. i., Second Series, *Maine Hist. Soc. Coll.*

[4] *Maine Hist. Soc. Coll.*, vol. i., Second Series.

[5] For detailed description and discussion see J. G. Kohl; also letter of M. d'Avezac to Rev. Dr. Woods. *Maine Hist. Coll.*, vol. i., Second Series.

some countries it is tolerably correct, in others it is full of errors and remarkable for inexplicable omissions; but it assumes, in one of its inscriptions, to have this authority: "Sebastian Cabot, Captain and Pilot-major of his Sacred Imperial Majesty the Emperor, Don Carlos, the fifth of his name, and king, our lord, made this figure extended in plane, in the year of the birth of our Savior Jesus Christ, MDXLIIII." (1544.) With reference to Newfoundland there is this descriptive legend in Latin and Italian: "This land was discovered by John Cabot, a Venetian, and Sebastian Cabot his son,

Testimony of the Map.

60
55
50
45
40
Dela Terra de los Bacalaos
Onveda
Bayza de Volcano
C. Delmaro
Rio de Piria
Saluasa
PRIMA VISTA
Bayza de S. Juan Bautista
Rio de Sancto
Bayza de S. Maria
Bayza de Sancta Cruz
Bayza de Sancta Helena
Bayza de Sancta Maria
Bayza de Sancta Cruz
Bayza de Sancta Helena
Bayza de Sancta Maria
Rio de Sancto Spiritu
Rio de Sancta Maria
Rio de Sancta Maria
Rio de Sancta Maria

any share in the responsibility in an expedition so hazardous and uncertain would have been attributed to a lad of seventeen, and it conflicts with all we know of his character to suppose that he would snatch at honors that were not rightfully his. The question thus opened anew has given rise to much learned and labored discussion both in favor of this new supposition and against it, but the most obvious explanation, it seems to us, in view of what was previously known, and from documents which have more recently come to light, is that the date of M.CCCC.XCIIII on the map is either a misprint or a blunder.

There is no violent improbability in the supposition that the numerals VII were changed by the printer or the copyist into IIII, and it was much more likely to happen than that the inscription itself, while announcing a fact hitherto unheard of, should be in its terms almost a literal transcript otherwise of a record hitherto universally accepted as true, which agreed with all the contemporaneous authorities upon the subject, and which, if it was an error, would probably have been detected and exposed, as it was within half a century of the time when the alleged voyage was said to have been made. This record is the "extract taken out of the map of Sebastian Cabot, cut by Clement Adams," "hung up in the privy gallery at Whitehall," and the Latin text of which is thus translated by Hakluyt: "In the year of our Lord 1497, John Cabot, a Venetian, and his son Sebastian, (with an English fleet set out from Bristol) discovered that land which no man before that time had attempted, on the 24th of June, about five of the clocke, early in the morning. This land he called *Prima Vista*, that is to say, First Seene; because, as I suppose, it was that part whereof they had the first sight from sea. That island which lieth out before the land, he called the island of *St. John*, upon this occasion, as I thinke, because it was discovered upon the day of *John the Baptist*."[1] The essential identity, in everything but the date of the year, of the inscriptions upon the two maps, the same day of the month, the same hour of the day, the same naming of the land first seen, and the same name given to the neighboring island, all indicate that both referred to the same expedition, and that one was copied from the other. In the transfer, what more easy and probable that the VII should be changed to IIII, or that IIII should be changed to VII? That such a mistake — if this obvious explanation of the difficulty be accepted — was not made by Clement Adams, whose map was hung up in Whitehall, and was well known in the sixteenth century to Sebastian Cabot's contemporaries, but that it was made by whoever printed or delineated the map of

Inscription on the Map at Whitehall.

[1] Hakluyt's Voyages, vol. iii., p. 6.

1544, unheard of till twenty years ago, there seems to be ample evidence.

This evidence comes from recent researches made on behalf of the British government for historical information among Italian and Spanish archives. It is found that the Venetian ambassador in England wrote home on the 24th of August, 1497, thus: —

Extracts from Spanish and Italian archives.

"Also some months ago his majesty, Henry VII., sent out a Venetian, who is a very good mariner, and has good skill in discovering new islands, and he has returned safe, and has found two very large and fertile new islands; having likewise discovered the seven cities, four hundred leagues from England, on the western passage. The next spring his majesty means to send him with fifteen or twenty ships."[1] And in the archives of Venice is also a letter dated August 23, 1497, from one Lorenzo Pasqualigo, a Venetian living in London, to his brother, in which he writes: —

"The Venetian, our countryman, who went with a ship from Bristol in quest of new islands, is returned, and says that seven hundred leagues hence he discovered land, the territory of the Grand Cham; he coasted for three hundred leagues and landed; saw no human beings, but he has brought hither to the king certain snares which had been set to catch game, and a needle for making nets; he also found some felled trees, wherefore he supposed there were inhabitants, and returned to his ship in alarm.

"He was three months on the voyage, and on his return he saw two islands to starboard, but would not land, time being precious, as he was short of provisions. . . . . The king has also given him money wherewith to amuse himself till then (the next spring), and he is now at Bristol with his wife, who is also a Venetian, and with his sons. His name is Zuan Cabot, and he is styled the Great Admiral; vast honor is paid him; he dresses in silk, and these English run after him like mad people, so that he can enlist as many of them as he pleases, and a number of our own."[2]

A similar letter, written about the same time from the Spanish ambassador in England, and dealing with the same incident — the return of this Genoese of Bristol from a voyage of discovery — is found in the Spanish archives at Seville. And unless other contemporary testimony, equally direct, respectable, and impartial, shall be found to offset these statements, they may be accepted as settling two points: First, that the first voyage of the Cabots, on which the western continent was discovered, was made in the summer of 1497; and second, that the leader of the enterprise was John (Zuan) Cabot.

[1] *Papers on English Affairs; extracted from the Venetian Calendar,* by Rawdon Brown, p. 260.

[2] Ibid., p. 262.

Of him this is the one fair glimpse that history gives us. When or where he was born, when or where he died and was buried, can only be guessed at with more or less of probability; and of all the events of a life that certainly was not a short one this incident alone stands out distinct and clear, as he walks through Whitehall and the Strand, from palace to counting-house, clothed in the costliest garments of the day, telling courtier and merchant and mariner how only a month's sail away he had found the Eastern Continent of which Columbus had hitherto discovered only some outlying islands. And it is no marvel that these English should have "run after him like mad," should have watched for his coming, and have given him

John Cabot in London.

John Cabot in London.

good hearty English cheers whenever he appeared, for his brave exploit was to the honor of the English name, as well as to his own.

If other proof were wanting that this was the first voyage, a curious bit of evidence comes in to corroborate the story of the return of the successful navigator and the reception that was given him. In the account of the Privy Purse Expenses of King Henry is this entry: "10th August, 1497. To hym that found the New Isle, 10*l*."[1] That this refers to Cabot seems improbable; but it is quite likely that the king should have sent, or given with his own hand, such a reward to the sailor who from his faithful watch at the mast-head was the first to cry "Land ho!" on the coast of North America.

Reward for the discovery of North America.

[1] Nicolas, *Excerpta Historica*, quoted by Biddle and by Nicholls.

The voyage was made under a patent granted by the king on the 5th of March, 1496, authorizing John Cabot and his three sons, Lewis, Sebastian, and Sancius, to "sail to all parts, countries, and seas of the East, of the West, and of the North, under our banners and ensigns, with five ships of what burthen or quantity soever they be, and so many mariners or men as they will have with them in the said ships, upon their own proper costs and charges, to seek out, discover, and find whatsoever isles, countries, regions, or provinces of the heathen and infidels, whatsoever they be, and in what part of the world soever they be, which before this time have been unknown to all Christians." The patent was in entire disregard of the bull of Pope Alexander VI., of May, 1493, by which the heathen world was divided from pole to pole between Spain and Portugal; but the south was probably excluded from the sailing directions in deference to actual possession by either of those nations. The king was cautious; he did not mean to run any risk of involving himself in trouble with either of those powers; he carefully stipulated that one fifth of all the profits of the adventure should be his, and all the cost he threw upon the Cabots. Though a year passed away before the expedition set out, it is doubtful if it included more than the single ship of the admiral — *The Matthew* of Bristol. At all events that ship, *The Matthew*, Captain John Cabot, cleared out at the Bristol custom-house for the territories of the Grand Khan and a market in May, 1497, and returned again to port in about three months, having sailed meanwhile three hundred leagues along the coast of North America.

Patents of John Cabot.

In the Italian archives, from which we just now quoted, it is said that another expedition was to follow up this great discovery in the spring. "The king," writes Pasqualigo, "has promised that in the spring our countryman shall have ten ships, armed to his order, and at his request has conceded him all the prisoners, except such as are confined for high treason, to man his fleet." On the 3d of February, 1498, accordingly, a second patent, or rather license was issued by which John Kabotto was authorized to impress six English ships, "and them convey and lede to the Londe and Isles of late founde by the said John in oure name and by our commandemente." The expedition consisted, however, of only two ships; on board of them went three hundred passengers, whether volunteers or convicts from the jails, and its evident purpose was colonization. It sailed from Bristol in the spring — probably in May — under the command — so all the old narratives concur in saying — of the young Sebastian. John disappears with this grant to him to settle the lands he had discovered; is dead — at least to history.

Sebastian Cabot sails with a colony.

But the voyage was barren of any results of value, except that Sebastian noted that "in the seas thereabout were multitudes of big fishes that they call tunnies, which the inhabitants call Baccalaos, that they sometimes stopped his ship." And he therefore "named this land Baccalaos."[1] Probably he left his three hundred emigrants somewhere on this inhospitable coast to make such settlement as they could, while he explored still farther northward. He reached the latitude of 67½°, fighting his way through seas of ice, and looking anxiously for the gulf that should lead him to the Indies. "To his great displeasure" he found the coast, at length, trending eastward, probably on the peninsula of Cumberland; his crews, perhaps reduced in numbers by the hardships of such navigation, perhaps in despair and alarm at penetrating farther into a region where in July the cold was increasing and "the dayes very long in maner without any night," grew insubordinate and mutinous, and clamored to return. Turning southward, he picked up his three hundred colonists, or what was left of them, and sailed into pleasanter seas.

"Ever intent to find that passage to India," and baffled in the search for it at the north, he hoped to discover it by running down the coast. Into what bays and estuaries he may have penetrated; how anxiously he scanned the headlands; how diligently sounded for depth of water, and marked the set of currents that he might miss no indication of an opening to the west; or how long he was in making this first coast-survey of the Continent, there is no record.[2] But doubtless he did his work faithfully and well, keeping along the shore of Maine and Massachusetts, missing no landmarks, doubling Cape Cod, perhaps rounding Nantucket and running into Buzzard's Bay and Long Island Sound, and approaching the harbor of New York; for he sometimes landed, found "on most

First coast exploration of this continent.

[1] Peter Martyr, *De Orbe Novo*. But Dr. Kohl doubts this. The cod-fishery, he says, had long existed on the northern coasts of Europe, and the fish were called by the Germanic nations "Cabliauwe," or "Kabbeljouwe," or still farther transposed, "Backljau." The Portuguese changed it to Bacalhao. The root of the word is the Germanic "bolch," meaning fish. The name, therefore, could not have had an Indian origin. *Maine Hist. Coll.*, vol. i., Second Series. Brevoort, on the other hand (*Journal of the Am. Geog. Society*, p. 205), says it is simply "an old Mediterranean or Romance name, given to the preserved codfish, when it has been dried and kept open and extended by the help of a small stick. This was the stockfish of the North, and from the word *Baculum*, it became the *Bacalao* and *Baccalieu* of the South of Europe."

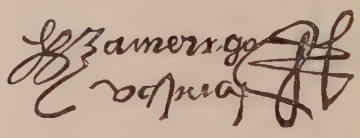
[2] Brevoort and Stevens doubt if Cabot ever sailed south of the Gulf of St. Lawrence. Peter Martyr — who says, "Cabot is my very friend whom I use familiarly and delight to have him sometimes keepe me company in mine own house" — asserts "that he was thereby brought so far into the South by reason of the land bending so much southwards, that it was there almost equal in latitude with the sea *Fretum Herculeum* (Straits of Gibraltar) having the north pole elevate in the same degree." Gomara says that Cabot sailed so far north that "the days were very long, as it were without night;" and that he followed the coast southward to the 38°, whence he returned home.

of the places, copper or brass among the aborigines," and captured some of the natives and brought them home to England. But when he had reached 38° north, that is, about Cape Hatteras, his provisions failing, he changed his course for Bristol.

Last years of Sebastian Cabot.

Whether Sebastian Cabot was satisfied that no passage to Cathay was to be found between 67½° and 38°, north latitude, there is nowhere any positive assurance. He lived, however, to be eighty years of age; in the course of that long life he held the honorable and influential position of Pilot-major both in Spain and England; he led, in the service of Spain, an eventful expedition to the Rio de la Plata; in the service of England he sent another to Russia, and established commercial intercourse between the two nations; but, unless he made a third voyage to North America in 1516, which was certainly projected, though its accomplishment is questioned, he abandoned, after his return in 1498, all farther attempts at discovery or settlement on the coast of North America. The honor of the discovery of the mainland of the continent was his; but seventy years passed away before the first permanent colony was planted north of the Gulf of Mexico.

Sebastian Cabot.



Fac-simile of Signature of Amerigo Vespucci.

CHAPTER VII.

SPANISH DISCOVERIES AND EXPLORATIONS.

DESIGNS FOR THE DISCOVERY OF A NORTHWEST PASSAGE TO INDIA. — THE CORTEREAL VOYAGES. — VASCO NUÑEZ DE BALBOA REACHES THE PACIFIC OCEAN. — SEARCH FOR THE FOUNTAIN OF YOUTH. — FLORIDA DISCOVERED. — GULF OF MEXICO SAILED OVER. — EXPLORATIONS ON THE ATLANTIC SEA-COAST. — ESTAVAN GOMEZ ON THE BORDERS OF THE UNITED STATES. — EXPEDITION OF PAMPHILO DE NARVAEZ TO FLORIDA. — ADVENTURES OF CABEÇA DE VACA. — THE ENTERPRISE OF HERNANDO DE SOTO. — THE DISCOVERY OF THE MISSISSIPPI RIVER. — DEATH AND DRAMATIC BURIAL OF DE SOTO. — RETURN OF THE TROOPS OF DE SOTO. — TRISTAN DE LUNA'S ATTEMPT TO FOUND A COLONY.

THAT the Cabots were the first modern discoverers of the Western Continent, or, indeed, that Columbus was the first European who, in the fifteenth century, visited the New World, is not undisputed. John Skolnus, or John of Kolno, a Pole, is said to have been on the coast of Labrador in 1477; it is claimed by some French writers that in 1488 one Cousin, a Frenchman of Dieppe, was driven across the Atlantic and made land on the other side at the mouth of a wide river; that with him was one of that family of Pinzons of Palos which gave, four years later, captains — one of them perhaps this very captain — to two of the three ships of Columbus. The evidence of such an expedition is so slight, that constructive arguments have only more or less weight as they are more or less ingenious.

When, however, the path to the new Indies was fairly opened, in the last decade of the fifteenth century, fresh voyages followed in rapid succession, and not navigators only, but sovereigns vied with each other to share with Spain the glory and the riches of the new discoveries. Henry VII. of England, when he gave a patent to the Cabots, no doubt reflected that Columbus might have been an English, rather than a Spanish admiral. The king of Portugal did not attempt to conceal his chagrin that the dominion and power which had fallen, or inevitably would fall, into the hands of Spain, he had rejected. But though Spain could not be interfered with at the south, it was still possible to find the yet undiscovered way to India by a northern passage; there might still be unknown islands, or even continents, full of gold and heathen men, in northern seas.

Jealousy of Spain among other European powers.

Gaspar Cortereal seeks a northwest passage.

In 1500, accordingly, two caravels were dispatched from Portugal under the command of Gaspar Cortereal, in search of a passage to India in northern latitudes. He made no settlement, but explored the coast, either on that or a second voyage made the next year, for six or seven hundred miles, as far north as the fiftieth parallel, where his further progress was stopped by the ice. The country he called Terra de Labrador — the land of laborers — though that name was afterwards transferred to a region farther north.

Cortereal at Labrador.

The people were like Gypsies in color, well made, intelligent, and modest; they lived in wooden houses, clothed themselves in skins and furs, used "swords made of a kind of stones, and pointed their arrows with the same material." The country abounded with timber, especially pine; the seas were full of fish of various kinds; and, with such natural advantages, added to its populousness, it was thought that its acquisition might prove valuable to Portugal. If Cortereal did not open a way to India, or find mines of gold to rival those of Hispaniola, at least he had discovered, as he hoped, a new Slave Coast, and he enticed or forced on board his caravels fifty-seven of the natives whom he meant to sell as slaves. These were pronounced as "admirably calculated for labor, and the best slaves ever seen."[1]

[1] The Cortereal voyages are not free from the confusion which surrounds so many of the early narratives. Several writers (see Barrow's *Chronological History of Voyages;* Lardner's *Cyclopædia; Edinburgh Cabinet Library*) following Cordeiro's *Historia Insularia,* assert that Newfoundland was first discovered by John Vaz Costa Cortereal in 1463 or 1464; but Biddle (*Memoir of Cabot,* book ii., chapter 11) shows that there is no good authority for any such voyage. A passage in the life of his father by Ferdinand Colon, however, seems to have been overlooked by all these writers. He says that Vincent Dear, a Portuguese,

Cortereal made two voyages, but from the second he never came back. It is uncertain what his fate was. He may have been lost at sea; or, as it has been conjectured, he may have been killed by the natives in an attempt to kidnap another cargo of slaves, or in revenge for the capture of those stolen on the previous voyage. But this, of course, involves the presumption that the kidnapping was on his first expedition, and that the retribution fell upon him on his return to the coast. But the latest and most reasonable suggestion is that it was on his second voyage that he committed this outrage upon the Indians, and that he and his fifty captives perished together at sea. And this is the more probable conjecture since we know that Miguel Cortereal, a younger brother, sailed from Lisbon, on the 10th of May, 1502, with two vessels, in search of Gaspar, eight months after the report of the arrival of one of Gaspar's caravels. The Indians may have punished him also for his brother's cruelty to their kindred, for he did not return. The next year the king sent out an expedition in quest of both, but that came back without tidings of

Fate of the Cortereals.

returning from Guinea to Terceira, saw, or thought he saw, an island, and told this to one Luke de Gazzana, a wealthy Genoese merchant. Gazzana sent out a vessel, and "the pilot went out three or four times to seek the said island, sailing from one hundred and twenty or one hundred and thirty leagues, but all in vain, for he found no land. Yet for all this, neither he (Gazzana) nor his partner gave over the enterprise till death, always hoping to find it." Ferdinand Colon adds that a brother of Gazzana also told him that he knew the sons of "the captain who discovered Terceira," Gaspar and Michael Cortereal, "who went several times to discover that land; and it is plain from the context that Ferdinand Colon means to refer to distinct expeditions to the West — those before his father's first voyage by Gazzana's direction, when John Vaz Costa Cortereal was governor of Terceira; and these by the younger Cortereals in 1500. It was natural enough that these expeditions should be confounded with each other, and this confusion was not cleared up even when Hakluyt published the first edition of his voyages in 1582, who says: "An excellent learned man of Portugal, of singular gravety, authortie, and experience, tolde me very lately that one Gonus Cortereal, captayne of the yle of Terceira, about the yeare 1574, which is not above eight years past, sent a ship to discover the North West Passage." Here is an obvious mistake of about a century.

In regard to the actual expedition of Gaspar Cortereal, the principal original source of information hitherto relied upon, is the letter of Pietro Pasqualigo, Venetian Ambassador to Portugal, to his brother, October 19, 1501. This was first published in a volume of voyages printed in Venice in 1507, under the title *Paesi Novamente retrovati et Novo Mondo.* But Dr. Kohl (*Collections of Maine Hist. Society*, 1869), relying upon some recent researches in the Portuguese archives by M. Kuntsmann (*Die Entdeckung America's*), assumes that Pasqualigo's letter refers to the second voyage of Cortereal, and that the caravel, on board which he was with fifty of the Indians, never arrived. The letter says: "On the 8th of the present month one of the two caravels which his most serene majesty dispatched last year on a voyage of discovery to the North, under the command of Gaspar Corterat, arrived here. . . . . They have brought hither of the inhabitants, seven in all, men, women, and children, and in the other caravel, which is looked for every hour, there are fifty more." If this was the first voyage, the other caravel subsequently arrived with the fifty Indians, as Cortereal certainly made a second expedition. The date alone of the letter (October, 1501) — if Cortereal sailed in 1500 — suggests that Pasqualigo confounded the two voyages, and that he refers to the second, from which Cortereal did not return.

either. Then the eldest brother, Vasqueanes Cortereal, the governor of Terceira, one of the Azores, begged permission to continue the search, but the king forbade it, and the Portuguese, discouraged by such a succession of disasters, abandoned all farther attempts at discovery in the northern seas.

These explorations in high northern latitudes the Spanish left for the most part to other nations. Not that they were less eager to find a passage to India, but they believed that they alone were seeking it in the right direction. The conviction was of slow growth that another continent, hitherto unknown, lay between Europe and Asia, and that this must be passed before the coveted spice islands of the East could be reached by sailing westward. Even Columbus himself must have had some misgivings, for while he professed to believe that on his third and fourth voyages he had reached the continent of Asia, he was none the less persistent in seeking from Venezuela to Honduras for a strait that should lead him to a South Sea and to India. It is not easy to reconcile his avowed theoretical convictions with his practical conduct; but it is remarkable that conjecture or reasoning should have led him to seek for such a channel where, if it existed at all anywhere between Terra del Fuego and the Arctic Sea, it was most likely to be found. In his fourth and last voyage, crowded with misfortunes more romantic than the boldest imagination would have ventured to put forth as fiction, he groped his way along the coast of Central America in search of an eastern passage. The problem of an easy and rapid communication by sea with the far East, has to-day no other solution than a possible artificial channel where the great navigator hoped to find one hollowed out by the waters of two meeting seas.

Search of Columbus for a western passage.

To the genius of Columbus this homage was paid by all his contemporaries — whither he led there they followed. As Ojeda and Vespucci, after his discovery of the Southern Continent, on his third voyage, went to Paria and explored the coast north and south of that gulf, so Solis and Pinzon, moved by his example, sailed into the Caribbean Sea and along its shores where Columbus, on his fourth voyage, had led the way. Within four or five years of his death, in 1506, the whole coast from Carthagena to Yucatan had been visited by many adventurers, dividing the country amongst them, fighting with each other as occasion offered, slaughtering, mutilating, or enslaving the Indians, as best served their purpose in the gathering of gold.

Other expeditions from Spain.

Among these freebooters was Vasco Nuñez de Balboa, an excellent specimen of that class of Spanish discoverers who overran the southern half of the New World, and of which Pizarro

Vasco Nuñez de Balboa.

and Cortez — who were fitted for their future careers at the same time and in the same school and region with Vasco Nuñez — were still more brilliant instances.

This Nuñez was eminent in that bravery which belonged to men who, clad in steel, armed with an arquebuse or cross-bow, and a sword, mounted, perhaps, on horseback, were ready to meet any number of naked savages with only bows and arrows; he was vigorous and capable of great endurance, as well as bold; and he was pitilessly cruel, unscrupulous, and dissolute, but at the same time zealous for the Church.

Vasco Nuñez on Shipboard.

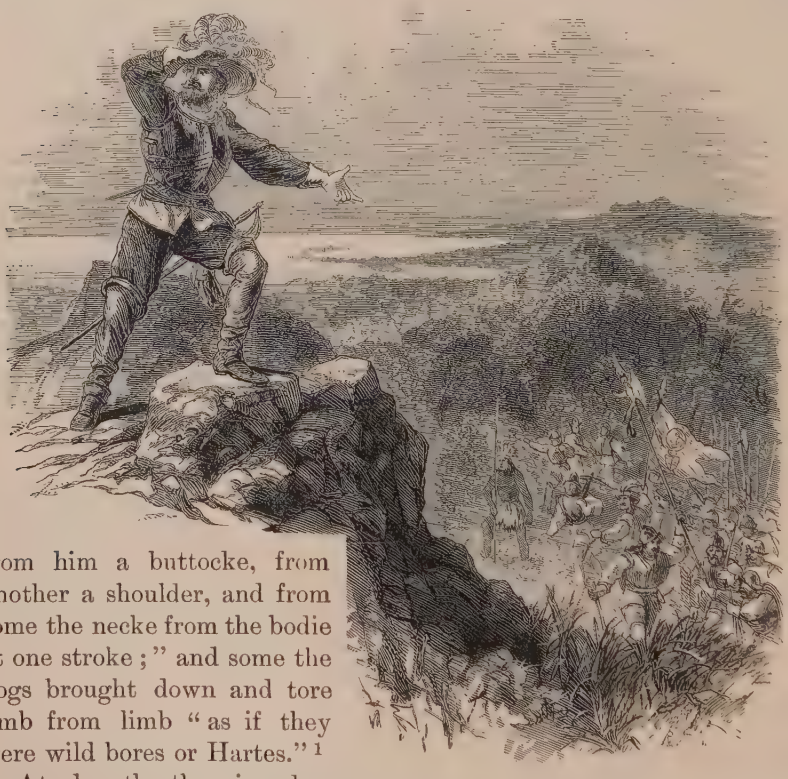
To escape from his creditors in Hispaniola he concealed himself in a cask, on board a vessel about to sail for the Caribbean Sea.[1] When far from land he crept from his hiding-place and prevailed by prayers and tears upon Enciso, the commander of the expedition, not to put him ashore and leave him, as he threatened, to starve on a barren island. Afterward, when the vessel was wrecked, Nuñez, who had been on the

[1] Herrera, Decade I., book viii., chap. 2.

coast before and remembered an Indian village on the river Darien, led the crew, harassed by the natives and reduced almost to starvation, to that place. By force of character and skilful management he soon became the head of a party, helped to depose Enciso, to whom he owed his life, got rid of others who had some title to the government of the province, and raised himself to supreme command.

Rumors of a Land of Gold.

From the son of an Indian chief he learned, on one of his marauding expeditions into the interior, that six days' journey further on was another sea, and beyond it a country so abounding in gold that the people ate and drank out of dishes made of it. In September, 1513, he started from Darien to find that sea. He fought his way through tribes of hostile Indians, whom he subdued by killing many, "hewing them in pieces as the Butchers doe fleshe in the shambles, from one an arme, from another a legge, from him a buttocke, from another a shoulder, and from some the necke from the bodie at one stroke;" and some the dogs brought down and tore limb from limb "as if they were wild bores or Hartes."[1]



The South Sea.

At length the invaders reached a high mountain from the top of which, said the Indian guides, the southern sea was in sight. Nuñez ordered his men to halt while he climbed up alone. Far beneath him, on the other side,

[1] Peter Martyr's *Third Decade*, trans. by Lok. Hakluyt, vol. v., edition of 1812

lay the blue ocean, sparkling and glorious in the sunlight, stretching as far as the eye could reach, North, South, West, to where sky and water seemed to meet. It was for this that all the great navigators of the world had been seeking for nearly twenty years, and when the sight of it broke upon Vasco Nuñez he fell prone upon the ground. Raising himself presently upon his knees, he gave thanks to God that it had "pleased his diuine maiestie to reserue vnto that day the victorie and prayse of so great a thing vnto him." An ecstacy of delight, of triumph and devotion possessed him. With one hand he beckoned his followers to come to him; with the other he pointed wildly seaward, "shewing them the great maine sea heretofore vnknowne to the inhabitants of Europe, Aphrike, and Asia.'

Discovery of the Pacific Ocean. Sept 1513.

First Embarkation on the South Sea.

Again he fell upon his knees, and to his prayers, "desiring Almighty God and the blessed Virgin to fauor his beginnings, and to give him good successe to subdue those landes, to the glory of his holy name, and increase of his holy religion." His companions joined him and "praysed God with loude voyces for ioy," for he "exhorted them to lyft up their hearts and beholde the lande euen now vnder their feete, and the sea before their eyes which shoulde bee vnto them a full and iust rewarde of their great laboures and trauayles now ouerpassed." He ordered heaps of stone to be piled up in token that he took possession of the country for his sovereign, and the name of Ferdinand

of Castile he carved upon many trees as he went down the Pacific slope.

The men, marshalled in battle array, were ordered by this pious captain to assail the natives and "to esteeme them no better than dogges meate, as they shoulde be shortly."[1] From that fate, however, gold could always save them. Twelve men, among whom was Pizarro, the future conqueror of Peru,[2] were sent in advance to find the safest and shortest path to the shore. At the spot where they approached it two canoes were stranded upon the beach. As the flood-tide floated them Alonso Martin stepped into one, and Blaze de Atienza followed in the other, and they called to their companions to witness that they were the first Spaniards — Martin first, and Atienza second — who embarked upon the South Sea. When, a few days later, Vasco Nuñez arrived with his whole company, he marched into the water up to his thighs, with his sword and target, and solemnly pronounced that ocean and all that pertained to it as the possession of the sovereigns of Castile and Leon, which he would defend against all comers.[3]

Thenceforward the exploration and occupation of the western coast, both north and south, went forward with little interruption. But the man whose energy and perseverance led the way, Vasco Nuñez de Balboa, fell a victim, five years later, to the jealousy and fears of the Governor of Darien, Peter Anias, who ordered him, after the mockery of a trial, to be beheaded. Such atrocities were so common among the Spaniards that this one, though perpetrated against a man whose eminent services had been recognized by an appointment as Adelantado over the sea he had discovered, seems to have gone unpunished and almost unnoticed by the government at home.

Fate of Vasco Nuñez de Balboa.

While the course of Spanish adventure was thus, in the earlier years of the sixteenth century, directed towards Central America, leading, in due season, to such events as the discovery of the Pacific, the conquests of Peru and Mexico, and the exploration of the western coast of the present United States, it was not forgotten that there might be other regions further north on the Atlantic coast worth possessing. Juan Ponce de Leon, who had enriched himself by the subjugation of Porto Rico, resolved, when deprived of the governorship of that island, to increase his fame and his riches by some new enterprise. He had heard that there were lands at the north, of which marvellous tales were told, not only of great wealth of gold and precious stones, but that hidden away somewhere in the deep recesses of

[1] Peter Martyr.

[2] *Life of Pizarro*, by Arthur Helps, p. 55.

[3] Herrera, Decade I., book x., chap. 1.

SEARCH FOR THE FOUNTAIN OF YOUTH.

its forests bubbled up a fountain of which whosoever drank should receive the priceless gift of perpetual youth. The rumor of gold was enough to tempt Spanish cupidity; but that was as nothing to Ponce de Leon, already rich but already old, to the promise of being young again. Legend of the Fountain of Youth.

To find this new marvel of the New World, Juan Ponce de Leon started from Porto Rico with three ships, in March, 1512.[1] As was fitting in a quest for a fountain of immortality, the adventurers floated over that summer sea as men intent on pleasure, to whom time was long and burdened with no serious duties; they sailed from island to island, touching here and there as fancy led them, seeking the safest and pleasantest coves, where the shades were deepest in the noonday sun and the waters coolest, where the fruits were sweetest, the Indians most friendly and their women loveliest. After a month of such idle dalliance they crossed the Bahama Channel, and, on the 27th of March, which happened to be Easter Sunday and which the Spaniards call Pascua de Flores,[2] they saw and passed an island on the opposite coast. Two or three days later Ponce de Leon landed on the main, near the point now called Fernandina.[3] Taking possession of it in the name of Spain he named it Florida, because the land was first seen on the *Pascua de Flores*, and because it was fair to look upon, covered with pleasant groves and carpeted with flowers.

Juan Ponce de Leon.

Discovery of Florida. March 27, 1512.

For more than thirty days they sailed along the coast on both sides of the Peninsula, and among the Bahama Islands, sometimes trafficking, more often fighting with the Indians, who were bold and fierce, but seeking always for the wonderful fountain. Whether it was on the mainland, or, as some of the Indians said, on the Island of Bimini, of

[1] Dr. J. G. Kohl (*Maine Hist. Soc. Coll.*, vol. i., Second Series, p. 240) says March 3, 1513, and that Peschel, in his *Geschichte des Zeitalters der Entdeckungen*, has proved that the year 1512, to which this voyage of De Leon is usually assigned, is incorrect. March 3, 1512, old style, would be 1513, new style, and Bancroft accordingly gives the date $15\frac{1}{13}$. Dr. Kohl leaves it doubtful whether he means $15\frac{12}{13}$, or $15\frac{13}{14}$.

[2] Herrera, Hildreth, Irving, and some other writers, erroneously state that Pascua de Flores is Palm Sunday. La Pascua de las Flores is La Pascua de la Resurrection, or Easter Sunday.

[3] Peter Martyr says (Decade V., chap. 1) "that parte of the lande which Johannes Pontius first touched, from the north side of the Fernandina."

the Bahama group,[1] the restoring waters were never found; though those who sought them drank of every spring and bathed in every stream their eager and hungry eyes could spy in the deep shadows of the woods.

Leon claimed, nevertheless, great merit with the king for finding a land so fair and promising, and he was made its Adelantado, on condition that he would colonize it. In 1521, this first governor of territory within the limits of the present United States, returned to the province assigned to him, but, in a fight with Indians who opposed his landing, he received from an arrow a wound from which no healing waters could wash the poison. He retired then to Cuba, thankful, perhaps, at last, that "eloquent, just, and mightie death" could release him from the burden of old age, doubly weighted now by the calamity of poverty, for the remnant of his riches was spent in his last expedition.[2] Other Spanish navigators followed this gay old cavalier, but the object of their search was gold, not youth. Don Diego Velasquez, one of the earlier adventurers in Hispaniola, who had conquered Cuba, and become its governor, ambitious, energetic, and intelligent, sent several expeditions into the Gulf of Mexico, wisely, for his purpose, directing them to its southern rather than to its northern coasts. It was the road to Mexico, which Cortez soon found; but that Florida was visited by two of the other captains of Velasquez was almost by accident rather than by design. Hernandez de Cordova touched there on his return from a cruise along the coast of Yucatan, in 1517, and John de Grijalva did the same thing the next year. In 1516, Diego Miruelo is said to have made a voyage on his own account to Florida, and to have brought back some gold. In 1518, also, Francis Garay, the governor of Jamaica, landed on that shore, was attacked by the natives, and lost most of his men.[3] But he returned the next year,

Death of Juan Ponce de Leon.

Voyages in the Gulf of Mexico.

[1] In Peter Martyr's Map of 1511, Florida is laid down as Isla de Beimeni.

[2] "Whether the old fable of the Fountain of youth was derived by the Indians from the Spaniards, or was of indigenous growth, it is impossible to decide. It was undoubtedly firmly believed in among the other marvels of the New World. "The Dene, Aiglianus the Senator, and Licentiatus Figuera, sent to Hispaniola to be President of the Senate, ... these three agree," says Peter Martyr, "that they had heard of the fountaine restoringe strength, and that they partly belieued the reportes; but they sawe it not, nor proued it by experience, because the inhabitants of that Terra Florida haue sharpe nayles, and are eager defenders of their rights." But the Dene related that an Indian, "grieuously oppressed with old age, moued with the fame of that fountaine, and allured through the loue longer of lyfe, went from his natiue ilande neere vnto the country of Florida to drinke of the desired fountaine, ... and hauinge well drunke and washed himselfe for many dayes with the appointed remedies, by them who kept the bath, hee is reported to haue brought home a manly strength, and to haue vsed all manly exercises, and that hee married againe, and begatt children." Aiglianus is De Ayllon, who visited Florida after De Leon.

[3] Peter Martyr, Decade V., chap. 1.

and was the first thorough explorer of the Gulf coast of the United States. He made its entire circuit, and drew a chart by which he showed that "it bendeth like a bow," and that a line stretched from the shore of Yucatan to the point at which Ponce de Leon first touched, would "make the string of the bow." Florida, he found, was not an island, as De Leon had supposed, "but by huge, crooked windings and turninges to bee joyned to this maine continent of Tenustitan" (Yucatan). He came, also, "vpon a riuer, flowing into the Ocan with a broade mouth; and from his ships discryed many villages couered with reedes;" and this was the first discovery of the Mississippi, the Rio del Espirito Santo, the River of the Holy Ghost.[1] But he thought the coast, which he spent about eight months in exploring, "to be very litle hospitable, because he sawe tokens and signes of small store of golde, and that not pure."[2]

Explorations up the Atlantic coast.

Fernandina was as yet the northernmost point touched by the Spaniards on the Atlantic coast. But northward from that place was a country known as Chicora, and somewhere within it was supposed to be the sacred river of Jordan, whose waters possessed a healing power akin to, if not the same, as those of the Fountain of Youth.[3] To this land of Chicora Lucas Vasquez de Ayllon either sent or led an expedition of two ships in 1520 from Hispaniola, and the river now known as the Combahee, in South Carolina,[4] he named the Jordan. It does not appear that he went anywhere else than to the mouth of this river, though he was sent in search of a passage that would lead to India. But the real purpose was slaves. The people of the Jordan, unlike those farther south, gave the strangers a kindly welcome. They crowded aboard the ships, the like of which they had never seen before, as eager, as curious, and as confiding as children. The very ease of kidnapping these simple and unsuspicious savages might have suggested it. The hoisting of the sails, the weighing of the anchors, gave them no alarm; imperceptibly to them the vessels stole away, on an even keel, without apparent motion, and not till they were so far from the shore that to return was impossible, did the poor creatures understand the cruel treachery of which they were the victims. They were to be sold as slaves for the gold mines and plantations of the Islands. But of the two vessels one foundered at sea, and all on board perished; on the other, but few lived to reach Hispaniola,

Kidnapping Indians for slaves.

[1] Shea's *Discovery and Exploration of the Mississippi*, p. viii.

[2] Peter Martyr.

[3] Compare, however, Herrera, Decade I., lib. ix., chap. 5; Narrative of Fontanedo in Ternaux-Compans, and note by the editor, and J. G. Kohl, in *Maine Hist. Socy. Coll.*, p. 248 Dr. Kohl says that the river was named Jordan for the captain of one of Ayllon's ships.

[4] Bancroft, *Hist. U. S.*, vol. 1.

for this virtue has always belonged to the North American Indian — he prefers death to slavery, and has often pined away and speedily died, like other wild creatures, when deprived of freedom.

Expedition of Lucas Vasquez de Ayllon.

Four or five years later, another expedition sailed from Hispaniola, which Ayllon certainly commanded in person, and from which he never returned. It consisted of several ships, carrying five hundred soldiers and sailors, and a few women.[1] Taking the Jordan as the starting point, the coast was explored as far north as Maryland, and some expeditions were made inland.[2] Many were killed by the Indians; many more died from sickness, and among them Ayllon himself, till only one hundred and fifty, out of the original company of six hundred, were left to return to Hispaniola.

But the most that any of these adventurers did was to penetrate the country a short distance, to traffic a little with natives when they hap-

Straits of Magellan.

pened to be in the mood, and more often to retire before them when they opposed the landing or the stay of the intruders. Meanwhile, on the other side of the Gulf, Cortez had penetrated into Mexico, and the spirit of adventure, the dreams of boundless wealth, the hopes of brilliant conquest, received a new and intense impulse by his success. "To the South, to the South," wrote Peter Martyr, "For the great and exceeding riches of the Equinoctiall, they that seeke riches must not goe vnto the cold and frozen North."

Hernando Cortez in Mexico.

[1] The earlier authors differ as to whether there were three or six ships, and whether they sailed in 1524, 1525, or 1526.

[2] On the Portuguese Map of Ribero, 1529, the Land of Ayllon — "Tierra de Ayllon," — covers the present States of Georgia, the Carolinas, Virginia, and Maryland.

And the hoped-for passage to the East was not forgotten. Rich as was the booty in Mexico and Central America, it was as nothing to the splendid acquisition of India, if only the short way by sea could be discovered. Magellan had passed by the Straits to which he gave his name into the Pacific Ocean, but nothing was gained thereby over the older route round the Cape of Good Hope. With that great navigator had sailed, as pilot of one of his ships, Stephen Gomez, a Portuguese by birth, but then serving in Spain. He had deserted Magellan soon after entering the Straits,[1] but does not seem, therefore, to have been held in any less estimation in Spain, as he was, with Cabot, the pilot-major, Ferdinand Columbus, and other eminent cosmographers, one of the Council of Badajoz, appointed in 1524 to settle the conflicting claims of Spain and Portugal to the New World.

In February, 1525, Gomez sailed under a royal commission to find a passage to Cathay, which he believed was somewhere between Florida and the Bacallaos, or Newfoundland. As he was absent about ten months, he had ample time to explore the whole Atlantic coast of the present United States. He sailed from North to South to about the latitude of New York, but at what point he first touched the continent, into what bays and rivers he may have entered, there is no positive record.[2] He brought home a cargo of the natives to be sold as slaves, and an anecdote in relation to them, repeated from book to book for three hundred and fifty years, has chiefly preserved the memory of this expedition. So great was the anxiety to be assured that the passage to India had been discovered, that one inquirer, carried away by zeal and enthusiasm, when he learned that Gomez had returned with a cargo of slaves (*esclavos*), mistaking the word, hurried to the court with the glorious news that the ships were laden with cloves (*clavos*), and must therefore have found their way to the Spice Islands of the East. "But after the court vnderstoode," says the faithful chronicler, Peter Martyr, "that the tale was transformed from cloues to slaues (*clavos* to *esclavos*), they brake foorth into a great laughter, to the shame and blushinge of the fauorers who shouted for joy."

Estavan Gomez explores coast of U. S. 1525.

Anecdote of Gomez' voyage.

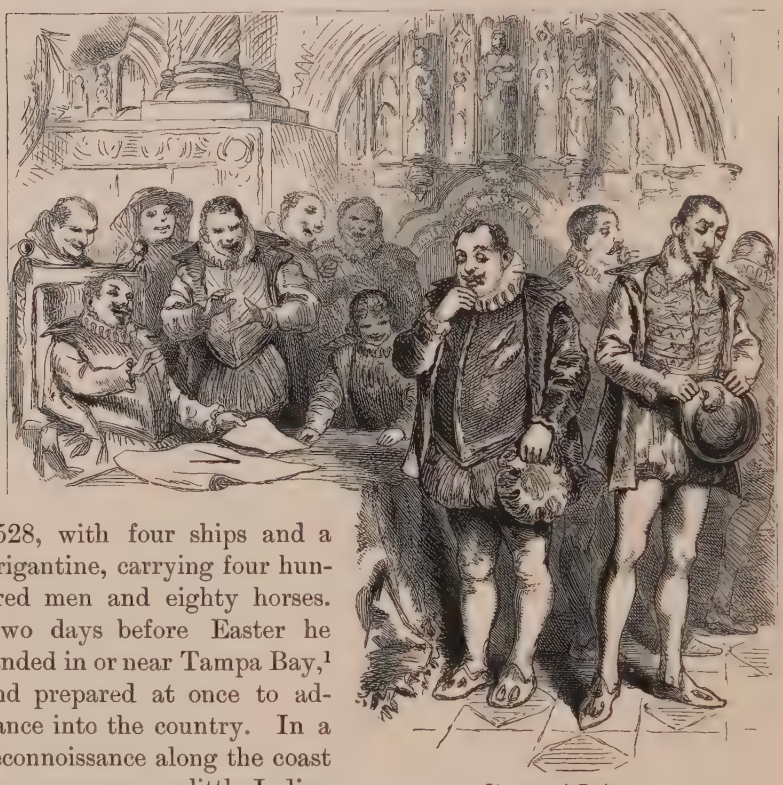
A more formidable and more disastrous attempt than any of these to take possession of the country was made in 1528 by Pamphilo de Narvaez. He sailed from Spain in 1527 under a commission from the Emperor, Charles V., with five ships

Pamphilo de Narvaez. 1528.

[1] That the Gomez who explored the coast of the United States in 1525, and the Gomez who deserted Magellan, are identical, is generally accepted as without question. But Pigafetta, in his relation of the Magellan voyage, calls the Gomez of that fleet, not Estevan but Emanuel. See Pigafetta, in Pinkerton's *Voyages and Travels*, vol. xi.

[2] On the Ribero Map, the legend, "Tierra de Estevan Gomez," is written across that region now occupied by the Middle and Northern Atlantic States of the Union.

and about five hundred men ; but delays occurring in the West Indies, where he passed the following winter, he made a second start in March,



Clavos and Esclavos.

1528, with four ships and a brigantine, carrying four hundred men and eighty horses. Two days before Easter he landed in or near Tampa Bay,[1] and prepared at once to advance into the country. In a reconnoissance along the coast they came upon a little Indian village, where they found some bodies in a sort of mummified condition, the sacred remains, no doubt, of the ancestors or the chiefs of the tribe. The officer in command chose to assume this preservation of the dead as a kind of idolatry, and ordered them to be burned, and the outrage was a sufficient warning to the natives of the treatment they might expect from such invaders.

Alvar Nuñez Cabeça de Vaca, a Spaniard of noble birth, was the treasurer of the expedition and its voluntary historian.[2] He protested earnestly against the mad project of Narvaez to leave the coast, certain, he said, that were that done, he "would never more find the ships, nor the ships him." Nevertheless he determined to follow his captain rather than be left in command of the fleet, lest his courage

[1] Bancroft ; compare Buckingham Smith in notes to *Letters of De Soto.*

[2] The *Relacion* of Alvar Nuñez Cabeça de Vaca, is a minute narrative of this expedition and his own strange personal adventures. An admirable translation of it was made by the late Buckingham Smith.

should be called in question. The marching force consisted of three hundred men, forty of whom were mounted. Each man carried two pounds of biscuit and half a pound of bacon, and with this slender store of provision they plunged into an unknown wilderness, where their first act had already been one sure to provoke hostilities from its savage people. Their rations, with such fruit of the palmetto as they could pick up by the way, supported them for the first fifteen days, and then the fear of starvation was added to the other difficulties which they began to understand. Toiling on through swamps and forests, wading the lagoons, crossing rivers by swimming and on temporary rafts, harassed continually by an enemy with whom suddenness and secrecy of attack were the first arts of war, their courage and their hopes were only sustained by some vague reports from prisoners of gold to be found in a distant district called Apalachen.[1]

March of Narvaez into Florida.

They had started on the 1st of May; on the 25th of June a miserable village was reached of forty houses, in the middle of a dense swamp, from which the Indians had fled leaving behind only the women and children. This was Apalachen, and they gave thanks to God, believing that "here would be an end to their great hardships." The village they took without resistance, and in it found maize to satisfy their hunger; the woods around abounded with game, had they had the skill to take it; and gold, they believed, was plentiful. But hardly had they laid off the heavy armor from their galled and weary backs, when the Indians attacked them and burnt the wigwams in which they had taken shelter, provocation being first given, as usual, by the Spaniards, who held a cacique as prisoner who had come to them as a friend.

Their great need of rest and the time required to examine the country round about for gold, detained them twenty-five days in Apalachen. But no gold was to be found, and but little maize; in all that district this miserable village of forty houses was the largest; the people were not numerous, were very savage, and very poor. Stealing out from their lurking-places in the neighboring swamps, they so harassed the Spaniards that one could not venture from the camp so short a distance as to lead a horse to water, that an arrow would not whiz through the bushes from an unseen foe. Thus sore beset with hunger, disease, and danger, all their hopes of sudden wealth destroyed, they resolved at length to make their way to the sea.

In a march of twelve or fifteen days they fought their way to the

[1] At the head-waters of the Apalacha River are the Apalachian Mountains of Georgia, to which probably the Indians referred, while the Spaniards understood them to mean the village near its mouth.

coast. Well nigh worn out they lay down upon the sands in sore perplexity and distress, behind them a country they could not live in, before them a sea over which there was but one way to escape.

Building the vessels.

They must build vessels; but they "knew not how to construct, nor were there tools, nor iron, nor forge, nor tow, nor resin, nor rigging; . . . . nor any man who had a knowledge of their manufacture; and, above all, there was nothing to eat while

Return to the Beach.

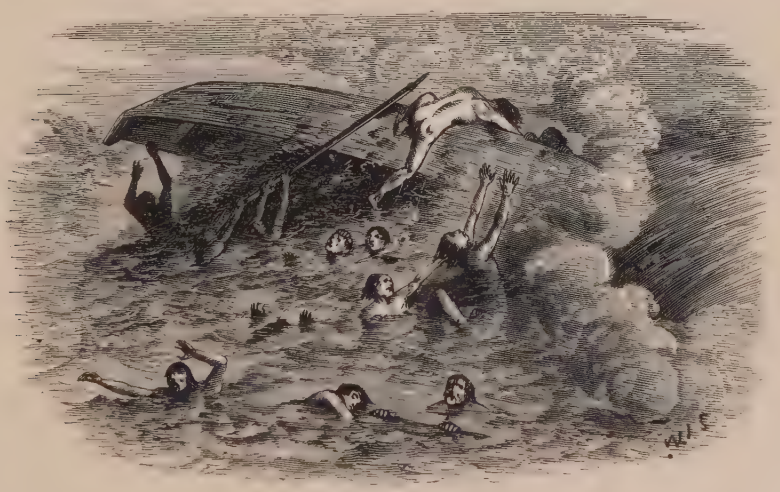
building, for those who should labor." But invention is sometimes born of despair. A soldier undertook to make a pair of bellows with pipes of hollow wood and deerskins, and his example was emulated by others. The cross-bows, the stirrups, the spurs, and whatever else they had of iron, were beaten into nails, into axes, saws, and other needful tools. With these they contrived to build five boats, each more than thirty feet in length, the seams of which they caulked with the fibre of the palmetto, and pitched with pine rosin; cordage was made of the tails and manes of the horses; the sails from the shirts of the men. Every three days a horse was killed for food, while the boats were building, the skin of the legs taken off whole to be used when tanned as water-bottles. Besides the horse-flesh they fed upon shell-fish and such maize as, through hard fighting, they could get from the Indians.

Suffering of the men.

At this place forty of the men died of disease and hunger, besides those who had been killed in their contests with the savages. All but one of the horses had been slaughtered and eaten, and for that reason they called the spot *Bahia de Caballos*, or the Bay

of the Horses.[1] On the 22d of September, almost five months from the time of their departure from the spot, nearly three hundred miles distant, where they first landed, the wretched fugitives embarked upon their frail boats, loading them down almost to the gunwales, and pushed out into the Gulf of Mexico.

They crept slowly along the coast for weeks, hoping to reach the Spanish colony of Panuco on the western shore of the gulf. Enduring always the extremity of suffering from cold, and wet, and hunger, they were buffetted when on the sea by storms, and repulsed by the Indians when they attempted a landing. At length the boats parted company. First the governor refused to throw a rope to the men of Cabeça de Vaca, of whom only one or two were able to lift an oar, saying the time had come when each man must take care of himself. Then a storm parted the others, and De Vaca's boat was driven upon the beach of an island.[2] To get off again the next day the men stripped to the skin, as it was necessary to wade into the water to dig the boat out of the sand and once more set her afloat. But when this was done and they had jumped aboard, the surf again upset her before they had time to resume their clothing. Some were drowned; those



Upset in the Surf.

who were not were left as absolutely naked and destitute as they came into the world, for not one thing in the boat was recovered. Fortunately the Indians were humane and pitiful, making fires to warm

[1] The *Bahia de Caballos* is probably the present harbor of St. Marks.

[2] Cabeça de Vaca called this island Mathado — misfortune. Its locality is uncertain, but it may have been the island of Galveston. Buckingham Smith is entirely at a loss to identify it. Fairbanks (*History of Florida*) thinks it was the island of Santa Rosa.

the half frozen and famished bodies of the strangers, giving them food from their own scanty stores. In a few days these were joined by companions from another boat, who had also been wrecked not far distant. The company now numbered eighty. Exposure, starvation, and sickness, soon decided the fate of most of them, though some prolonged their lives awhile by feeding on those who were the first to die. Before the winter was over, only fifteen of the eighty were left alive. The governor and all his boat-load had been driven out to sea, and perished soon after he had refused assistance to his followers in distress.

A few of the adventurers in the other boats had saved themselves in other places, but one after another they all, except four, had died miserably, some killed by the Indians, who had made them their slaves, some dying of starvation, some from exposure and disease.

Cabeça de Vaca and his companions.

The four survivors, by name Cabeça de Vaca, Dorantes, Castello, and Estevanico, the last a negro, wandered from tribe to tribe for six years, held sometimes in the cruelest slavery, and sometimes carrying on a petty traffic with the natives, in combs, in bows, arrows, and fishing-nets of their own making. Their food was chiefly the fruit of the prickly pear, roots, and nuts; what little venison they occasionally received from the Indians they ate raw, for only thus could their weakened stomachs digest it. They always went naked, and "twice a year," says Cabeça de Vaca, "we cast our skins like a serpent." In later years they gained influence and power among the Indians by acting as physicians, working, he declares, the most marvellous cures simply by reciting pater nosters and by making the sign of the cross, till they came to be held in great reverence and fear.

Thus slowly and painfully they made their way, wandering to and fro through forests and swamps, over prairies and deserts, exposed to the summer's heat and the winter's cold, across the present State of Texas, through the Mexican province of Sonora, to the sea coast of the other side of the continent on the Gulf of California.

There they found and were succored by their countrymen, who had already invaded that country in search of emeralds, of gold, and of slaves, and speedily returned to Spain, heroes of an adventure as remarkable and as romantic as any recorded in the Spanish annals of North America.

Hernando de Soto.

There arrived in Spain about the same time with Cabeça de Vaca one who had been engaged in quite a different sort of service. This was Hernando de Soto, who had followed Pizarro to Peru, and shared with him his dangers and his success. Leaving Spain like so many others "with nothing but blade and buckler," he had come back with wealth to further his ambition for the acquisition

of some new country where he should be the leader and not a subaltern merely. The disastrous result of every expedition to Florida thus far had not shaken the belief among the adventurous Spaniards in the value of the country, and that somewhere in the interior were riches such as had been gathered in marvellous abundance in other parts of the New World. De Soto appeared at court with a numerous band of followers in gorgeous apparel and other lavish display of the wealth he had acquired in Peru, and asked that authority to take possession of Florida, with a commission as Adelantado, be given him. The announcement of his intentions was received with the utmost enthusiasm. Gentlemen of birth and position flocked from all parts of Spain to his standard, eager to serve under so gallant and renowned a leader, and in an adventure which he thought so hopeful as to be willing to risk in it his fortune, his fame, and his life. Some came even from Portugal, and they seemed better to understand the character of the enterprise. For when De Soto mustered his men at San Lucar the Spaniards appeared "in doublets and cassocks of silk, pinckt and embroidered," as if about to start on a holiday excursion, while "the Portuguese were in the equipage of soldiers in neat armor."[1] But so strong was the desire to go with him that men parted with their estates to buy an interest and an outfit in this new expedition; and the excitement was not a little increased by the story of Cabeça de Vaca, who on his return had also asked to be made Adelantado of Florida. It was thought he could tell, if he would, wonderful tales of the richness, in many precious things, of the region where he had endured so much, and out of which he had come literally as naked as he came into the world.

De Soto is made Adelantado of Florida.

De Soto.

De Soto went prepared for conquest and colonization. His force was between six and seven hundred men — some say a thousand —

[1] *A Relation of the Invasion and Conquest of Florida by the Spaniards, under the Command of Fernando de Soto. Written in Portuguese by a Gentleman of the Town of the Elvas.* This is the original and the fullest and most trustworthy narrative of the expedition of De Soto There have been several translations, the first by Hakluyt (vol. iii.), and the last by Buckingham Smith, published by the Bradford Club. We rely mainly on the *Relation* but comparing Garcilaso de Vega, Biedma, and Herrera.

with, perhaps, a few women; among them were a number of priests with all the paraphernalia of their office, and mechanics with the instruments of their trades.[1] The fleet consisted of nine vessels, ships, caravels, and pinnaces; and besides their human freight they carried between two and three hundred horses,

Preparations for the Conquest of Florida.

The Muster at San Lucar.

a large herd of swine, and a number of bloodhounds, the most efficient ally of the Spaniards in the conquest of the New World. The emperor appointed De Soto governor of Cuba, that he might easily obtain supplies for the new colony, and every possible facility thus be given to the enterprise. After a year's preparation in Spain and the West Indies the expedition sailed at last from Havana on the 18th of May, 1539, and on the 30th the troops were landed at Tampa Bay.

The adventurers land at Tampa Bay.

From Tampa Bay the adventurers marched into the interior, pursuing substantially the same route as Narvaez about eleven years before. Within the first few days De Soto had the good fortune to meet with a Spaniard who had been captured from one of the ships of that earlier expedition by the Indians, and in his long captivity had become familiar with their language. The romantic story of John Smith and Pocahontas was in part anticipated in the experience of this man, Juan Ortiz. When first captured by a band whose chief was named Ucita,[2] he was bound hand and

Story of Juan Ortiz.

[1] De Biedma's narrative. Herrera says, nine hundred beside the sailors, three hundred and thirty horses and three hundred hogs.

[2] *Portuguese Relation.* Herrera calls him Harrihiagua, the name of his village.

foot to stakes, stretched at length upon a scaffolding beneath which a fire was kindled. The smoke had enwreathed the victim and the forked flames were leaping to seize the naked flesh, when the intended holocaust was suddenly interrupted by the prayers of a daughter of the chief. She besought her father to spare the life of the Christian; one such, she urged, if he could do no good at least could do no harm; and she made a cunning appeal to the vanity of the chief by suggesting how great a distinction it would be to hold a white man as a captive. Her prayers were listened to; Ortiz was lifted from the scaffold and unbound, to serve thenceforth as a slave. What the feeling was which the sight of the pale stranger had aroused in the bosom of the dusky maiden, or what the relation which may have afterward existed between them, we are not told; but whether it was on her part mere pity for a stranger, or a tenderer and deeper sentiment, it was not forgotten. Three years later Ucita was defeated in a petty war with

Sacrifice of Juan Ortiz.

another chieftain, and there was danger that Ortiz would be sacrificed to propitiate the devil whose anger, Ucita believed, had brought this misfortune upon him and his people. Then the princess came again to the rescue of the stranger and saved him from probable death. Warning him of his danger, and leading him secretly and alone in the night-time beyond the boundaries of her father's village, she put him in the way to find the camp of the victorious chieftain who had just triumphed over her father and would protect, she knew, the Christian slave.

Ortiz, when years afterwards he heard that his countrymen had arrived in Florida, was glad enough to welcome them, while he did not forget that he had some cause of gratitude to his Indian friends. As a horseman rode at him, not distinguishing him from the savages, he cried out: "Do not kill me, cavalier; I am a Christian! Do not slay these people; they have given me my life!" Fortunately his appeal was heard in time, and to him the expedition was more indebted than to any other man, next to De Soto himself; for through him alone was it possible to hold any intelligent communication with the Indians, whether for peace or war. His death, which occurred not long before that of the governor, was a source of deep perplexity and "a great cross to his designs."

The march inland.

When De Soto turned his face inward he sent his ships back to Cuba for provisions to return at an appointed time. The army toiled painfully through the woods and swamps of Florida from spring till autumn. The provisions they brought with them were soon exhausted, and the country afforded them but little support. They heard, as Narvaez did before them, of Apalachen where gold abounded; and when they reached the spot where, appalled by the difficulties before him and the poverty of the country round about, he had turned to the sea for refuge, so also the courage of De Soto's men gave way and they entreated him to return. But the governor declared he would never go back till he had seen with his own eyes the dangers in store for them if any there were.

The first winter was passed in the neighborhood of Apalachen Bay, and the point where Narvaez had built his boats and whence he started on his fatal voyage. Communication was held with Cuba; arrangements were made for a future supply of provisions, and twenty Indian women were sent as slaves to Doña Isabella, De Soto's wife, as an earnest of good things to come.

Spanish cruelty to the natives.

In the spring they pushed northward, and in April they were still only about three hundred miles from Tampa Bay. To the unhappy natives their march was as the march of a pestilence. The news of their coming was the signal for war. The cacique of every tribe they met was compelled to pay tribute in maize; to supply them with as many men as were needed for personal attendants and as carriers of burdens from the boundaries of one tribe to those of another; and that the service might be faithfully done, these slaves were chained in couples, neck to neck. The women they took both for servants and mistresses, following therein the example of the governor, who consoled himself for the absence of the Doña Isabella by the possession of not less than two of the comely Indian girls, the daughters of caciques or others, as best suited his

inclination. What was not granted through fear or good-will was taken by the strong hand; and in either case the result was the same — subjection and cruelty. A messenger whose message was not pleasing carried back for answer to his master the bloody stumps of his severed hands; amusement was combined with punishment by setting up prisoners as targets to be shot at with arrows.

Want of food.

Maize they now often found in abundance in the fields and granaries of the Indians. They took it, or it was given to them — it mattered little which. But they suffered, especially the sick, for the need of salt and meat, though game, in the season, was plenty and the natives never wanted for it. The woods were alive with deer, with wild turkeys, and partridges; ducks covered the ponds; the rivers were full of fish; but the Spaniards lacked the skill either to entrap or to kill any wild thing except an Indian. When in extremity, the adventurers fed upon the hogs which had been produced in great numbers from the drove brought from Cuba, and which had thriven on the plentiful mast of the forest; nor did the hungry soldiers disdain to eat the native dogs whenever they could get them. But it was always war, and always a struggle for existence, while the gold they were searching for they only heard of and always in some province yet to be reached. Their hopes were fed, however, by the possession of great quantities of pearls — fed, though not satisfied.

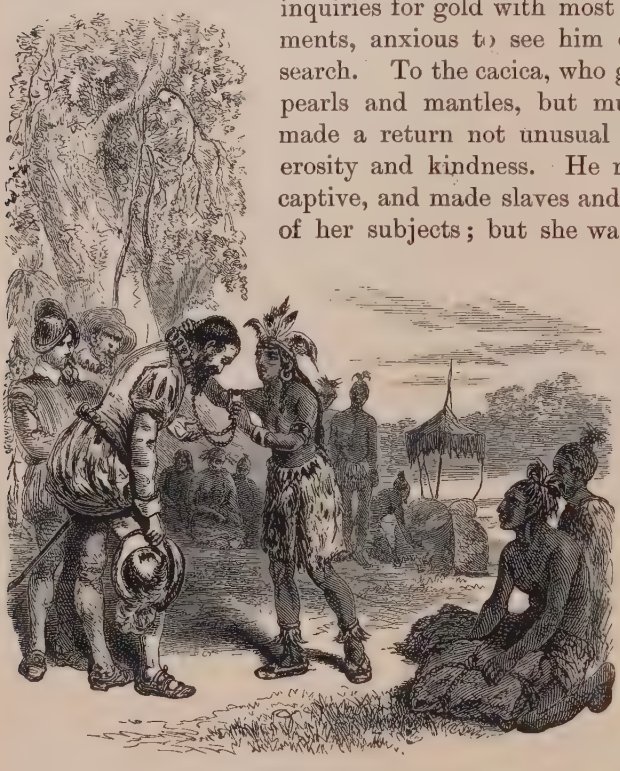
De Soto and the Indian queen.

In April of the second spring there came to meet the governor an Indian queen, or cacica, who was brought to the bank of a river, carried in a litter by four of her principal subjects. A barge, over whose stern was a canopy supported by a lance, and beneath which was spread a carpet and cushions, awaited her. On meeting the governor she took from her own neck a heavy string of pearls and threw it over his, presenting him beside with mantles of feathers and thread made from the bark of trees. Offering these, with many protestations of welcome and good will, and observing the eagerness with which the Spaniards received the pearls, and how great a value they put upon them, she told them they could be found in large quantities in the graves of the villages. These were speedily rifled, and though three hundred and fifty pounds weight were gathered at one time, they proved of little value, as they had been bored by some heated implement, and had lost their lustre. Nevertheless they were pearls, and the hopes and the cupidity of the Spaniards were excited accordingly.

In the province of this cacica many of the people would have been glad to remain and found a colony. But De Soto, who was an "inflexible man and dry of word," willing enough to listen to advice but

seldom taking it, determined to push on; and there were never wanting those among the Indians who were ready to answer his eager inquiries for gold with most satisfactory statements, anxious to see him depart in further search. To the cacica, who gave him not only pearls and mantles, but much provision, he made a return not unusual with him for generosity and kindness. He retained her as a captive, and made slaves and beasts of burden of her subjects; but she was wary enough to evade the vigilance of her guards and escape into the woods, taking with her a box full of pearls which were said to be of great value. Her people were the most civilized of any of the Floridians that De Soto met with in his three years' march, for they wore shoes and clothing made from skins which they dressed and colored with great skill, and adorned themselves with mantles, made of feathers, or in a textile fabric of some woody fibre. The cacica's village was only two days' journey from the sea — the Atlantic coast — at the point where Ayllon had landed nearly twenty years before. The Indians cherished a dagger and some beads, perhaps a rosary, which they said came from some of Ayllon's men.

Escape of the cacica.



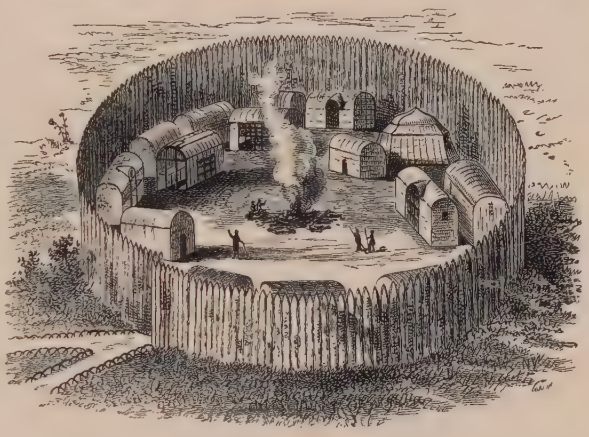
The Indian Queen.

From the province of the cacica the invaders marched northwest, and, in the course of the summer, reached the neighborhood of the Appalachian chain. They had seen among the Indians some little axes of copper which were supposed to contain a mixture of gold; and the process of smelting ores, as practised among the people where they were mined, was described with great accuracy. Had the Spaniards pushed forward at the point they had now reached they would have found what they were in search of, though not in

Indications of gold.

large quantities. But an exploring party pronounced the mountains impassable, and fortunately for the natives, whose fate, in case of discovery would have been to gather gold as slaves, or resistance to death, the Spaniards lacked either the skill or the diligence to trace the evidences of the existence of metals. De Soto therefore turned south again with his little army of marauders, and wandered the rest of the summer in the valleys of the streams emptying into Mobile Bay.

In October they reached Mavilla, a village which has given its name to the river and city of Mobile. The country round about, as well as that through which they had been wandering for weeks, was populous, and they had done nothing to conciliate, every thing to exasperate the natives. Mavilla was a place of importance, containing many houses, and surrounded with palisades; it was soon evident that its possession was not to be yielded without a struggle.



Palisaded Town. [From De Bry.]

The governor and a few attendants entered; the cacique, who was with him, took refuge in a house, and, deaf both to entreaties and threats, defied him. It was easy enough to provoke an outbreak. A Spaniard replied to some haughty words from a chief by laying his back open with a cutlass, and all the Indians sprung to their bows and arrows. Every house was an ambuscade, and before the Christians could fly to the fields five of them were slain. Among those who escaped was De Soto, who, forming his troops, at once invested the town, and led the assault, the soldiers carrying their arms in one hand and a torch in the other. The defence was brave, desperate, and useless. A contest between naked savages and men, many of whom were mounted, and all were in armor, was rather a hunting-chase than a battle. Twenty-five hundred of the Indians were speedily put to the sword, or were driven to torture and death by suffocation in the smoke and flames of their own houses; of the Spaniards, eighteen only were killed, and one hundred and fifty received arrow wounds from which they quickly recov-

Battle with the natives.

ered.[1] Their most serious loss was of the property destroyed by the fire, for at the first desperate onset, before the Spaniards had time to rally, the chains of the captives were stricken off and their burdens taken within the palisades.

De Soto was now, as he learned from the Indians, within six days of Pensacola (Ochuse), where some of his ships awaited news of him. But he concealed the fact from his own men, lest they should desert him, and held no communication with the ships, for he preferred that as yet there should be no tidings sent to Cuba of the expedition. His pearls, the only thing of value he had found, were all lost; he had little else to report than continued misfortune, and that in his two years' wanderings he had lost more than a hundred men. After a month's stay at Mavilla, he again moved farther into the interior till he reached the upper part of the State of Mississippi, where he went into winter quarters on the banks of the Yazoo River. The country was populous, and the maize was plentiful; there was, therefore, no lack of food. But the cold was severe, the snow covered the ground, and whether on the march or in camp hostilities with the Indians never ceased. There was constant aggression on one side; constant retaliation on the other. In March a night attack was made upon the camp of the Spaniards which was more disastrous to them than the fight at Mavilla. All that was saved from the burning at that place was lost in this. Twelve Spaniards were killed, fifty horses and four hundred hogs perished in the flames; while on the other side the loss was only one man and one woman. In the confusion and suddenness of the attack and the fire, the soldiers lost nearly all their clothing, as well as their arms, saddles, and other property, leaving them for some days so destitute and miserable, that, "had the Indians," says the narrative, "returned the second night, they might, with little effort, have overpowered us."[2] The losses, however, were in a few days repaired, so far as was possible, by the forging of new swords and the making of new spears and saddles. Skins had to be substituted for clothing, and mats of dried grass for blankets.

The Spaniards go into winter quarters.

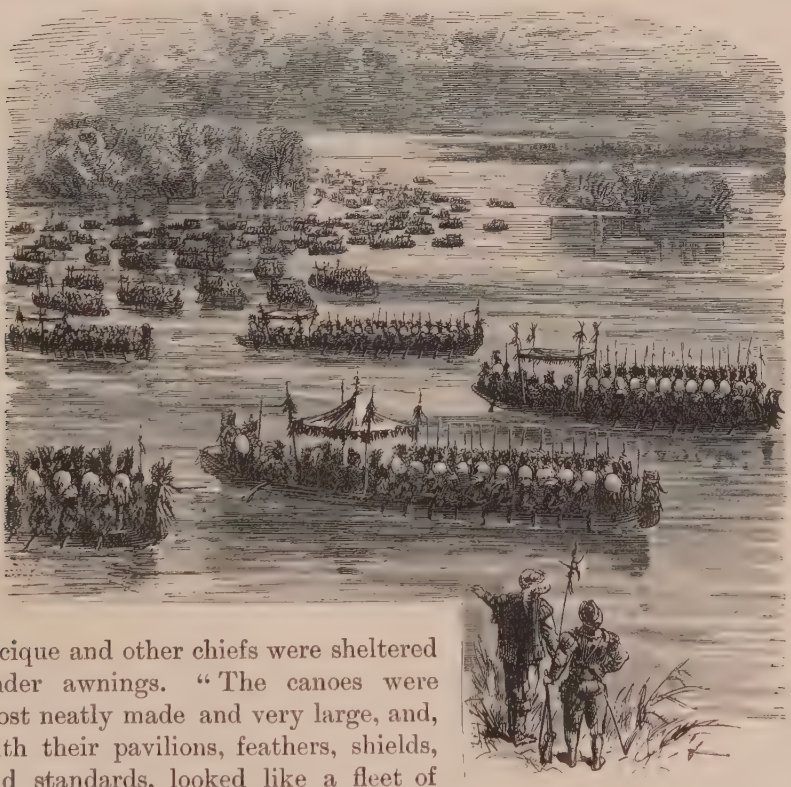
In the course of the spring and summer the army crossed the State of Mississippi diagonally from the southeast to the northwest corner till they reached the great river — the Mississippi, which the Spaniards called the Rio Grande — at about the thirty-fifth degree of latitude, or the boundary line between the States of Mississippi and Ten-

[1] Portuguese *Relation*. Herrera says (Decade IV., book vii., chap. 4) that the Spanish loss was eighty-three men, and that of the Indians eleven thousand, four thousand of whom were burnt to death.

[2] Portuguese *Relation*.

nessee. "This river in that place was half a league over, so that a man could not be distinguished from one side to the other; it was very deep and very rapid, and being always full of trees and timber that was carried down by the force of the stream, the water was thick and very muddy. It abounded with fish, most of which differed much from those that are taken in the rivers of Spain." Boats were necessary to cross, and it took a month to build them. Discovery of the Mississippi.

A great cacique, Aquixo, was lord of the country on the other side of the Mississippi, and in a day or two he approached to meet the strangers. He came with an imposing array of two hundred canoes, filled with armed men, a part of whom stood up to protect the rowers with feathered shields, but all with their bodies and faces painted, their heads adorned with plumes of many colors. The Visit of the cacique.



Fleet of the Cacique.

cacique and other chiefs were sheltered under awnings. "The canoes were most neatly made and very large, and, with their pavilions, feathers, shields, and standards, looked like a fleet of galleys." They brought presents of fish and fruit and bread, and came, they said, to welcome and do homage to the strangers. But the strangers chose to believe that they had a hostile purpose; when they hesitated to land the Span-

iards killed five or six of them for such a want of confidence, and others who attempted to make a landing they fell upon as coming with evil intent.

When the boats were finished the army crossed without opposition. For a few days they kept along the west bank of the river, making their way with difficulty through the forest and wet bottom lands, and harassed by constant attacks from the Indians. But they reached, ere long, a higher and dryer country, where they remained for more than a month, and where they found artificial hills, on which the caciques sometimes put their houses.[1] On one of these De Soto set up a cross when two blind men were brought to him to be cured, and instead of healing he gave a homily to the assembled heathen on the mystery of the atonement. The simple natives knelt in imitation of the Spaniards at the foot of the cross, and De Soto admonished them "to honor and adore it, and demand of the Lord who was in Heaven all that they might stand in need of." Not long after De Soto accepted as a present from a chief his two sisters, "both handsome and well-shaped," with a request that the governor would make them his wives. But women with that tribe were as cheap as morality was with the Spaniards; they were purchased for a shirt a piece.

Piety of the Spaniards.

It is not clear how far north and west the expedition marched during this summer, as the narratives are obscure and sometimes conflicting. While the larger part of the force remained through a portion of June and all of July in the neighborhood of the Mississippi, a reconnoitering party was sent into the interior, which when it returned almost in a starving condition, reported that the country was poor and barren. They learned that further north there were very few people, but many cattle — bisons. The robes of these animals they procured at different times from the Indians, "which were very convenient against the cold of that country because they made a good furr, the hair of them being as soft as sheep's wool." But the progress of the main body seems to have been generally southwestward, crossing the St. Francis and the White rivers, marching through a country fertile, well-watered, and thickly inhabited, as far as the present site of Little Rock, in Arkansas. They found and used the saline springs of that State, and finally went into winter quarters on the banks of a river which may have been

Extreme limit of the exploration.

[1] "The caciques of this country make a custom of raising, near their dwellings, very high hills, on which they sometimes build their huts. On one of these we planted the cross, and went with much devotion on our knees to kiss the foot of it." *A Narrative of the Expedition of Hernando de Soto. By Luis Hernandez de Biedma. Historical Collections of Louisiana. By B. F. French*, 1850, p. 105. These hills were no doubt the "mounds" of the earlier people, but which the Spaniards naturally supposed were raised by the Indians.

either the White or the Arkansas. Near by, the Indians had reported, was a great lake which, it was supposed, might be an arm of the sea; and De Soto hoped to reopen communication in the spring with Cuba, and procure reinforcements, of which he was in great need. He had lost in his three years' wanderings two hundred and fifty men and one hundred and fifty horses; and since his first winter at Appalachee Bay no tidings had been sent to the Doña Isabella whether he were alive or dead.

That he was dead was to be her next news of him. With the spring the march was resumed, and its sole object now was to reach the sea. Communication with the Indians had become more difficult, for Ortiz had died in the course of the winter. The Indians, observing the weakness and perplexities of the Spaniards, were more defiant than any of their tribes had hitherto been. A haughty cacique sent word to De Soto that his boast of being the son of the Sun would be accepted when he was seen to dry up the great river; that meanwhile it was not the custom of him who sent this message to visit inferiors; if the stranger wished to see him he was always at home; if he came in peace he would find a welcome; if with hostile intentions the chief was equally ready for him. De Soto was in no condition to punish or resent this defiance. An expedition that was sent down the river to find the sea, returned and reported that in eight days journey they could make but little progress, for the country was full of swamps and dense forests, and that the river with many bends ran far up into the land.

Death of De Soto.

Worn down with hardships, anxiety, disappointment, and despair, De Soto sank under this accumulation of misfortunes. Conscious of approaching death, he called the principal officers of the expedition about him. He told them he was dying; he thanked them for the fidelity and affection they had always shown him, and regretted that he had not been able to reward them as he had always hoped to do, and according to their deserts; he asked pardon of all who believed they had cause of offence against him, and as a last favor he begged they would in his presence choose a leader to take his place, that he might leave them without fear of dissensions to arise after he was gone. They asked him to appoint his own successor, and he named Luis Moscoso de Alvarado, whom they all swore to obey. The next day, the 21st of May, 1542, he died.

His burial in the Great River.

It was thought wise to conceal his death from the Indians, for he had assured them not only that he was the son of the Sun, but that Christians could not die. The new governor ordered him to be buried secretly in the gateway of the camp. But the suspicions of the natives, who had seen him sick, were aroused

He was no longer visible, but they saw a new-made grave, and gathering about it looked down with curious eyes and in solemn, whispered consultation upon the mysterious heap of earth. Then Moscoso ordered the body to be disinterred with great precaution in the dead of night, and, the mantles in which it was wrapped being made heavy with sand, it was dropped silently and in the darkness in the middle of the deep waters of the Mississippi. And when the cacique of

Burial of De Soto.

Guachoya came to Moscoso and said: "What has been done with my brother and lord, the Governor?" The answer was, "He has ascended into the skies for a little while and will soon be back."[1]

Luis de Moscoso.

Either De Soto misunderstood this Luis de Moscoso or history has belied him. It is said that he loved a life of ease and gayety in a Christian land, rather than one of toil and hardship and self-denial in the discovery and subjection of strange countries. But whether he believed that longer persistence in an enterprise, now in its fourth year, whose sole fruits had been death and disaster, was foolhardiness, or whether he wanted the energy and boldness to pursue it and achieve success, he decided at once to lead his companions back to Cuba if he could find the way. When this was announced and council called to consult as to the best direction to pursue, there were many who were glad that De Soto was quiet in his loaded mantles at the bottom of the great river. With him the enterprise could have ended only with his and their lives, and they rejoiced that he was taken and they left.

[1] Herrera says that the body was inclosed in the trunk of an oak hollowed out for the purpose, and sunk "in the middle of the river, where it was a quarter of a league over and nineteen fathoms deep."

The determination was to seek their countrymen, as Cabeça de Vaca had done, on the Pacific coast. Through the summer and autumn they straggled west and south, east and north, as they were led by some vague rumor or vager hope. Everywhere they inquired the way to the sea; but they met with no Indians who had ever seen it. Everywhere they asked if Christians had not visited that region; and when the Indians answered, No, they sometimes put them to the torture and extorted false confessions, which only misled the Spaniards with some new delusion. Enemies waylaid them with that stealthiness which only Indians are capable of; guides misled them with that cunning which the Indian counts as one of his chief virtues; hunger, sickness, insubordination, confusion well nigh bordering on despair, so beset them, that it seemed they could never escape unless God should be pleased to work miracles on their behalf. Once more, in the early winter, they turned back to the great river for a last effort to save themselves.

The Spaniards return to Guasa.

A few miles above the mouth of the Arkansas, where the timber was the largest they had seen, they built, in the course of the next six months, seven brigantines. The maize which the Indians had stored in two neighboring villages the Spaniards seized for their own support meanwhile. From the chains struck from the slaves, from shot, from their stirrups, and whatever else of iron the camp afforded, they forged the requisite nails and spikes. The bark of the mulberry tree was twisted into cordage, and from the fibre of a plant like hemp they made oakum. The natives supplied them with mantles of matting for sails, and this was held as a special interposition of Divine Providence, "disposing the Indians to bring the garments; otherwise there had been no way but to go and fetch them." They did not, however, trust to Providence alone, for when the Christians had, or thought they had, reason to suspect that the Indians were coming with a hostile purpose, under a pretence of bringing presents, they killed some of the messengers, cut off the noses and the hands of others and sent them back to the caciques. This conciliatory measure had the desired effect, and the Indians brought and offered with great eagerness everything in their possession that would hasten the departure of such guests. The maize of which they had been robbed was the chief food of these poor creatures, and for want of it they would often fall dead "of clear hunger and debility" about the camp where they came to beg. The governor ordered, under heavy penalties, that nothing should be given them to appease their hunger; but to the credit of his men the orders were not rigidly obeyed, for "the Christians, seeing that even the hogs had their bellies full, and that these poor Indians came and took so much pains to serve them,

Building the brigantines.

and whose extreme misery they could not but pity, charitably gave them of the maes they had," — a weakness they reproached themselves for afterward, when they loaded their vessels with stores for the voyage and had room for more.

Voyage down the Mississippi.

These boats were finished in June. Most of the horses and all the hogs were killed for provisions, and on the 2d of July, 1543, the expedition, reduced now to three hundred and seventy-two persons, embarked for the voyage down the Mississippi. They were seventeen days in reaching the mouth of the river, fighting

Departure of the Spaniards.

their way on the water as they had always done on the land, for the Indians grew the more aggressive with the hope that they were seeing the last of the hated white men. Sailing out into the Gulf, pursued to the last moment by the natives, they cruised for fifty days along the coast of Louisiana and Texas, till they reached the Spanish colony of Panuco. Haggard, gaunt, half-naked, having only a scanty covering of skins, looking more like wild beasts than men, they kissed the ground when they landed among their countrymen, and "on bended knees, with hands raised above them, and their eyes to heaven remained untiring in giving thanks to God."

But the relation of such hardships as these men endured, following upon the almost complete extermination that befell the Narvaez expedition, could not deter their countrymen from further explorations in the same direction. It could not be forgotten that a

great country, still in the possession of savage heathens, stretched from the Atlantic coast, along which Gomez, Lucas Vasquez de Ayllon, and Ponce de Leon had sailed, to that Western — or as it was then called, Southern — Ocean, reached by Cabeça de Vaca, and his three companions, after six years' wanderings. De Soto slept quietly, after three years of travel, at the bottom of a river, broad and deep, hundreds of miles from its mouth, and no man could tell how far the land watered by it and its tributaries extended.

So vast a field for enterprise, and so full of magnificent promise, notwithstanding the fate of all who had hitherto entered it, could not long remain neglected. Yet in spite of its inviting name, *The Land of Flowers* continued most inhospitable to all attempts on the part of the Spaniards to gain a foothold there. An expedition, led by some zealous friars, eager for the conversion of the heathen, landed on its shores, and were massacred as soon as they set foot thereon. Twice within the ten years following De Soto's expedition, a fleet of ships, crowded with adventurers, and richly laden with treasure from Mexico, were wrecked on its coast, and those on board who escaped the perils of the sea were slaughtered by the natives, leaving barely enough alive to tell the story of their disaster. Occasionally a solitary survivor of one of these ill-fated enterprises returned to the Spanish settlements in Mexico, or the West Indies, to recount his romantic adventures. Hardly an expedition, after that of Ponce de Leon had first landed at Florida, failed to meet somewhere among the Indians, a white captive of their own race who had belonged to some previous company of explorers, and who, taken captive by the Indians, had been spared to slavery, after his companions were slain. Their story would be no less romantic than that of Cabeça de Vaca, or of Juan Ortiz, if, like them, it had gained a chronicler.

Expedition of Don Tristan de Luna.

It was exactly twenty years after the imposing departure of De Soto from San Lucar, that a fleet of still larger size, and no less magnificence than his, was fitted up at Vera Cruz, in Mexico, for the conquest and settlement of Florida. It was commanded by Don Tristan de Luna, a scion of a noble family in Arragon, whose father was for several years a governor of Yucatan. He sailed from Vera Cruz on the 14th of August, 1559, with an army of 1500 men, besides many friars zealous for the conversion of the Indians, and a number of women and children, the families of the soldiers who were to colonize Florida. They had a prosperous voyage to a good harbor, which they named the Santa Maria.[1] Here they anchored the ships, and Don Tristan prepared to send news of his arrival back

[1] *Hist. of Florida*, by G. R. Fairbanks, says this was Pensacola Bay, as the old Spanish maps gave the Bay as the Santa Maria.

to the viceroy. But the accustomed ill-fortune of Spanish adventurers in these parts attended him. On the sixth day after his arrival, a great storm arose, and all his ships were driven on shore and destroyed. Left on the land with his great army with no means of returning to Mexico, he at once sent out a detachment of soldiers, under his sergeant-major, to explore the country, and seek for the rich provinces of which they had heard, while he remained at the port with the rest of his people.

Exploration of the country.

The detachment, after a march of forty days through a country empty of people and barren of provisions, reached an Indian town, which, although deserted, contained a quantity of corn, beans, and other vegetables. Most of the natives had run away on their approach, but they found a few bolder ones still lurking about the village, and conciliated them with presents of beads and ribbons. From these they learned that the town had been very large and well peopled, but had been attacked by men like themselves, who had destroyed and driven away the inhabitants. These same strange invaders had caused the general desolation of the country, and the abandonment of the villages which they had seen on the march. Refreshing himself and his men on the provisions, which seemed abundant, the sergeant-major sent back a party of sixteen to report to De Luna. In their absence, De Luna, who had lost a large part of his provisions in the shipwreck, was greatly distressed for want of food, and anxious for the safety of the sergeant-major. He was preparing to set out in search of him, when his messengers arrived, and he at once started to join the advance with his train of a thousand men, women, and children. Guided by the sixteen soldiers, they reached the Indian town, and for a short time feasted on the food they found there. But the supplies, which had seemed so inexhaustible to the first-comers, were soon consumed by the great numbers. The suffering that ensued was most severe. They were forced to eat bitter acorns, and even the bark and leaves of the young trees. A party was sent out again to find if they could discover any relief, or see anything of the rich town of Coça, of which the Indians told them. These were forced on their march to eat their pack-mules, and then the leather of their straps, and their gun-covers. Their lives were preserved by their entrance into a wood of chestnut and walnut trees, where they surfeited themselves on the abundant fruit.

De Luna awaited their return, till the sight of his people dying of hunger made him resolve to return to the port of Santa Maria. He reached there after much suffering, and was soon followed by the exploring party, who brought back still more unfavorable reports of the sterility and poverty of the country. They had found none of the

noble cities, rich in gold and silver, with people clothed in garments of silk and cloth of the Indies, of which they had heard reports. Instead, they saw only desolate lands, and villages deserted even by the savage inhabitants, who had learned to flee on the approach of the white man.

At the port De Luna procured two small vessels, either built from the remains of the wreck, or else preserved from the storm which had destroyed the larger ships. These he sent back to the viceroy, with appeal for succor. Relief came in the shape of two ships, well provisioned, prepared to take away the unhappy colony, now distracted with misery, discontent, and anarchy. Tristan de Luna at first refused to abandon his enterprise, and insisted on being left behind with a few followers. But he was recalled by the Viceroy, and at last returned to Mexico in 1561, about two years from the time of his first setting out. Thus ended the most carefully prepared and most promising attempt ever made to colonize Florida by the Spaniards. Fortunately for the progress of the human race, and the future history of North America, all their efforts to gain a permanent foothold north of the Gulf of Mexico, were in the main unsuccessful.

End of De Luna's enterprise.

Fishing Fleet at Newfoundland.

CHAPTER VIII.

FRENCH DISCOVERIES AND ATTEMPTS AT COLONIZATION.

Breton Fishermen on Newfoundland Banks. — Giovanni da Verrazano first enters New York Harbor. — Jacques Cartier sent on an American Expedition. — Exploration of the St. Lawrence River. — Cartier's Visit to the Indian Town of Hochelaga. — Voyage of Francis de la Roque, Lord of Roberval. — The Huguenots seek an Asylum in America. — The Colony of Admiral Coligny. — John Ribault goes to Florida. — Setting up the Arms of France. — Laudonniére commands a Second Enterprise. — Building of Fort Caroline. — Progress of the Colony.

As early as 1504, the hardy fishermen of various nations had followed the Cabots and Cortereals across the Atlantic, and were tossing all the summer through in their little vessels on the Grand Banks, and along the coasts of Newfoundland and Nova Scotia. It was only to sail a few degrees more to the westward than their fathers had done, for it is certain that the mariners of England, of Brittany, Normandy, and the Bay of Biscay had approached, if they had not seen, the Western continent, long before its discovery by either Columbus or Cabot. It is not at all unlikely that they may have explored in the sixteenth century, harbors, rivers, and islands along the shores of New England, whose discovery has been the subject of controversy on behalf of this or that early navigator of distinction, for nearly three hundred years. But of what they did there is no record; content with finding good fishing ground, any other knowledge they may

have gained excited little interest beyond their own limited circle of humble people, too ignorant and too busy to trouble themselves or others with geographical conjectures. The practical question of liberty to fish in the newly-discovered seas, was all they cared for, and that they settled among themselves.

Some of these Breton fishermen gave a name — Cape Breton — to an island; in 1506, John Denys, of Honfleur, explored the Gulf of St. Lawrence; two years afterward, Thomas Aubert, a pilot of Dieppe, visited, it is supposed, Cape Breton Island, and carried some of the natives thence to France;[1] and in 1518, the Baron de Leri proposed to settle a colony on Sable Island,[2] but only landed some cattle, whose progeny, eighty years later, served to feed some miserable Frenchmen left there by the Marquis de la Roche. But all these, like the fishing voyages, were private enterprises.

Enterprise of French fishermen.

Spain, notwithstanding the marvellous splendor of her conquests farther south, had persisted for nearly twenty years, at great sacrifice of human life and of treasure, in the attempt to lay open the secret which she believed was hidden in the region north of the Gulf of Mexico. England and Portugal had both shown that they were not disposed to yield the possession of the continent unquestioned to Spain. France alone of the great maritime powers of Europe, seemed indifferent; for though no fishermen on the American coast were more enterprising and more fearless than hers, they claimed no rights except upon the sea. In 1522, a single ship of the Magellan expedition returned to Portugal, having circumnavigated the globe and solved the problem that by sailing westward the East could be reached. A new impulse was given to the desire for a shorter northern passage to India, and Francis I. of France, aroused to the great event of his time, is said to have declared: "Why, these princes coolly divide the New World between them! I should like to see that article of Adam's will which gives them America!" In 1523 he proposed to compete with other powers, both for a share in that New World, and to find for France a shorter route to Cathay.

Interest felt by Francis I. in American discovery.

With this intent an expedition put to sea from some port in Brittany, in the autumn of 1523. It consisted originally of four vessels, but before much progress was made, two of these were first disabled or lost, and afterward a third, leaving only a single ship, called the *Dauphine* — Dalfina.[3] The commander was

Voyage of Verrazano.

[1] Charlevoix, *History of New France*, vol. i., p. 106.

[2] Lescarbot, *Histoire de Nouvelle France*, p. 21. De Leri's full title was Le Sieur, Baron de Leri et de Saint Just, Vicomte de Gueu. This has been erroneously supposed to refer to two men.

[3] In the many accounts of this voyage, Dalfina is usually translated Dolphin, but by later writers, Dauphine. The latter, undoubtedly, is correct, as to the name of this

Giovanni da Verrazano, a native of Florence — Italian by birth, as Columbus and Cabot were, — who, according to the historians of Dieppe, was a captain of one of Thomas Aubert's ships ten years before.[1] He saw and did, for aught that can be known now, no more than Cabot and Cortereal had seen and done about a quarter of a century before. But he has left behind him in a letter to the king, a narrative of his adventures, and for the first time we get a dim and passing glimpse by actual description, of much of the long stretch of the Atlantic coast of North America now within the boundaries of the United States. So vague, indeed, and sometimes so incorrect is this narrative, that the question has been raised whether it was not altogether destitute of truth.[2] But the argument of its want of accuracy, based on internal evidence, may be brought with equal force against many of the accounts of early expeditions which certainly were made.[3]

Giovanni da Verrazano.

It has been supposed by some writers that Verrazano may have made a voyage in 1523 with his four ships across the Atlantic, and that the allusion in his letter to a disaster which overtook two of them, on "Northern coasts," refers to such an expedition. But the letter is otherwise taken up with the single voyage of the *Dauphine*, in

ship. Verrazano alludes to it as "the glorious and fortunate name of our good ship," — *del glorioso nome e fortunato.* "Glorious" would be held to be proper as applied to the Dauphine, but is not at all fitting as descriptive of a dolphin.

[1] Note by J. G. Shea, in Charlevoix, vol. i., p. 106.

[2] See *An Inquiry into the Authenticity of Documents concerning a Discovery in North America, claimed to have been made by Verrazzano.* Read before the New York Historical Society, October, 1864. By Buckingham Smith.

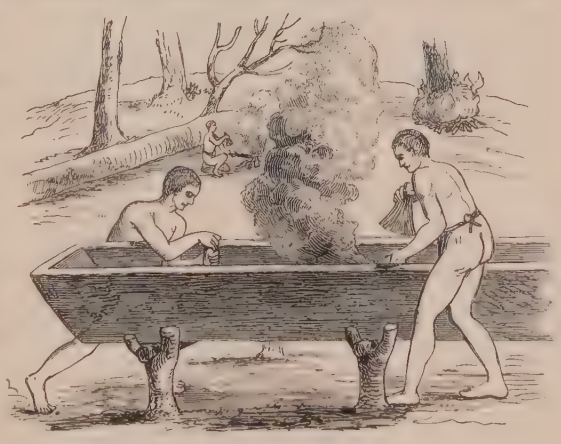
[3] The letter of Verrazano to Francis I. was first published by Ramusio, within about thirty-two years of its date, and was copied from him by Hakluyt. It has been held to be authentic for three centuries, and is not now to be easily set aside. The discovery, a few years since, of a map, by Hieronimus da Verrazano, in a public library in Rome, dating about 1529, offsets, it is claimed, any possible constructive argument against his voyage from negative evidence. For description of this map and the newest theory as to the course of Verrazano, see an article by James Carson Brevoort, in *Journal of American Geographical Society, of New York,* vol. iv.

which he finally set sail from the Madeiras in January, 1524. In forty-nine days he "reached a new country which," he writes, "had never before been seen by any one," and which by fires along the shore, he knew to be inhabited. His land-fall, he says, was on the thirty-fourth parallel, or about the latitude of Cape Fear, as his course after leaving the Madeiras was "towards the west, with a little northwardly." Thence he ran southward for fifty leagues, but finding no harbors he reversed his course. Cruising leisurely along the coast for two hundred leagues, he first notes that the shore was covered with fine sand, rising into little hills about fifty paces broad; then that arms of the sea flowed in through inlets, making an inner and an outer beach; but beyond the coast-line he saw a country rising into beautiful fields, and broad plains covered with immense forests more or less dense, various in foliage and color, and festooned with vines. This verdant land was fragrant with wild roses, violets, lilies, and many other flowers, watered with many lakes and streams. Beasts of the chase, and birds of gay plumage and pleasant song, were plentiful. The balmy air of a delicious summer blew gently over a smooth sea, and on the long stretch of coast, the water was deep, and there were no rocks or hidden dangers to vex the mariner.

His arrival on the American coast, March, 1524.

The natives thronged upon the sands to watch this strange ship, and the strange white men on board of her. They beckoned them to land, and when a sailor, attempting to swim ashore, was thrown, half-drowned by the surf, upon the beach, they rescued him, built fires to warm him and to dry his clothing — his comrades on the ship looking on meanwhile, dreading to see him presently sacrificed and spitted for a savage feast. But when his strength was restored, the natives dismissed him with many demonstrations of tenderness and respect. A few days later the Frenchmen made a cruel return for this kindness and hospitality, by capturing and carrying off an Indian boy they met near the shore, and would have taken also the comely mother, who had only known

Hospitality of the natives.



Indians making a Canoe. [De Bry.]

eighteen Indian summers, but for her outcries and vigorous resistance. All these people were dark in color, well-made, naked, except some scanty covering of furs, or dressed deer-skins and ornamental feathers; their canoes were trunks of trees hollowed out by fire and with stone hatchets; and their arms were bows and arrows.

Verrazano enters the Narrows.

The *Dauphine* anchored at length where a deep river flowed into the sea from among steep hills; a boat put off inland for a short distance, and found that this river widened into a lake some leagues in circuit. The ship had probably entered the outer Bay of New York; the Narrows, between the beautiful hills of Staten Island and the bluffs of Long Island opposite, was the supposed mouth of a river; the magnificent sweep of the inner harbor looked, as it does to-day to a stranger, like a lake; the Indians plied their canoes in large numbers from shore to shore, and at night their watch-fires blazed in the same unbroken circle of twenty miles that now shows the continuous twinkling line of the gaslights of a million of people.[1] But winds which brought peril to the ship in the outer harbor soon compelled them to put to sea again, and they left with regret "a region that seemed so commodious and delightful," and where they deluded themselves with the notion that the hills showed indications of great wealth in mineral deposits.

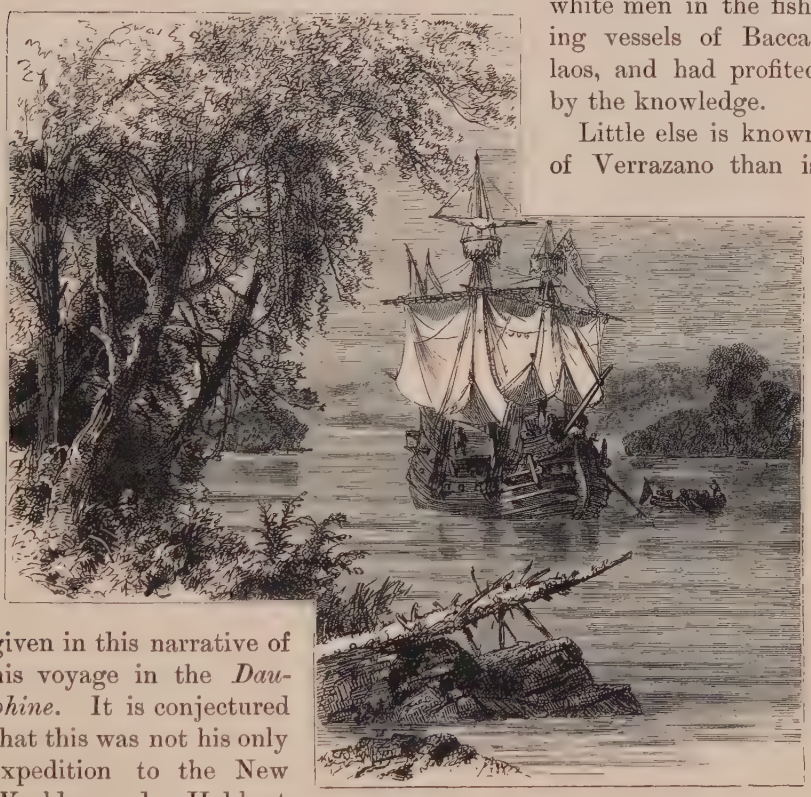
Narragansett Bay.

Sailing east for fifty leagues they passed an island of triangular form, which is supposed to be Block Island, and a few leagues farther entered a spacious haven, where they remained fifteen days. The entrance, with a rock in mid-channel suitable for a fortification, was a mile or two wide and looking toward the south; but within it was a large bay of many leagues, containing five small islands of great beauty, and covered with trees. The latitude, says Verrazano, was 41° 40′, which is about that of Narragansett Bay, and he describes the country "as pleasant as it is possible to conceive," abounding in fruit trees — of which he could have only seen the blossoms, as he was there in May — well watered, with open plains, as well as forests of stately trees, and having many animals of various kinds. If this was the Vinland of the Northmen, the stone tower of Newport was not there when the Frenchmen spent a fortnight in that harbor, and became familiar with its shores. Verrazano describes the houses of the natives as built of split logs, and nicely thatched with straw, and he could hardly have failed to see and describe so remarkable a structure as the tower if it was in existence, and he was ever in Newport harbor.

Here was their only resting-place for any length of time. When

[1] There are almost as many theories as there are writers on Verrazano's voyage, but that most generally received and which seems the most rational, is the explanation which we have here adopted.

the voyage was resumed it was to cruise along the shores of New England, seeing in the distance as they passed the White Mountains of New Hampshire, and sailing among the pleasant islands on the coast of Maine. The Indians of this northern region they found fiercer and less trustful than those with whom they had trafficked and held friendly intercourse farther south, for these knew something of white men in the fishing vessels of Baccalaos, and had profited by the knowledge.



Verrazano in Newport Harbor.

Little else is known of Verrazano than is given in this narrative of his voyage in the *Dauphine*. It is conjectured that this was not his only expedition to the New World, and Hakluyt says: "he had been thrice on that coast."[1] But whether his voyages were one or three, he profited by his observations. His intention was to find a passage to Cathay. The opinions of the ancients that "our ocean was one and the same as the eastern one of Asia," the discovery of the new land had disproved. It was possible, he thought, that this new land might be penetrated, but he was convinced after the cruise of the *Dauphine*,

[1] Since this chapter was put in type a volume of nearly two hundred pages, by Henry C. Murphy, on the voyage of Verrazano, has been published. Mr. Murphy's aim is to show that the claims of discovery made in Verrazano's name have no real foundation. The work is learned, laborious, and exhaustive, and seems to leave nothing more to be said on that side of the question.

that it was "another world," appearing "really to show itself to be larger than our Europe, Africa, or even Asia." That any short route to Cathay could be found was clearly impossible. His conclusion was that the globe was evidently larger than the ancients supposed; it was proved that the sea was wider; this western land, as the voyages of the Spaniards, the Portuguese, and that of the *Dauphine* combined had shown, stretched from the Strait of Magellan to the fiftieth degree of northern latitude, a length greater than that from the northernmost point of Europe to the most southern of Africa; if its breadth was in accordance with its length, then a new continent larger than Asia lay between Europe and India. He may have thought, therefore, that there was little to be gained by a western passage to India, even if one existed; and that it certainly could not be a short one. The credit belongs to him, not only of having first explored with some care the Atlantic coast of the United States, but of first promulgating the true theory of the size of the globe in contradistinction to that of the old cosmographers, which Columbus had adopted and believed in to the day of his death.

Verrazano's idea of the size of the continent.

Jacques Cartier.

The subsequent fate of this navigator is unknown. Some writers maintain that he is identical with a noted corsair, Juan Florin or Florentin, who preyed upon the Spanish treasure-ships, but was captured at last by the Spaniards and hanged.[1] But Ramusio, who first published his letter, says that in a subsequent voyage Verrazano having gone ashore with some companions, was killed by the natives, roasted, and eaten in the sight of those who remained on board the ship.[2] It is also conjectured, from an Italian letter written in 1537, that he was then still living in Rome.[3]

Subsequent fate of Verrazano.

Ten years elapsed before France sent out another expedition, when Philip Chabot, Admiral of France, urged the King to establish a colony somewhere in the northwest. The enterprise was entrusted

[1] This story seems to have been first published by De Barcia (*Ensayo Cronologico*, p. 8] in 1723.

[2] Biddle (*Memoir of Cabot*, chap. ix.) assumes that this ship must have been the *Mary of Guilford*, which sailed from England in 1527, and that Verrazano was her pilot.

[3] Letter of Annibal Caro, cited from Tiraboschi's *Italian Literature*, by Smith, Murphy, and others.

to Jacques Cartier, an experienced navigator of St. Malo, and he sailed from that port in April, 1534, with two ships of only sixty tons each, and carrying each sixty-one men. In twenty days the fleet reached Bona Vista Bay, on the east coast of Newfoundland, whence, after some delay from the ice, they steered northward and passed through the Straits of Belle Isle into the Gulf, afterwards named the St. Lawrence. Cartier coasted along the western shores of Newfoundland, finding the country so inhospitable, so filled with stones and wild crags, with not a cart-load of good earth anywhere, that he believed it to be "the land God allotted to Cain." The natives were uncouth and savage, "dressed in beasts' skins, their hair tied on top like a wreath of hay, a wooden pin run through it," and ornamented with feathers. Crossing the gulf he entered a bay, which because of the heat he named the Bay of Chaleur, where the natives, he thought, were "the poorest in the world," without clothing, eating fish and flesh almost raw, and with no houses but their upturned canoes. But the country was inviting, and he took possession of it in the name of the King of France, setting up a cross thirty feet high, with three *fleur-de-lys*, and the inscription *Vive le Roi de France* carved at its top.[1] Poor and savage as the natives were they knew enough to object to his proceeding, and their chief, protesting by signs that this was his country, said that he wanted no crosses set up in it. But Cartier enticed him and some others on board his ship, and conciliating him with some trifling presents, obtained his consent to take his two sons to France. They sailed soon after on the homeward voyage, and arrived at St. Malo in September, after an absence of a little more than four months.

Jacques Cartier sails from St. Malo. April, 1534.

His description of the people of Canada.

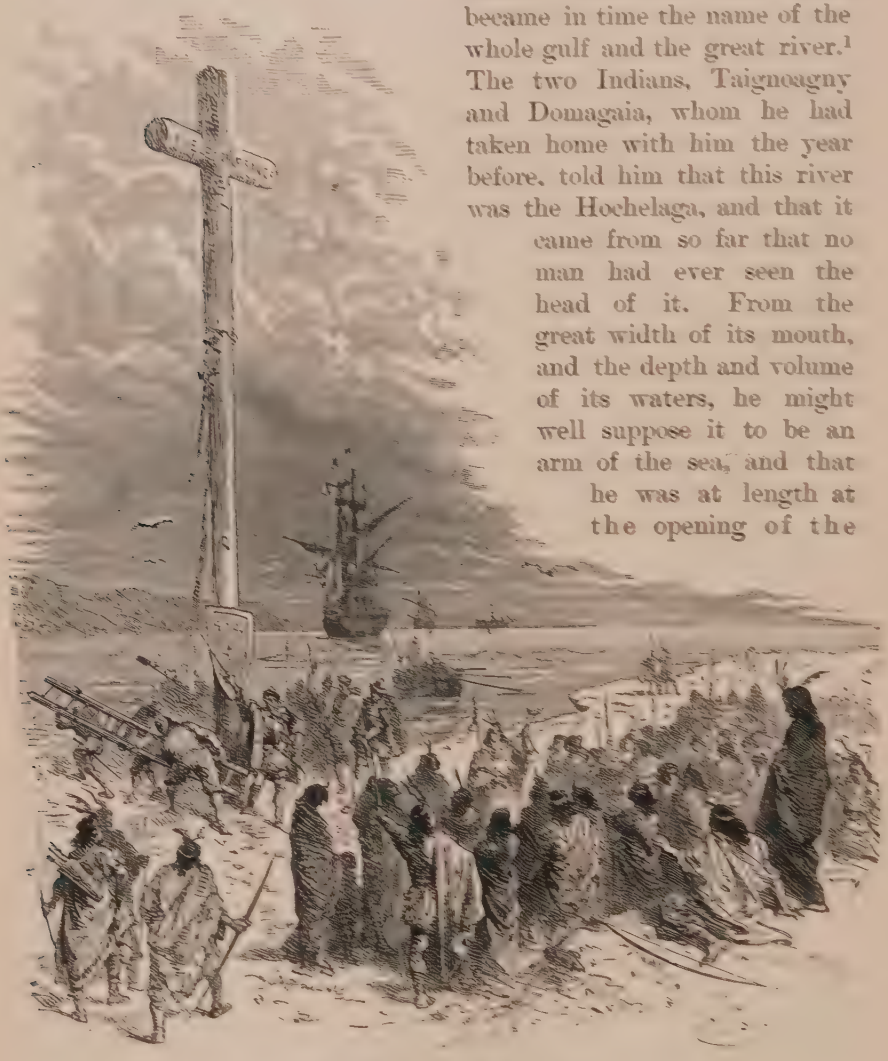
The report of these discoveries was so favorably received that another expedition was determined upon, and Cartier was dispatched the next spring — in May, 1535 — with three ships, the largest, however, only one hundred and twenty tons. Among his followers were some young men of family and fortune, enthusiastic for adventure. The embarkation was a solemn and eventful day in St. Malo; the ships' companies making confession, hearing high mass in the cathedral, and departing with the blessing of the bishop. They were going, not only to find the way to Cathay, and plant French colonies in new lands, but whole nations were to be brought within the pale of the Holy Catholic Church.

Second voyage of Cartier. May, 1535.

[1] There is an old tradition, says Charlevoix, that the Spaniards had visited this country before Cartier, but finding no mines, said of it *aca-nada* — nothing there. These words the Indians remembered and repeated, and hence the name Canada. Others derive the name, says Charlevoix, from the Indian word *Kannata*, meaning a collection of cabins. Shea adds in a note that the Spanish derivation is fictitious. — *History of New France*, vol. ii., p. 113.

Entering the St. Lawrence.

On the 10th of August the fleet was at the mouth of the St. Lawrence, and this name which Cartier first gave to the strait between the island of Anticosti — he called it Assumption Island — and the north coast became in time the name of the whole gulf and the great river.[1] The two Indians, Taignoagny and Domagaia, whom he had taken home with him the year before, told him that this river was the Hochelaga, and that it came from so far that no man had ever seen the head of it. From the great width of its mouth, and the depth and volume of its waters, he might well suppose it to be an arm of the sea, and that he was at length at the opening of the



Setting up the Arms of France.

strait, so long sought for, that would lead him to the Indian Ocean: but his guides said that it narrowed as it ascended, and that its waters were fresh. He made no haste, therefore, to push forward, leisurely

[1] Charlevoix, *History of New France*, vol. ii., p. 115.

exploring the coasts, examining the country, and looking for a convenient harbor for winter quarters.

On the first of September he met the dark waters of the Saguenay pouring into the St. Lawrence; fifteen leagues further on he anchored in the shadow of a pleasant island, which, because it was covered with hazels, he called *Isle aux Coudres;* eight leagues further he found another island still pleasanter and larger, and so abounding in grapes that he named it Bacchus Island — now known as the Isle d'Orleans. A fleet of canoes put out from the beach to look at these strange visitors, but the natives were too much alarmed to venture within their reach, till Taignoagny and Domagaia, whom they recognized as of their own race, assured them that the strangers were friends. Then they flocked aboard the vessels, listened to the wonderful story of all that had befallen the two youths on their visit to France, and of the kindness and benefits that had been bestowed upon them. Donnacona, the "lord" of Saguenay, had come with the rest, and he addressed to Cartier a long oration, took his arm, and, kissing it, twined it about his own neck in token of amity and gratitude that these two young men, his countrymen, had received such favors at the hands of the French.

Exploring the river.

A few leagues farther on, at the mouth of a stream which Cartier named the St. Croix, — now the St. Charles — was the village of Stadacona, the home of the chieftain Donnacona.[1] In the waters which washed its shores, beneath the cliffs where now stands the city of Quebec upon the site of this Indian village, was safe anchorage for the ships, and protection from the storms of the coming winter. But Cartier heard from the natives of another and a larger town, the seat of a rival and more powerful chief than Donnacona, from which the river took its name — Hochelaga. This he resolved to visit. The way to it, Donnacona said, was long and beset with perils, for he was jealous that any of the wealth of knives and copper basins, of little looking-glasses and brilliant colored beads, which the strangers brought, should fall into the hands of the rival chieftain and his people. To his persuasions he added gifts, presenting to Cartier two boys, one of whom was his own brother, and a little girl of ten or twelve years of age who was his sister's child.

Anchorage on the site of Quebec.

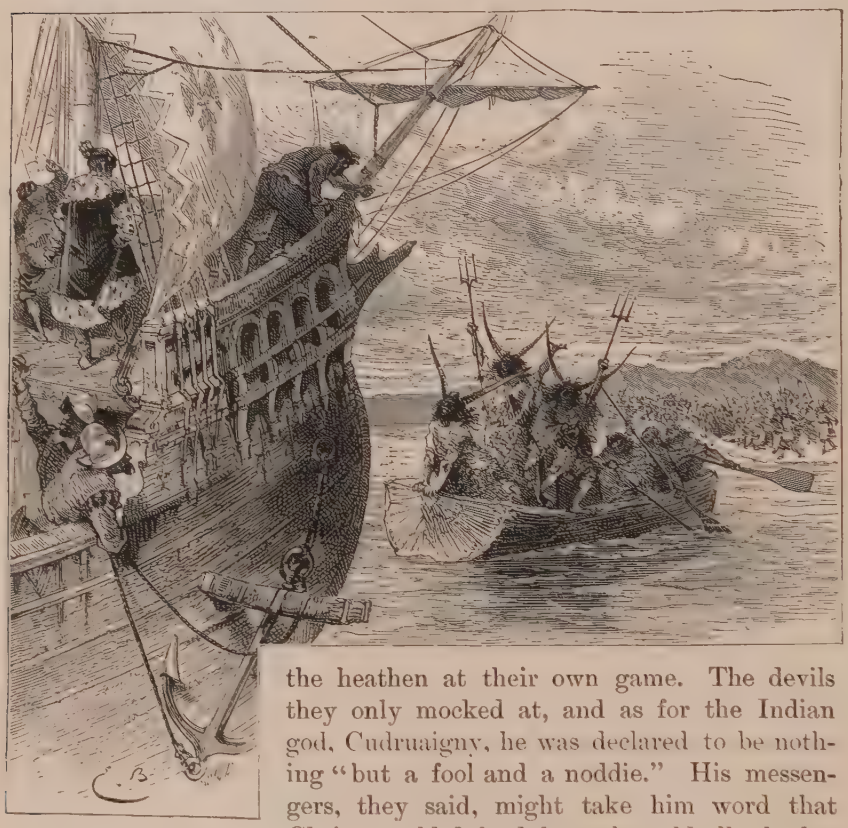
The Frenchman laughed at danger, and was deaf to entreaty; and then the cunning savage tried intimidation. Three devils — Indian devils — came out to the ships, "wrapped in hogges skins white and blacke, their faces besmeered as blacke as any coales,

Cunning of the savages.

1 Charlevoix (*History of New France*), asserts that the St. Croix and the St. Charles are not the same. For the evidence and authorities that they are identical, see Shea's notes to Charlevoix, vol. ii., pp. 116, 117, and Parkman's *Pioneers of New France*, p. 185.

with hornes on their heads more than a yard long."[1] A crowd of natives followed howling and shrieking, and then with a hideous uproar retreating to the woods. Taignoagny and Domagaia, in real or pretended fright, with clasped, uplifted hands, and eyes raised to heaven, cried out, "Jesu! Jesu! Jesu Maria!" declaring that these devils had come from Hochelaga, sent by the god of that people to say that all should perish in the ice and snow who ventured thither.

But the Christians could answer prophecy with prophecy, and beat



Donnacona's Strategy.

the heathen at their own game. The devils they only mocked at, and as for the Indian god, Cudruaigny, he was declared to be nothing "but a fool and a noddie." His messengers, they said, might take him word that Christ would defend from the cold all who believed in him, and though the French captain had not himself talked with Jesus upon this subject, the priests had, and received from him a promise of fair weather. There was nothing more to be said. The devils were ignominiously defeated; the worshippers of Cudruaigny gave three great shrieks in token of their acceptance of his discomfiture, and fell to singing and dancing on the beach after their usual mad fashion. Cartier,

Cartier proceeds up the St. Lawrence.

[1] *Narration of Cartier's Voyages*, Hakluyt, vol. iii.

with the smallest of his vessels, a pinnace, and two boats, started the next day for Hochelaga.

For thirteen days they sailed leisurely along the pleasant banks of the river, noting and admiring the fruitfulness of the land, the beauty of the forests, and the many kinds of game, both beasts and birds, they sheltered; the abundance of wild fruit, especially of grapes. Everywhere on the way the natives received them with joy and wonder, and when, on the second of October, they landed about eleven miles from Hochelaga, below the rapids of St. Mary,[1] a thousand Indians, men, women, and children, came down to the strand to welcome them. With great pomp and circumstance, Cartier, "very gorgeously attired," marched with his companions to this royal residence. It was a village of about fifty huts, surrounded with a triple row of palisades, in the midst of wide fields where the brown dried leaves of the Indian corn waved and rustled in the autumn winds. On this spot now stands Montreal, and a hill near by which Cartier called Mont Royal, gave a name to the future city.

Arrival at the town of Hochelaga.

In the centre of Hochelaga was a public square where all the people gathered. The women and the maidens came with their arms full of children, begging that they might even so much as be touched by these wonderful white men from some far-off country. The "lord and king," Agouhanna, a man of fifty years, helpless from palsy, was brought in by his attendants stretched upon a deer-skin. Upon his head instead of a crown he wore "a certain thing made of the skinnes of hedge-hogs like a red wreath," but otherwise his apparel did not distinguish him from his subjects. He prayed that relief might be given him from the disease with which he was afflicted. Cartier with his own hands rubbed the shrunken limbs of the royal sufferer, who bestowed upon him in return his crown of colored porcupine quills. It seemed to these poor heathen "that God was descended and come downe from heaven to heale them," and the halt, the lame, the blind, the impotent from age — so old, some of them, "that the hair of their eyelids came downe and covered their cheekes" — were brought forward to be healed. The best the good captain could do was to pray; he read the first chapter of the Gospel of St. John and the passion of Christ, from his service-book, and besought the heavenly Father that He would have mercy upon these benighted savages, and bring them to a knowledge of His holy Word. The Indians were "marvellously attentive," looking to heaven as the Christians did, and imitating all the gestures of devotion; but they better understood, and were overwhelmed with joy when, the prayers being finished, the distribution of hatchets, knives, beads, rings, brooches of tin, and other trifles was begun.

Cartier besought to heal the sick.

[1] *The Conquest of Canada*, by the author of *Hochelaga*, vol. ii., p. 55

Cartier and his companions soon returned to their winter-quarters at the mouth of the St. Charles, where those they had left behind had meanwhile built a rough fort. The river within a few weeks was covered with solid ice, and the ships were buried in four feet of snow.

Pestilence among the French.

With the increasing cold, one of those pestilences so common among the Indians broke out, and, whether it was contagious, or whether it was superinduced by exposure to the severity of the climate, it soon attacked the French. Twenty-four of the com-

Cartier at Hochelaga.

pany died, and the rest were so enfeebled that only three were capable of any exertion. To the fear of death from sickness was added suspicion of the Indians, who, they were afraid, would take advantage of the weakness of the strangers and exterminate those whom the pestilence spared. The natives were ordered to keep away from the fort and the ships under pretence of precaution against infection; and, when any of them approached, Cartier ordered his sick men to beat with hammers and sticks against the side of their berths that the noise might be mistaken for sounds of busy industry.

But where they looked for danger came succor. From the Indians they learned that a decoction of the leaves and bark of a certain tree was a specific for that malady under which they were fast perishing. The squaws brought branches of the tree, and taught them how to pre-

pare and use this sovereign medicine, which, in a few days, not only did all that was promised for it, but also cured the sick of some old chronic difficulties.[1]

Their suspicions of the Indians, nevertheless, continued. When Donnacona had gone on a hunting expedition the French had feared it was to gather a force sufficient for an attack upon the fort and ships. A certain shyness the Indians showed on their return, and an unwillingness to part, except at a high price, with provision they needed for their own support, confirmed the apprehensions. Suspicion on the one side undoubtedly begot it on the other; but that the natives had the most ground for it was shown in the end. When Cartier, in the spring, was ready to sail, he enticed Donnacona, with nine others, on board his ships, seized and confined them, and, heedless of the cries and entreaties of their countrymen, carried them to France. In July, 1536, the fleet arrived at St. Malo; and, when four years later, another expedition returned to Canada, Donnacona and his companions, excepting one little girl, were all dead. They had been baptized and received into the bosom of the Church, however, before they died — compensation enough, it was thought, for enforced loss of liberty, country, and friends.

Suspicious conduct of the Indians

Cartier made to King Francis a report of the fruitfulness of Canada, its wealth in copper, gold, and precious stones, which he had heard of, but not seen; of the wonders of the land, the deer with only two feet, the men with only one, others who never eat, and others still, mere pigmies in stature; but the interest excited was not enough to lead to any renewal of the attempt at colonization till 1540. In that year Jean Francois de la Roque, Seigneur de Roberval of Picardy, asked a commission for farther exploration and experiment, and letters patent were issued, in which the titles were conferred upon him of Lord of Norimbegua, Viceroy and Lieutenant-general in Canada, Hochelaga, Saguenay, Newfoundland, Belle Isle, Carpont, Labrador, Great Bay, and Baccalaos. A Spanish spy alarmed his government with a report that colonization was now to be undertaken by the French on a grand scale; that thirteen ships were to

Commission to Lord de Roberval. 1540.

[1] The tree was called Ameda, or Hanneda, by the Indians, and was thought, says the old chronicle, to be the Sassafras. But the same narrative (Hakluyt, vol. iii.) says, that the leaves were taken at the time from the tree, which, of course, could not have been possible of the sassafras in winter. "A tree as big as any Oake in France," it relates, "was spoiled and lopped bare, and occupied all in five or sixe daies, and it wrought so well that if all the phisicians of Mountpelier and Louaine had bene there with all the drugs of Alexandria, they would not have done so much in one yere as that tree did in sixe dayes; for it did so prevaile, that as many as used of it, by the grace of God, recovered their health." In the account of the next voyage of Cartier the Hanneda is spoken of as a tree "which hath the most excellent virtue of all the trees in the world," and as measuring "about three fathoms about." It was probably the spruce.

take out twenty-five hundred men, and two years' provisions. "Let them go," said the Portuguese, "they can do no harm in Baccalaos."[1] But in May, 1541, Cartier, who was the pilot general, got away with five vessels only, leaving Roberval to follow, after further preparations, the next year.

Cartier's Departure from St. Malo.

The expedition, like those preceding it, was barren of any permanent results. A new fort was begun a few miles above the site of the old one, at the mouth of the St. Croix River; some little land was sowed; something which they took to be gold was gathered; something else, probably crystals of quartz, they supposed were diamonds — for they were so "faire, polished, and excellently cut," that in the sunlight they "glister as it were sparkles of fire." Two ships were sent home in the autumn with tidings of good progress. It was determined, nevertheless, to abandon the adventure. The Indians soon became troublesome, for probably they were not in the least imposed upon by the story of Jacques Cartier, that their kidnapped countrymen — except Donnacona, who, it was acknowledged, was dead — were all married in France, and living there as "lords." And the next summer Roberval, on his way out with an addition to the colony, of two hundred men and women, met Cartier in the harbor of St. John, Newfoundland, with his three remaining vessels bound homeward.

Cartier deserts Roberval.

Roberval indignantly ordered him to return to the St. Lawrence. In the morning his lieutenant was far out to sea on his way to France, having quietly slipped off in the darkness of the night. Perhaps it was not fear of the Indians, nor the hope-

[1] See Buckingham Smith's *Colleccion de raros Documentos*, p. 107, *et seq.*

lessness of a longer struggle with the difficulties and hardships of settling a new country, that alone influenced Cartier and his companions. For, says the old narrative, they were "moved, as it seemeth, with ambition, because they would have all the glory of the discovery of those parts themselves."

Roberval continued his voyage, weakened but not dismayed by the desertion of his lieutenant. Of the colony he planted little is known except its failure, after at least one winter's experience of the hardships of the wilderness. According to one account, Cartier was sent to bring the survivors home.[1] At any rate they returned. Roberval, it is said, undertook another expedition with a brother in 1549, which was lost at sea; but it is also asserted that this could not be, as he was killed in Paris. Cartier died about 1555. It was not till the end of the century that other Frenchmen followed these first adventurers for the settlement of the northern portion of that immense country in North America which France claimed as her own.

Return of Roberval and failure of attempt to colonize.

The foothold she next strove for was much farther south, where it was hoped a handful of Huguenots might find an asylum from religious persecution. In 1555 a colony went out to the Rio de Janeiro, but it soon came to a dismal end. They were Protestants, seeking to escape in the wilderness the scaffold and the fagot to which their religious belief at home exposed them; but bitter dissensions soon arose among them upon such questions as whether water could be rightfully mixed with the wine of the Lord's Supper, or its bread be properly made of Indian meal. Villegagnon, the leader, repenting of his Protestant heresies, if he ever seriously entertained them, returned to the bosom of the indulgent mother church, and abandoned his command. A little remnant of the colony was attacked by the Portuguese, and if any escaped alive it was only by throwing themselves upon the more tender mercy of the savages.

Huguenot colony in South America.

French Costumes (16th Century).

[1] Lescarbot, *Histoire de Colonie Française en Canada.*

Meanwhile the Reformation took deeper root in France, — a struggle for political power as well as for the rights of conscience. There were many anxious to escape from present wrong and suffering, and from the uncertainties of the future, strong as the Protestant party had grown both among the people and at Court. Coligny, the lord admiral, and leader of the Huguenots, with a view to the glory of France, and to the protection also of his oppressed countrymen, proposed to renew the attempt at colonization in the New World. In February, 1562, he sent from Havre, in the name of the king, two ships under the command of Captain John Ribault, "to discover, and view a certaine long coast of the West India . . . . called La Florida," — a coast so long, indeed, that it included the whole of the Atlantic side of the United States from the Rio Grande to the Canadian line. Ribault had under his command, beside the seamen, a band of soldiers, and with him went a number of gentlemen who were rather his companions than his subordinates. He was a man of experience, of character, of tried courage, of good sense and confirmed faith; and "a man in truth," says the old chronicle, "expert in sea causes."[1] His followers, it was hoped, were worthy of such a leader. They meant to build up the Reformed Protestant Church in the wilderness to the glory of God, and the salvation of a "brutishe people;" but they also looked "to trafficke in riche and inestimable commodities," in gold, and silver, and precious stones. They were determined to be rich, and they proposed also to be good.

Admiral Coliguy sends a colony under John Ribault. 1562.

The voyage was tempestuous and long, for winds from the west and southwest drove them back, compelling them to put into Brest to land their sick, and "suffer the tempest to passe." Taking thence a new departure on the 27th of February, they held a direct course across the Atlantic till the 30th of April, when they approached "a fayre coast, stretchying of a great length, covered with an infinite number of high and fayre trees, without anye shewe of hills." It was the coast of Florida, in about the latitude of twenty-nine and a half. Casting anchor some leagues from the land, off a cape which they named Cape François, and which is supposed to be a headland of Matanzas Inlet, the boats were sent to seek for a harbor. On their return in the afternoon, with a favorable report, they weighed anchor and sailed along the coast northward, observing it "with unspeakable pleasure, of the odorous smell and beautie of the same," till they came to "a goodly and great river." Entering this the next morning they found it "to increase still in depth and largenesse, boyling and roaring through the multitude of all kind of fish." It was a safe and pleasant harbor. The Indians running along the sands welcomed them

They reach the coast of Florida.

[1] Laudonniere's *Notable Historie*, in Hakluyt, vol. iii.

with wondering but friendly gestures, showing "all gentlenesse and amitie," and pointing out the easiest landing-place; trinkets, "some looking-glasse, and other prettie things of small value," were exchanged for skins and girdles of leather "as well courerd and coloured as was possible;" the chief, or king, made an oration, eloquent but unintelligible; and the French fell upon their knees upon the beach, "to give thanks to God for that of His grace He had conducted them to these strange places, and to beseech Him to bring to the knowledge of our Saviour, Christ, this poore people." The river they called, from the day on which they entered it, the River of May. It is now known as the St. John.

Entering the St John River.

There were no bounds to the delight and enthusiasm with which the impressible Frenchmen entered upon their new possession; and in token of its being theirs they set up, on the second day, a stone column, on which were engraved the arms of France, on the south bank of the river, "upon a little hill compassed with Cypres, Bayes, Paulmes, and other trees, with sweete smelling and pleasant shrubbes." This was the first boundary on the south of his Majesty's dominion in the New World. It was erected in the early morning, before the Indians were assembled, perhaps because these Frenchmen were conscious that they had no more rightful title to the land than the red men had to the streets of Paris. But there was no

Setting up a pillar with the arms of France.

cause for anxiety; the natives looked at the pillar with mute surprise, evidently regarding it as only one puzzle the more about these strange visitors. They had yet to learn that as heathens they were the rightful spoil of all good Christians. The strangers chose to take this country as their own, for to them it seemed "the fairest, fruitfulest, and pleasantest of all the world." Its trees were "of wonderful greatnesse and height," and of every variety for beauty and value; to the tops the wild vines grew "with grapes according;" the caterpillars on the mulberries they supposed were silkworms; in these pleasant woods roamed deer, wild swine, bears, lynxes, leopards, conies, and many other beasts unknown, all valuable for food or for their skins and furs; among the many birds were turkeys, partridges of two kinds, and woodcocks; eyrets, herons, bitterns, curlews screamed, or swam, or waded about the waters of the bay; in the river was "marvellous store" of trout, millet, plaice, turbot, and other fishes; so that they concluded, "it is a thing unspeakable to consider the thinges that bee seene there, and shall bee founde more and more in this incomparable lande, which never yet broken with plough yrons bringeth forth al things according to his first nature, wherewith the eternall God indued it."

Description of the new country.

Not less attractive were the mild-mannered and courteous though naked savages. The men were well-shaped, of goodly stature, dignified, self-possessed, and of pleasant countenance; the women well favored, modest, suffering no one "dishonestly to approch too neare them;" and both were so beautifully painted that "the best Painter of Europe could not amende it." But better and more promising than all, some of these Indians wore ornaments of gold, silver, copper, pearls, and turquoises; from a collar of gold and silver about the neck of one of them, hung a pearl as big as an acorn, which the owner was willing enough to part with for a looking-glass or a knife. Pearls were found there as fair as in any country of the world, taken from oysters along the river side, among the reeds and in the marshes, in "so merveylous aboundance as is skant probable." Even Cibola could be reached in boats by way of rivers in twenty days — Cibola, two thousand miles off on the Pacific, which the Spanish friar, Marco de Niça, visited in the year 1539, and reported that within it were seven great cities, the houses whereof were built of lime and stone, two, three, sometimes five stories in height, ascended on the outside by ladders; whose inhabitants clothed themselves in gowns of cotton, in woollen cloth, and in garments of leather, wearing girdles of turquoises around their waists, emeralds in their ears and noses; whose common household vessels were of gold and silver; and where gold was more abundant than in Peru, the walls of the

Manners of the natives.

temples being covered with plates of that precious metal. This was the captivating perspective seen by the new comers through the everglades, and festooned, perfumed forests of Florida in May — the seductive vision of a life of opulence and ease which awaited them in place of the civil strife and religious persecution which they had left at home.

From the St. John — River of May — they sailed northward along the coast, naming the streams for well-known rivers of France. Everywhere the natives gave them the same kind welcome; everywhere they found the country beautiful and promising — "full of havens, rivers, and islands," says Captain Ribault, "of such fruitfulnes as cannot with tongue be expressed; in fertilitie apt and commodious throughout to beare and bring forth plentifully all that men would plant or sowe upon it." On the 27th they entered the harbor of Port Royal. Here a navy might ride in safety — as navies have since done — "one of the fayrest and greatest havens in the worlde," into which flowed "many rivers of meane bignesse and large," watering "one of the goodliest, best, and frutefullest countreys that ever was seene, and where nothing lacketh, and also where as good and likely commodities bee founde as in other places thereby." Here it was proposed to plant a colony.

They sail up the coast northward.

Entrance to Port Royal harbor.

Ribault called his company together and made them an address, which he modestly omits in his own relation,[1] but which is faithfully reported in another.[2] He reminded them of the great importance of the enterprise in which they were engaged, and of the "eternal memorie" which should of right belong to those, who, forgetting their parents and their country, should have the "goode happe to make tryall of the benefits and commodities of this new land." Their humble birth and condition, he told them, should be no discouragement, for many, it should be remembered, among the Romans, "for their so valiant enterprises, not for the greatnesse of their parentage, haue obtained the honour to tryumph;" and not among the Romans only were there many notable examples of men of low origin rising to places of dignity and power. And his promise to those who should permit themselves to be "registred forever as the first that inhabited this strang countrey," was "I will so imprint your names in the king's eares, and the other princes,

Speech of Ribault to his men.

[1] *The True and Last Discouerie of Florida, made by Captain John Ribault in the yeere* 1562. *Dedicated to a great noble man of France, and translated into Englishe by one Thomas Hackit.* Hakluyt's *Divers Voyages.*

[2] *A Notable Historie containing Foure Voyages made by Certaine French Captaines into Florida, etc., etc., by Monsieur Laudonniere.* Hakluyt's *Voyages,* vol. iii.

that your renowne shall hereafter shine vnquenchable through our Realme of France."

Whether moved by his eloquence, or carried away by the enthusiasm which the events and scenes of the last few days inspired, there were so many anxious to be left behind, that Ribault "had much to do to stay their importunitie." Thirty, however, were all he could spare, and a soldier of long experience, Albert de la Pierria, who was the first among them all to offer to remain, was appointed captain. With a good will all hands then went to work to put up a fort for the protection of the colonists. It was called Charles Fort, and was built on a little island in a stream they called Chenonceau, now known as Archer's Creek, about six miles from Beaufort, South Carolina.[1] This done, Ribault set sail with his two vessels on the 11th of June, to return to France, leaving with the colonists a store of victuals and ammunition, and this parting exhortation: that they be obedient to their captain, and live as brethren, one with another.

Beginning of the French settlement.

The first care of the colonists was to finish the fort, never resting night or day till this was done, that there might the sooner be leisure for exploration into the interior. But here all real work began and ended. A place to fight in, if need be, first; then to spy out and gather the riches of the land in gold and silver and precious stones, was their notion of colonization. No provision was made for the future; they relied on Ribault's promise to send them speedy succor, as if it were a narrow stream and not three thousand miles of ocean that separated them from France. The "fat ground," so "wonderfull fertill that it will bring forthe the wheate and all other corne twice a yeere," they suffered to remain as they found it, "unbroken with plough-irons," and ere long they were suffering for want of food. The game with which in their season the woods were filled, the fish with which the waters were alive, they were too unskillful or too idle to take. Indolent and improvident, they soon became dependent upon the bounty of the savages. They cultivated the friendship of all the tribes within their reach, and though the Indians soon learned to look upon them with contempt for their idleness and imbecility, they seem to have felt for them none of that hatred and fear which the Spaniards always aroused by their licentiousness and cruelty.

Improvidence and idleness of the colony.

No aid came from France. The Indians, who lived as their race lives always, from hand to mouth, and in their natural state were accustomed to look starvation in the face at least once a year between seed-time and harvest, had little to spare. Of this, however, they

[1] *Pioneers of France in the New World*, by Francis Parkman.

gave generously, and when at one time the store-house at Charles Fort, filled by the charity of a distant chief, was, the next night, destroyed with all it contained, by fire, their savage benefactors built, within twelve days, a new house, and refilled it. With hunger and destitution the colonists grew discontented, desperate, and insubordinate. Captain Albert, either from an ill-judged attempt to enforce rigid discipline among these starving wretches, or else in the mere wantonness of power, hanged a drummer, named Guernache, for some trifling fault, and banished a soldier, La Chère, to a desolate island, where he was afterward found half dead from hunger. Thereupon followed defiance and mutiny from others who were threatened with the like punishments, and these only ended in the murder of the captain. Then Nicolas Barre was chosen governor, "a man worthy of commendation, and one which knewe so well to quit himselfe of his charge that all rancour and dissention ceased among them." There was at last peace.

Mutiny and bloodshed.

But they were as hungry as before, and the question now was, how to get back to France. So desperate was their condition that, although there were no mechanics among them, they determined to build a

Building the Pinnace.

small pinnace. For cordage they took such rope as the Indians could make for them; for sails, what they had left of their own sheets and shirts; for provisions, as much corn as the natives chose to give; and so, "drunken with excessive joy" at the hope of seeing France again, but as always, without "foresight and consideration," and with "slender victual," they put to sea. No madder voyage, perhaps, was ever undertaken. Only one third of it was

Building of a vessel, and embarkation for France.

made when the wind failed them. For the next three weeks they sailed only twenty-five leagues, and then provision became so short that twelve kernels of corn a day was each man's allowance. Even this was soon exhausted, and there was nothing left to eat but their shoes and leather jackets. A part died of hunger. Water there was none, except the salt sea that poured in at every seam of their crazy craft. A storm overtook them, and for three days they lay helpless and in despair in the bottom of the boat, which drifted whithersoever it would. Hope revived at the proposition that one should die to save the rest, and the lot fell upon that La Chère whom Captain Albert had banished from the colony to starve alone upon an island at Port Royal. "Now his flesh was divided equally among his fellowes: a thing so pitiful to recite," says Laudonnière, "that my pen is loth to write it." But it saved the rest; they soon after fell in with an English vessel, on board of which was one of their companions who had gone home with Ribault, and they were taken, the most feeble to France, the others as prisoners to England.

Misery on shipboard.

It was by no neglect of Ribault's that the thirty men left at Charles Fort had watched in vain for his promised return till they were ready to resort to any desperate measure. Civil war had broken out when he reached France; and Coligny, the lord admiral, had no leisure to think, even in the interest of the reformed religion, of a feeble colony planted in the wilderness on the other side of the sea. So long as the country at home was distracted by the war, and so long as any doubt remained of his own party attaining to supreme power in the state, it was vain to ask for aid. A few months after Ribault's return, the Duke of Guise, the head of the Catholic faction, was assassinated, and in the confusion that followed, Coligny had enough to do to defend himself against the charge of being the instigator of that act. True, it ultimately led to a short peace, but it was long before there was even the semblance of a reconciliation between parties hating each other with both religious and political rancor; long before there was any real relief to a country whose business and agriculture were wellnigh ruined, whose discharged soldiers lived by robbery, whose people were generally suffering for want of food, and from whose borders a foreign foe had still to be expelled.

Affairs in France.

But in 1564, Coligny represented to the king that no news had been heard from the men sent to Florida, and that it was a pity they should be left to perish. A new expedition was determined on, but it is not certain that the survivors taken from the pinnace did not arrive in France before it sailed. If so, the attempt at colonization, at any rate, was to be persevered in, and three ships sailed in April under the command of Captain René de Laudonnière, who was with Ribault on the first voyage.

Coligny's new adventure under René de Laudonnière. 1564.

RIBAULT'S PILLAR ON THE RIVER MAY.

In June the fleet of three ships arrived in the River of May. On landing, the Frenchmen were greeted with shouts of welcome by a crowd of Indians, men and women, who cried out, "Ami! Ami!" (Friend! Friend!) the one French word they had learned from their former visitors, and remembered. Their Paracoussy, or chief, whose name was Satouriona, led the Frenchmen to the pillar of stone which Ribault had set up two years before, "and wee found the same," says Laudonnière, "crowned with crownes of Bay and at the foote thereof many little baskets full of mill (corn), which they call in their language, Tapaga Tapola. Then, when they came thither, they kissed the same with great reuerence, and besought vs to do the like, which we would not denie them, to the ende we might drawe them to be more in friendship with vs." The next day the chief received the captain and his suite in state, "vnder the shadow of an arbour, apparalled with a great Harts skinne dressed like chamois, and painted with deuices of strange and diuers colours, but of so liuely a portrature, and representing antiquity, with rules so iustly compassed, that there is no Painter so exquisite that could finde fault therewith."

Ribault's pillar adored by natives.

Among the first gifts from the Indians was a wedge of silver, given to Laudonnière by a son of Satouriona. When inquiry was afterward made as to where this silver came from, the cunning Indian, who understood the eagerness of the Frenchmen to find mines of the precious metals, and meant to turn that passion to his own account, asserted that the wedge was taken from a tribe, some days' journey in the interior, called the Thimogoa; that they were his natural and deadly enemies, and if the strangers would join him in fighting them, enough of gold and silver could be got to satisfy all their desires.

Gift of silver from the natives.

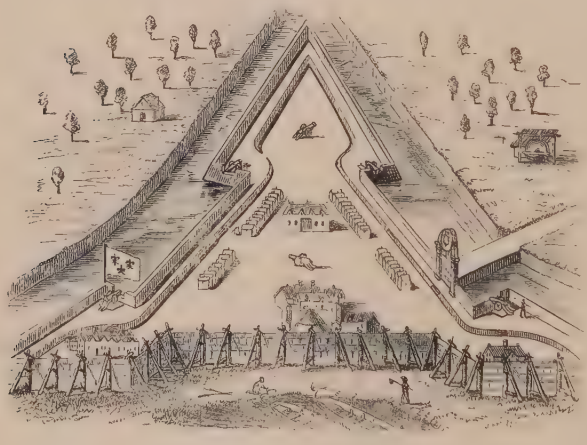
But the enthusiasm and delight of Laudonnière and his companions were — as the case had been with Ribault and his company, and as was entirely characteristic of them all as Frenchmen — extravagant and beyond all reason. The soil of this incomparable country was so rich; the trees festooned with vines and hanging moss, and "of so souereign odour that Baulme smelleth nothing in comparison," were so grand and beautiful; the waters of the lakes and rivers were so sweet and placid; the meadows were so inviting, divided asunder into "little iles and islets;" the flowers of such delightful hue and fragrance, that it seemed that life there must be passed in uninterrupted happiness and pleasure. And the people, apparently, were worthy of so pleasant a land, being "of a natural disposition perfect and well guided." Athore, the eldest son of Satouriona, was "gentle and tractable; perfect in beautie, wise-

Enthusiastic report of Laudonnière.

dome, honest sobrietie, and modest grauitie." The chief of a neighboring tribe was "gratious and courteous," and "one of the tallest men and best proportioned that may bee founde;" his wife a model as a princess, a woman, and a mother, endowed with great beauty, "of virtuous countenance and modest gravity," having in her train five graceful daughters, well brought up, "taught well and straightly." That they none of them wore much if any clothing perhaps added to rather than took from the glamour of this arcadian picture. Life, too, as seemed fitting, was prolonged in this land where the men were noble and brave, the women beautiful, and all nature bountiful. The father of a chief was found whose descendants were counted to the fifth generation. How old the sire was is not stated; but his venerable son numbered two hundred and fifty years, and both expected, unless cut off by a violent death, to live thirty or forty years longer.

Laudonnière, after sailing a few leagues along the coast, returned to the River of May without going to Port Royal, having heard, no doubt, either from the Indians or before leaving France, of the abandonment of Charles Fort. He determined to settle on the May, rather than at Port Royal, as "it was much more needfull to plant in places plentifull of victual, than in goodly havens, faire, deepe, and pleasant to the view." The spot chosen was just above what is now known as St. John's Bluff, on the bank of the river.[1] At break of day, the trumpet sounded to assemble the people; a Psalm of thanksgiving was sung; the blessing of God was asked upon their enterprise, and then all fell to work with shovels, cutting-hooks and hatchets. The fort was in the shape of a triangle, fronting the river, with the bluff on one side, a marsh on the other, and the woods in the rear. It was finished in a few days, with the aid of Satouriona's people, and was named Fort Caroline, in honor of the king, Charles IX. of France.

Building of Fort Caroline



Fort Caroline. [De Bry.]

[1] Parkman's *Pioneers of New France*. Fairbanks' *History of St. Augustine*.

They could handle the shovel to build fortifications, but not to till the ground. As in the first colony, no seed was planted; the only harvest thought of was gold and silver. The experience of the unfortunate Port Royalists profited them nothing; if they considered at all the advantage which numbers gave them, it was only that they would be able to explore the farther, and use them, if need be, in the subjection of the Indians, in acquiring the wealth they hoped to find. Expeditions were sent from time to time into the interior, always with the same purpose. Everywhere gold and silver were asked for; everywhere was the same answer: it was some chief beyond who had them in plenty, and against that particular chief the informant was always anxious to commence hostilities with the aid of the Frenchmen. There was no fable telling of gold that they were not eager to swallow. It was "good newes" at Fort Caroline that there were certain Indians who covered "their brests, armes, thighes, legs, and foreheads, with large plates of gold and silver," as protective armor, and that "the height of two foot of gold and silver," would be the booty that might be taken from the least of the petty chiefs of that people. Two Spaniards were brought to the Fort from the Gulf coast, where they had been shipwrecked fifteen years before; they reported that the king of that country "had great store of gold and silver, so farre forth that in a certaine village he had a pit full thereof, which was at the least as high as a man, and as large as a tunne;" that "the common people of the countrey also had great store thereof;" that "the women going to dance, did weare about their girdles plates of gold as broad as a sawcer, and in such number that the weight did hinder them to dance at their ease; and that the men ware the like also." While the cupidity of the Frenchmen was inflamed with such stories, there could be no useful industry and no steady discipline. Promises to the chiefs of rendering aid in their attacks upon their neighbors, were kept or broken, as either course seemed most likely to further the search for treasure. It was a trial of cunning with the native chiefs, in which, on the whole, the savages came off the best; for they were sometimes enabled, by the help of the Christians, to add to their store of scalps, while the promised riches which the Christians coveted, were still to be got by some new expedition. "The mountaine of Apalichi," which they soon learned to believe was the source of the precious metals they were in search of, seemed after every fight to be as distant as ever.

The greed for gold and silver.

CHAPTER IX.

FRENCH AND SPANISH COLONISTS IN FLORIDA.

PLOTS AGAINST THE FRENCH GOVERNOR LAUDONNIÈRE. — OPEN MUTINY IN HIS COLONY. — FIGHT WITH INDIANS. — VISIT OF AN ENGLISH FLEET TO PORT ROYAL. — ARRIVAL OF RIBAULT WITH A FLEET OF SEVEN SHIPS. — CRUSADE OF PEDRO MENENDEZ AGAINST HERETICS. — HIS ATTACK ON FORT CAROLINE. — SLAUGHTER OF RIBAULT AND HIS MEN BY THE SPANIARDS. — FOUNDING OF THE FIRST PERMANENT SETTLEMENT IN THE UNITED STATES. — INDIGNATION OF THE FRENCH AT THE SPANISH ATROCITIES. — DOMINIQUE DE GOURGUES GOES TO FLORIDA. — HE MAKES ALLIES OF THE SAVAGES. — ATTACK ON THE SPANISH FORT. — THE BLOODY RETALIATION. — A SPANISH MISSION ON THE RAPPAHANNOCK.

DISAPPOINTMENT in these extravagant hopes and ill-directed efforts soon led to the inevitable results. Discontent and insubordination showed themselves in the fort; Laudonnière was blamed for want of energy and enterprise, and a plot was formed to depose him and even to take his life. One La Roquette pretended to have discovered by magic a mine of gold and silver, far up the river, which he promised should yield ten thousand crowns each to the soldiers who should take it, besides a reserve of fifteen hundred thousand for the king. Genre, a trusted friend of Laudonnière, was, with Roquette, the head of this conspiracy, and many of the soldiers were fascinated with the old delusion in fresher and more captivating colors than ever. But to reach this wonderful mine it was necessary first to dispose of the captain; for he held the key of the store-house, was rigidly economical of provision, was obeyed and trusted by many of the soldiers, and was an obstacle generally in the way of any plan whereby every man in the colony was to do just as he pleased without regard to anybody else. It was proposed to the apothecary to give him enough arsenic or quicksilver "to make mee," says Laudonnière himself, "pitch ouer the pearch;" the master of the fire-works was asked to put a keg of gunpowder under his bed. But neither proposition found favor in the eyes of those scrupulous officers; exposure speedily followed, and the conspirators were punished on the spot or sent back to France.

Insubordination in Fort Caroline.

But the fire was only smothered, not extinguished. Other mal-

contents soon after stole two small vessels, the only ones the colony possessed for excursions into the interior, and made off to the West India Islands for a piratical voyage on their own account. Two other and larger vessels were built as soon as possible, but were no sooner ready for sea than they also were seized, the mutineers, this time, being strong enough to imprison Laudonnière and compel him to sign a roving commission authorizing them to make a cruise among the Spanish colonies. By robbing churches and seizing treasure-ships they hoped to so enrich themselves as to be independent even of government at home, if their acts should be repudiated. But the fate which so often followed buccaneers attended them. They soon quarrelled over the booty they easily acquired;

The mutineers seize the ships.

Arrest of the Pirates.

three of the vessels finally fell into the hands of the Spaniards; the fourth, steered by a pilot who, with some of the sailors, had been compelled against his will to go in her, was brought back by his skillful management to Fort Caroline, when Laudonnière had the satisfaction of seizing the ringleaders and punishing them with death.

In the spring a new enemy beset them, whose coming should have been foreseen — "ignominious hunger." The provisions they brought

with them were exhausted, and they could no longer rely upon the stock of corn and beans which the Indians had laid up for winter use, as they parted unwillingly with any portion of their small remainder. Trinkets and clothing, with which they had become familiar, diminished in value in the eyes of the savages, and they knew from experience how to measure with accuracy the wasting corn-heaps by the months still to elapse before the ripening of the new corn. Less thoughtful than the Indians, the colonists had provided for no scarcity, and looked forward to no harvest, depending alone upon succor from France, as their unfortunate countrymen had done before them. Day by day, they climbed the hill and scanned the horizon in vain for a sight of the returning ships; and day by day their flesh wasted away, their bones pierced the skin, and hardly strength was left them to gather sorrel and dig the few edible roots they could find in the woods wherewith to keep the life in their miserable bodies. Driven to this extremity they clamored to be led back to France, though not one of their two or three small vessels was large enough to carry the whole company, or fit to encounter the perils of such a voyage.

Famine attacks the colony.

It was the time of planting, and they could as easily have waited for the ripening of fruit and grain and have thus made themselves self-sustaining and independent of all outside aid for the future, as provide for the three months it would take to build another ship. But they thought of nothing, cared for nothing, but to get away. A new ship, therefore, must be built, and they devoted such strength as they had left to that work. Meantime, they were in want of food. Foraging expeditions among the Indians only ended in disappointment; the hungry crowd surrounded Laudonnière, demanding that he should seize one of the neighboring chiefs and hold him to be ransomed in corn and other provision. "Shall it not be lawful for vs," they said, "to punish them for the wrong they doe unto vs, beside that we know apparently how little they respect vs." The wrongs were that the Indians were too prudent to part with the stores which were hardly sufficient for their own support till the new corn was fit to gather; the want of respect was the unconcealed contempt they felt for these civilized paupers who permitted themselves to be reduced to this pitiful extremity.

The remedy proposed did not commend itself to Laudonnière's judgment, but he was compelled to yield to the clamor around him. Outina, one of their kings, was seized amid the lamentations of the women and the cries for vengeance from the men of his tribe. The treacherous act, as Laudonnière expected, failed to arouse either the fears or the generosity of the Indians; but it in-

Injustice to the Indians.

flamed to the last degree their cunning and ferocity. Under pretence of providing for the ransom of their chief, they led the Frenchmen into an ambuscade, out of which they escaped, after a hard day's fight, with only two bags of corn, while two of their men were killed and twenty-two wounded. Incapable of the industry and wanting in the

Fight with Indians.

forethought indispensable to the successful colonist, they could still acquit themselves, weak as they were, with honor as soldiers.

As the season advanced food became more plentiful, and grain was gathered for the homeward voyage in August, 1565. On the third day of that month, however, Laudonnière, ever on the watch for aid from home, saw from the look-out on the bluff a fleet approaching. At the fort "they were so glad of those newes, that one would haue thought them to bee out of their wittes to see them laugh and leape for joy." Their joy was so far premature, that the ships were English, not French, though otherwise, as the event proved, they had equal cause for thankfulness.

Visit of an English fleet under Sir John Hawkins.

The fleet was commanded by Sir John Hawkins, now returning from a second and profitable voyage to the coast of Guinea, where he had learned three years before that "store of Negros might be had."

and that they "were very good marchandise in Hispaniola."[1] He was not deaf or blind to the claims of humanity in white men, and took pity on the sore distress of the French colony, relieving not only their present wants, but offering to transport them to France. There was great "bruite and mutiny" when Laudonnière declined the offer, and the soldiers threatened that they would go without him. A compromise at last was made, and one of the English vessels was purchased, with sufficient provision for the voyage. Hawkins made some generous additions by gift, and then left them with renewed life and hope at this unexpected and timely relief, having won among them, says Laudonnière, "the reputation of a good and charitable man deseruing to be esteemed as much of vs all as if he saued all our liues."

In a few days they were ready to sail, and waited only a fair wind, when, on the 28th of August, another fleet was seen approaching.

Arrival of Ribault's ships.

The long-expected aid had come at last from France. Seven ships anchored at the mouth of the river with three hundred men on board, under the command of Ribault himself. Amid the salutes of cannon, the greetings of old friends and companions, the welcome to fellow-countrymen who were looked on as deliverers, there was one man who was crushed by this arrival with a sense of new misfortune, and, the hardest of all things to bear, of cruel injustice in return for a self-sacrificing and faithful discharge of duty.

This was Laudonnière, who soon learned that the discontented and insubordinate persons, whom he had sent back to France the year before, had brought accusations against him of an unwarrantable assumption of power and tyrannical behavior in the colony, and that these had been listened to by Admiral Coligny. Ribault was sent to take command in his place, and he was recalled to answer for his conduct. When we remember the many difficulties he had had to encounter; the extravagant expectations of sudden wealth which had possessed his followers and the consequent disappointment and discontent; the mutinies he had been compelled to submit to or to quell; the calamity of famine he had been called upon to relieve; the war with the Indians into which he was forced against his better judgment; and that through all he had held the colony together and saved it from absolute destruction, it is much easier to believe that he was unfortunate than in fault. But his disgrace overwhelmed him, and he makes a touching, though unconscious appeal to all human sympathy, in the record of his state at this

Unjust complaints against Laudonnière.

[1] See *Voyages of the right worshipful and valiant Knight Sir John Hawkins.* Hakluyt's *Voyages,* vol. iii.

point of his sad story, that "weakened with my former trauaile, and fallen into a melancholy vpon the false reports that had bene made of mee, I fell into a great continuall feuer." It was doubtless a satisfaction to him to be assured that his friends among the new-comers were at once satisfied that the accusations against him were malicious, and had no foundation in truth; that Ribault begged him not to leave the colony, and generously offered to build another fortress for his own company, and to leave him unmolested in command of Fort Caroline. But Laudonnière felt too keenly the impeachment of his honor and character, to accede to any proposition but implicit obedience to the orders from home, and an immediate return to France to meet his accusers face to face. But misfortune had not yet done with him. Calamities yet to come were to sweep away all question, for a time all memory, of his past administration of affairs.

Only a week had passed, when a third fleet appeared, silently and suddenly in the night-time at the mouth of the River of May. When hailed as to who they were and what they wanted, the answer was that they were from Spain; that Pedro Menendez was in command; and that he had come in obedience to the king to burn and destroy such Lutheran French as should be found in his dominions.[1] An attack was to have been made in the morning. Three of Ribault's ships had gone up the river to Fort Caroline; the other four were no match for the Spaniards, and had no alternative but to slip their cables and stand out to sea. They not only outsailed the Spanish vessels, but turned and followed them, when the chase was relinquished, and watched their entrance into the River of Dolphins, a few leagues southward, and the landing of men, provisions, ordnance, and ammunition.

Expedition of Pedro Menendez.

Pedro Menendez.

This expedition of Menendez was esteemed in Spain as almost a new crusade. There was no lack of either men or means in so holy an undertaking as the extermination of heretics, who, with their pernicious doctrines, were sure to vitiate the pure minds of the Indians of the New World, stain their white souls with ineffaceable evil, and lead them to perdition. This fervent religious zeal, coupled with the execution and approval of the most frightful

Spanish zeal against heretics.

[1] MS. Letter of Menendez to the King; Parkman's *Pioneers*, etc., p. 100.

atrocities, was perfectly in accordance with the spirit of the times; but it is quite possible that the determination of the Spaniards to destroy, in the name of God, a handful of people in the wilderness, because they were heretics, may have been inflamed by the piracies which the mutineers, who stole Laudonnière's ships, had committed in the West Indies. Menendez himself, however, was a bigot, who could conceive of no better manifestation of love to God than cruelty to man, when man was heretical; whose scent for blood was unerring as that of the most ferocious wild beast; whose treacherous cunning in approaching and seizing his prey, was the keenest animal instinct, sharpened to the utmost degree by human intelligence. He undoubtedly looked upon his enterprise as a sacred mission, and, when on his outward voyage his fleet had been scattered by a storm, he insisted upon proceeding with only a part of his force, declaring that it was evidently God's will that the victory he was to achieve should be due, not to numbers, but to the Divine assistance. But the most intense religious bigotry condescends to worldly wisdom, and there is little doubt that information had been sent to Spain by some of the Catholics of the French court that reinforcements were about to go to Fort Caroline under Ribault, and that the zeal of Menendez was quickened by that intelligence to fall upon the heretics before this assistance could reach them.

Character of Menendez.

When the report was taken back to Fort Caroline, that the Spaniards had left their ships, Ribault proposed at once to fall upon them with all his force before they had time to fortify themselves on shore, and overcome them while in a defenceless condition. Laudonnière, on the other hand, urged that there was great danger of sudden storms at that season on that coast, which might defeat such an expedition by disabling the ships, or driving them to sea, while a prolonged absence of the soldiers would leave Fort Caroline defenceless, and exposed to attack by the Spaniards. His counsel, as the event proved, was wise, but it was unheeded. Ribault sailed with all the larger vessels and nearly all the effective men at his command. He left behind him at Fort Caroline about two hundred and forty persons, including the sick, the women, and the children, but among them all a very few only were able to bear arms.[1]

Ribault decides to follow the Spaniards.

As Laudonnière feared, Ribault and his ships were scattered by a sudden and violent tempest just as they were about to attack the enemy at the mouth of the River of Dolphins — an event which was

[1] Challeux's *Discours de l'Histoire de la Floride* — better known as "the carpenter's narrative," gives two hundred and forty as the number of persons left in the fort, but Laudonnière's estimate is much smaller.

hailed by the Spaniards as another providential interposition in their favor. This miscarriage of Ribault was the opportunity of Menendez, and he lost no time in availing himself of it. From the Indians he learned that many of the men had embarked upon the French vessels, and he proposed to proceed at once overland to the attack of Fort Caroline, trusting to reach it before the fleet could return. To many of his companions it seemed a foolhardy enterprise to march through unknown forests and swamps, to attack a fortress of whose strength and the number of whose defenders they were ignorant, and when defeat would probably be fatal alike to those who went upon the expedition and those who were left behind. But Menendez, confident in his judgment, invincible in his fanaticism, was firm in his purpose. Fort Caroline, he was sure, was almost defenceless; it would be easy to find the way through the woods by the compass; by making an attack when least expected, success was certain; and finally, he said, "we shall the more speedily do a service to our God and our king, and comply with our conscience and our duty."

Plan of Menendez.

On the morning of September the 17th five hundred men were drawn out upon the beach, a mass was said, and the march began. At the moment of starting two Indians, who had recently come from Fort Caroline, appeared, and were secured as guides across the country, and a French deserter was to show them where the fortress could be most easily approached and most successfully assaulted. For two days they struggled through the woods and morasses, exposed to heavy rains, sometimes wading to their waists, in danger of losing the ammunition and provision which each man carried on his back, — a cold, wet, hungry, disconsolate, and grumbling throng of stragglers held to any military duty or purpose only by the iron will of one man. They reached the fort in the night of the second day, and halting in water up to their knees, the pitiless storm beating upon their heads, they waited for daylight.

March on Fort Caroline.

The cold and drenching rain had driven the sentinels of the feeble garrison to shelter. One man only was found at his post, and he was seized and speedily put to death by a reconnoitring party that advanced with the first glimmer of daylight. Then the Spaniards poured through breaches in the palisades with cries of "Santiago! Victory! God is with us!" There was little fighting; only slaughter. The panic-stricken Frenchmen, aroused from sleep by the Spanish war-cry, confused by the darkness and by the suddenness of the attack, sought only, each for himself, to escape and find shelter in the woods and swamps. Neither sex nor age was spared, according to the French accounts; but the Spanish relations declare that quarter was given to the women, and children under fifteen years

Bloodthirsty attack of the Spaniards.

of age. Some were taken prisoners, apparently only from a refinement of cruelty, for they were all hanged a few hours later. Over their heads Menendez put this inscription, "I do this, not as to Frenchmen, but as to Lutherans."

Survivors of the slaughter.

The whole number thus massacred in the name of religion was one hundred and forty-two. Those who escaped made their way through the marshes to the two vessels that Ribault had left behind him. Among these was Laudonnière, who was found the morning after the attack, held up by a soldier, in water to

Rescue of Laudonnière.

the arm-pits, where they had passed the night. When this wretched remnant of the colony was rescued, the vessels, which a nephew of Ribault commanded, sailed for France without waiting for tidings of the expedition to the River of Dolphins.

Thus far Menendez was crowned with complete success. "We owe," he said, "to God and His mother, more than to human strength, this victory over the adversaries of the Holy Catholic Religion."[1] Not a heretic Frenchman was left alive on the River of May, and that even the memory of them might be wiped out, the names of the river and the fort were changed to San Mateo by these devout Spaniards, the nearest saint-day, that of St. Matthew, being on the 21st day of September. Taking fifty soldiers with him Menendez returned to his encampment at the mouth of the River of Dolphins. A messenger had been sent forward to announce his success and his coming, and the whole camp turned out to meet him in procession with priests at their head in full canonicals, chanting a *Te Deum*, and bearing a crucifix. The Adelantado and his followers knelt before and kissed the cross, giving thanks to God that He had enabled them to extirpate his enemies and theirs.

The next anxiety of Menendez was to know what had become of the other heretics on board of Ribault's ships. Nor had he long to wait. Intelligence was soon brought in by the Indians that the Frenchmen were wrecked on Anastasia Island, a little to the southward. Proceeding thither with fifty soldiers, Menendez found a party of from one hundred and fifty to two hundred men, to whom he made himself known. Thrown by the storm upon this desolate beach, exhausted from want of food and rest, with no means of escape or of subsistence, they appealed to his humanity to aid them in reaching a place of refuge at their fort, Caroline. Were they Catholics or Lutherans? he asked. They replied that they were all of the Reformed Religion. Then he told them that their fort was destroyed, and all its men were put to the sword. As to themselves, he said, that being of the new faith "he held them for enemies, and would wage war upon them even to blood and to fire, would pursue them with all cruelty wherever he should encounter them in whatever sea or land." They begged that he would give them shelter till succor could be sent them from France, which was at peace with Spain. His answer was: "They could give up their arms and place themselves under my mercy, — that I should do with them what our Lord should order; and from that I did not depart, nor would I, unless God our Lord should otherwise inspire."[2] Then they offered him fifty thousand ducats to spare their lives; but he was inexorable, and they, not knowing how small his force was, — perhaps misled by the courtesy with which he treated their messengers, — accepted the only alternative that seemed left to

The fate of the wrecked Frenchmen.

[1] MS. Letter from Menendez to the King, in Parkman's *Pioneers of France*.

[2] *Ibid.*

them, and surrendered unconditionally, giving up their arms and standards.

An inlet divided the two parties, and the treacherous Spaniard ordered that the Frenchmen should be brought over in companies of ten.

The murder of heretics.

As each squad arrived they were told that as they were many, and their captors were few, it would be necessary, as a prudent and rational precaution, that the prisoners should be bound before they were marched together to the Spanish encampment. They were led then behind a sand-hill, out of sight of their fellows on the other shore, and their hands securely tied behind their backs with bow-strings. When toward night-fall all were gathered together, they were marched a short distance to a spot which the adelantado himself had chosen and marked upon the sand with a spear. Once more the fatal question was asked: Were they all Lutherans? A dozen, who professed to be Catholics, and four others, who were calkers and carpenters, and whose services were needed, were led aside. A few moments later, of all the rest, — all bound, not able even to raise an unarmed hand to ward off a blow, — not one was left alive.

A cruel and inexorable fate seemed to pursue the wretched Frenchmen. The sand could hardly have soaked up the blood of the men so treacherously murdered, or the murderers have reached their camp a few miles distant, when Ribault himself, with the rest of his followers, arrived at the spot whence the others had, only a few hours before, been betrayed to their death. Menendez heard of it the morning after his return, and hurried back again to the inlet.

Ribault captured by Menendez.

As before he made such disposition of his men as to completely deceive the French, who knew nothing of the movements of the Spanish soldiers since their landing; as before, when aid was asked to enable the shipwrecked men to reach Fort Caroline, the answer was that the fort had been taken and its people put to the sword; and to convince Ribault that he was completely at the mercy of his enemy, he was led aside and shown the pile of the unburied corpses of his murdered countrymen. Nevertheless, the Frenchmen apparently would not believe that Menendez was absolutely wanting in all humane instincts, and when a ransom of a hundred thousand ducats was offered for their lives, they had, or thought they had, a pledge for their safety. The Spanish narratives assert that no such pledge was given, while the French declare that he bound himself by an oath to spare their lives; but at best, the answers of Menendez were only equivocal, and meant to betray. Of the three hundred and fifty Frenchmen, however, only one hundred and fifty, with Ribault at their head, offered to surrender; the rest refused, and marched southward.

The stratagems of the day before were again resorted to. In squads of ten, the Frenchmen were brought across the inlet; these detachments, on landing, were taken out of sight of those yet to come, and their hands bound behind their backs as a pretended precaution for a coming march; when all were thus secured, they were led to the spot where lay the bodies of their countrymen on the blood-red sand. If there was still any lingering doubt or hope in the minds of the wretched and betrayed men, it was dispelled by the questions, which, to Menendez, had but one significance — were they Catholics or Lutherans? and were there any among them who wished to make confession? Ribault answered that they were all of the Reformed Faith. Then, after repeating the Psalm, *Domine memento mei*, he said, "that from dust they came and to dust they must return;

Death of Ribault.

Massacre of Ribaut.

twenty years more or less could matter but little: and that the adelantado could do with them as he chose." Two youths of eighteen years of age, and the fifers, trumpeters, and drummers were spared. The rest were "put to the sword, judging this," says Menendez, in his letter to the king, "to be expedient for the service of God our Lord, and of your majesty."

That God would be pleased, he takes for granted: why the king

should be, he gives a reason; for he adds: "I consider it great good fortune that he (Ribault) should be dead, for the King of France could effect more with him and five hundred ducats than with other men and five thousand, and he would do more in one year than another in ten, for he was the most experienced sailor and naval commander known, and of great skill in this navigation of the Indies and the coast of Florida. He was, besides, greatly liked in England, in which kingdom his reputation was such that he was appointed Captain-General of all the English fleet, against the French Catholics in the war between England and France, some years ago." Even the savage has magnanimity enough to honor the dead in whose living presence he may have trembled; but that his enemy was to be feared in life, was with Menendez, a reason for treating his dead body with indignity. The flowing beard of Ribault, which had excited the wonder and admiration of the Indians, was cut off and sent to Spain as a trophy; and his head, divided into four quarters, was stuck up on lances at the four corners of the fort at the River of Dolphins.[1] The place of the cruel and treacherous massacre is known, to this day, as "the bloody river of Matanzas." [2]

There were two hundred men still at large somewhere in Florida. These were soon after heard of at a point farther down the coast. They had entrenched themselves behind some temporary defences, and from the materials of a wrecked vessel were building another in which to return to France. The adelantado marched thither and attacked them; the fort was destroyed, and the unfinished ship burnt. Most of the men surrendered under a promise that their lives should be spared; but a score of them, with the captain, escaped to the woods, declaring that they would take the chance of being eaten by savages rather than trust themselves to any pledge of Spanish faith. Menendez evidently did not think the immolation of the heretics who now surrendered, necessary to the glory of God and his mother; nor was their number sufficient to excite any fears for the safety of his colony. These prisoners, therefore, he held to the order of the king, instead of assassinating them the moment they were in his power. And the king wrote in reply: "As to those he (the adelantado) has killed, he has done well, and as to those he has saved, they shall be sent to the galleys." [3]

The remnant of Ribault's men made prisoners.

The heretics all, or nearly all, dead or held as prisoners, Menendez

[1] See original documents reprinted in French's *Hist. Coll. of La.*, New Series, 2 vols., and Charlevoix's *History*, Shea's edition, for a comparison of all the accounts of these incidents.

[2] *History and Antiquities of St. Augustine, Florida.* By George H. Fairbanks, New York, 1858.

[3] MS. Letter of Menendez. Parkman's *Pioneers.*

then had leisure to look after the other interests of his colony, at the mouth of the River of Dolphins. He had landed at this spot on the 8th of September, after his unsuccessful chase of the French ships from the River of May. It was here that Ribault had followed to attack him, when his fleet was scattered by the tempest, and finally shipwrecked. Menendez had gone on shore and taken formal possession of the country in the name of the King of Spain, with military pomp and religious solemnity; a priest meeting him at the water's edge, chanting a *Te Deum*, and bearing a crucifix, which the soldiers knelt before and kissed with devout thankfulness. The Indians watched these mysterious proceedings with simple wonder; but they received the strangers with great kindness, and gave them

St. Augustine built.

Laying out of St. Augustine.

the house of a chief, called Selooe, for immediate shelter. This was made the nucleus of a fort; a ditch was at once dug around it, and a rampart of earth and fascines raised. It was the first permanent European settlement within the present boundaries of the United States, and called by Menendez St. Augustine, because on the festival day of that saint — the 28th of August — the Spanish fleet had come in sight of the coast of Florida, and run into the mouth of this river.

From this point, a few days later, he had marched upon Fort Caroline, and then to the massacres at Matanzas Inlet; and here he had returned with a sense of security thus frightfully purchased, to found a state.

The end of the French colony.

Not a month had elapsed since the fleet of Ribault sailed into the River of May, with streaming banners, amid the firing of guns, great and small, the hearty cheers for a voyage happily finished, the shouts of joy at an unexpected deliverance from danger and distress. Of the ships, two only were now afloat — those carrying Laudonnière and his companions on their painful and perilous voyage back to France — of the people, the few others who were alive were fugitives in the woods of Florida, or prisoners in the hands of a relentless bigot, whose mercy, when he showed any, was only some method of cruelty just short of death. Eight hundred Frenchmen [1] had perished, most of them stabbed to death while their hands were in bonds, behind their backs.

Indignation in France at the Spanish cruelties.

But there was yet to come another act in the bloody baptism of the first permanent colony planted in the New World, north of the Gulf of Mexico. The news of the atrocities committed by Menendez was long in reaching Europe, and any intelligence of the details was delayed till they were gathered chiefly from the relations sent home by the Spaniards themselves, pieced out from the fragmentary stories of the few fortunate Frenchmen who escaped. The horror and indignation which these tales excited were not confined to the friends and families of those who had fallen victims to treachery and cruelty, or to those who shared their sorrow from religious sympathy. But the Catholic King of France, and his infamous mother, took no steps to assert the honor of the crown and the rights of the people, either by punishing the perpetrators of so horrible an atrocity, or by calling upon Spain to bring them to justice. The declaration of Menendez that he executed his prisoners at Fort Caroline not as Frenchmen, but as Lutherans, was clearly held to be, if not a justification, at least so far a palliation of his crime, that it called for no redress from a Catholic monarch. If vengeance or honor demanded retaliation it was left to whomsoever might take it upon himself to inflict it.

Dominique de Gourgues appears in the River of May.

Nearly three years passed away, and the Spaniards of Florida had probably dismissed all fear of any retribution for the treachery and cruelty of their leader. In the spring of 1568 three small vessels appeared off the mouth of the River of May, — its name changed, as we have said, to San Mateo, — and the garrisons of two forts built there after the capture of Fort

[1] Charlevoix's *New France*, vol. ii., p. 211.

Caroline saluted the strangers as they passed, supposing them to be Spanish. The salute was returned gun for gun, but the ships were French not Spanish, and under the command of Dominique de Gourgues, a soldier of the highest reputation.

De Gourgues, returning from foreign service, had heard of the massacre of his countrymen in Florida, and that the deed had gone unpunished for two years. It is not certain whether he was a Catholic or a heretic; but he was, at any rate, a Frenchman, and the soldier blazed into rage and shame that Frenchmen should have been so betrayed to death, and that no hand had been lifted to smite their murderers. With his passion mingled, doubtless, something of personal resentment, for he had himself once been made a prisoner by the Spaniards and, contrary to the rules of honorable warfare, condemned to the galleys. However, without making his purpose public, he now sold his estates, and borrowed money from his friends to fit out an expedition, ostensibly for the coast of Africa.

Sailing in August, 1567, he went to that coast, and thence to the West Indies. His cruise had lasted all winter, and perhaps its expenses were defrayed by a trade in negroes, seized in fights, which he is known to have had with some African princes near Cape Blanco. The spring found him in harbor at the western extremity of Cuba, when, for the first time, he disclosed to his men the real object of his expedition. Calling them together he repeated the story of the slaughter at the "bloody river of Matanzas;" he asked them to follow him, avenge this monstrous cruelty, and wipe off the stain upon the honor of France. Open ears and quick sympathies received his speech; it was even easier to arouse the indignation than to restrain the impetuosity of his men, and they were hardly willing to wait for favorable weather to put to sea. Wherever he would lead they would follow, and every man of them felt that the honor of his country was in his special keeping, and vengeance for the murder of his countrymen his sacred duty.

Object of De Gourgues' expedition.

De Gourgues stood out to sea, after passing the forts at the mouth of the May, that he might the better conceal his destination from the Spaniards; returning to the coast again, when a few leagues northward, he entered the mouth of a small river, probably the present St. Illa.[1] The Indians, who also supposed the strangers to be Spanish,

[1] The *Reprinse de la Floride*, and Laudonnière's narrative, call the river the Tacatacourou, named the Seine by the French, now the St. Illa. Fairbanks' *History of St. Augustine* says it was the Somme, now the St. Mary's, that De Gourgues entered; Parkman (*Pioneers*), conjectures that it may have been either the St. Illa or St. Mary's. As the earliest narratives distinctly state that the river entered was the Seine — the Tacatacourou; and as Laudonnière says that the place of rendezvous afterward was beyond the Somme — the St. Mary's — there seems to be no good reason for not accepting those narratives.

crowded to the shore prepared to oppose their landing, for Menendez and his companions had made themselves so thoroughly hateful to the natives that they were determined to hinder any more of a race they feared and detested from entering the country. But when they discovered that the new-comers were their old friends, the French, they received them with every possible sign of satisfaction and welcome, followed by the wildest delight when they learned that the expedition was a hostile one against the Spanish settlements.

Reception of the French by the natives.

Satouriona, who had been the friend of the French, after the Indian fashion, when they were at Port Royal and on the May, was the chief who received De Gourgues. Between them an alliance was entered into with the most binding Indian solemnities, a son of the chief and his wife being given as hostages for the safety of a reconnoitring party sent to examine the position of the forts on the May. Satouriona called in all the warriors from the country round about. A rendezvous was appointed further down the coast, to which the Indians went by land, the French by water. Thence they pushed forward, wading through marshes and streams, their feet torn and bleeding with the stones and sharp shells that lie in their beds, forcing their way through the tangled forests, at their head marching De Gourgues and Olotocara,[1] a nephew of Satouriona.

French alliance with Indians.

At dawn they were in front of the Spanish fort on the north bank of the May, and, as at Fort Caroline when Menendez surprised it at the same hour of the day, a single sentinel only was at his post to give the alarm. Shouting that the French were upon them, he coolly plied a gun he brought to bear upon the advancing enemy, till Olotocara, springing upon the platform, ran him through with a pike. The affrighted garrison rushed from their quarters in a vain attempt to escape, while French and Indians, in hot fury and savage hate, poured over the defences. In a few moments, of the Spaniards fifteen only, who were seized and bound, were left alive.

Attack on the Spanish fort.

The attack was as sudden, the onslaught as furious and as irresistible, the destruction more complete than when Menendez, nearly three years before, had fallen in the light of the early morning, amid the roar of the storm, the cries of men, and the shrieks of women and children, upon the feeble garrison of Fort Caroline. But the work was as yet but just begun, and the completeness of French vengeance was to be made still more significant.

The soldiers of the fort on the south bank of the river were at no

[1] The name is spelled Olotocara, Olotacara, Olatocara, Olocotora, and Olotoraca, by different authors.

loss to understand what was befalling their comrades on the other side. The woods were alive with Indians; the air was filled with their frightful yells of anger and defiance; to the Spaniards it was clear from their boldness that something more than usual had given

Death of the Sentinel.

them confidence and courage, and certainly it could be no savage hand that trained the guns of the captured fort so promptly and truly as to silence those that had been brought to bear upon the attacking party. The murderers of Ribault and his men did not need to be told that the white men they saw among the Indians must be French.

As speedily as possible De Gourgues embarked his men upon a vessel he had taken the precaution to have near at hand, to cross the river,

and the Indians, too impatient to await its return for them, plunged into the stream and swam over. The Spaniards, appalled and bewildered by the impetuosity of an onslaught transferred to their side of the river, which had evidently swept everything before it on the other, made only a feeble attempt to defend their works, and fled for their lives. The avenging French were behind them as they abandoned their fortifications; in the forest the Indians met and fell upon them as they sought, like hunted beasts, concealment beneath the deep shadows and in the tangled underbrush of the woods. In this, as in the other fort, there were sixty men; in this, as in the other, fifteen were seized to be held a little while as captives; in this, as in the other, all the rest were killed.

Dismay of the Spaniards.

San Mateo, with a force of nearly three hundred men, was yet to be taken. The alarm at that post was intense, for it was only known that both the forts below were overcome in a few hours and not a man escaped. The commander sent out a soldier, disguised as an Indian, to learn the strength and designs of the invaders; but the quick eyes of Olotocara detected the cheat; the spy was secured, and the garrison remained in the belief that San Mateo was about to be surrounded by two thousand Frenchmen. De Gourgues rested two days, and then appeared in the woods behind the fort. The enemy opened fire, which only sent the Frenchmen to the protection of the trees. Not knowing that De Gourgues' force was little more than a hundred men, the Spaniards probably supposed this to be only a detachment sent in advance, and a sortie was made to meet and disperse it. But the Spanish soldiers ventured too far; De Gourgues threw a body of men between them and the fort; a deadly fire, close at hand, met them in the face; in front, in flank, in the rear, the Frenchmen fell upon them sword in hand; not one was spared.

Fort Mateo besieged.

From within the palisades the Spaniards watched for the success and saw the slaughter of their comrades. They thought no longer of defence, but only of escape. Rushing in a mob to the opposite side of the fort, they threw themselves into the woods and fled, mad with fear, for their lives. They were met with the exultant war-whoop of hundreds of savage warriors eager for revenge, who sprang upon them from their ambushes, pierced them with deadly arrows, brought them down with crushing blows from tomahawks, tearing the bloody scalps from heads whose brains had not ceased to throb. Some few, perhaps, were fortunate enough, or brave enough, to fight their way through this storm of merciless slaughter; some turned and fled back again, hoping for quarter from Christian enemies. But few, if any, escaped from sudden death.

The panic-stricken garrison.

But the massacre of Fort Caroline was not even yet atoned for.

The flag of France once more floated over its ramparts of earth; the bodies of nearly four hundred Spaniards lay unburied on the shores of the River of May; but there were prisoners still alive. De Gourgues ordered them to be brought before him, in the presence of his own men and his Indian allies. He was there, he told them, to avenge acts which were as heinous an insult to France as they were atrocious crimes against humanity; although such deeds could not be punished as they deserved, the perpetrators should, at least, be made to suffer all the retaliation that could be inflicted by an honorable enemy. Near by were still standing the trees on which Menendez had hanged his prisoners, beneath the inscription: "I do this not as to Frenchmen, but as to Lutherans." To the same trees the French captain ordered the Spaniards to be led for execution, and over their heads were the words — burned into a plank with a hot iron, — "I do not this as unto Spaniards, nor as unto Maranes;[1] but as unto traitors, robbers, and murderers."

The last retaliation.

The whole force which De Gourgues commanded, including soldiers and sailors, was less than three hundred men. It was not sufficient to justify him in an attack upon St. Augustine, or even to await a pursuit in formidable numbers from that point, which would be sure to follow if he remained upon the coast. He had done all he could do to satisfy the wounded honor of his country, to avenge the perfidy and cruelty which betrayed so many of his countrymen to death. But to give completeness to his work he demolished the three forts whose garrisons he had exterminated; this done, he took leave of his Indian allies with mutual protestations of good-will, with interchange of presents, with regrets on one side at the departure of such cherished friends, on the other with assurance of a speedy return. "I am willing now to live longer," said an aged squaw, in the spirit of heathen philosophy, "for I have seen the French return and the Spaniards killed." And that, no doubt, was the feeling of all her people. There was some good-will toward the French, of whom they had little fear. But the Spaniards they both feared and hated.

Departure of De Gourgues from Florida.

The intelligence of what De Gourgues had done reached Spain in time for the king to send a fleet of small vessels to intercept him on the coast. It was not far behind him in pursuit at Rochelle, where he first arrived, and followed him to other ports, but he fortunately evaded capture. The French king would not have regretted it had the Spaniards overtaken him; for much as his deeds in Florida were generally applauded, and especially by the Huguenots, he was looked

[1] Marane was an opprobrious term applied to Spaniards, meaning originally, suggests Parkman (*Pioneers of New France*), a Moor.

upon coldly at the Catholic court; and he found it prudent, when the king of Spain offered a reward for his head, to go into retirement, if not into actual concealment. For several years he lived in obscurity, and died when about to take up arms once more against his old enemies, as commander of the Portuguese fleet in the service of Don Alphonso, then at war with Philip II. of Spain. Menendez had died five years before (in 1574) when about to sail as admiral of the Spanish armada against Elizabeth of England.

Deaths of De Gourgues and Menendez.

The extirpation of error in the slaughter of heretics by Menendez had been fearfully avenged; in the propagation of the faith the bloody apostle was even less successful. He was, to do him justice, as zealous in the one cause as in the other, but the Indians steadily refused to listen to the teachings of the priests who, alone of all the Spaniards, were not more merciless and cruel than the savages themselves. And they learned moreover, from the success of De Gourgues' expedition, that Spaniards were not invincible, and they were not slow to profit by that lesson whenever the opportunity offered.

But Menendez did not confine his efforts, either for colonization or the conversion of the Indians, to the region about St. Augustine. By the way of the Bay of St. Mary, as Gomez and other early navigators called Chesapeake Bay, Menendez believed that the passage to India would be found, and in 1566 he sent a vessel carrying soldiers and priests to establish a post somewhere on the shores of the Bay or one of its tributary rivers. The party was guided by an Indian convert, a brother of the cacique of the Axacan or Iacan country, as a portion of Virginia was called, whence he had been taken some years before to Mexico, and christened by the name of the viceroy, Don Luis de Velasco. This expedition was unsuccessful. But Menendez continued to urge his project, and four years later induced the general of the order of Jesuits to direct the establishment of a missionary station at Axacan.

Further efforts of Menendez.

The Indian convert, Don Luis, was then in Spain, and gladly availed himself of such an opportunity to return to his own country, promising to use his influence with his brother and his people on behalf of the missionaries. With him went a priest and two religious from Spain, and at Port Royal they were joined by the father John Baptist Segura, the head of the Jesuit Mission of Florida, another priest, and four Indian boys, novices from the mission school at Havana.

In September, 1570, this little party of devout and courageous missionaries were landed on the banks of the Potomac, — which the early Spanish navigators called the Espiritu Santo, where the vessel left

them, with a few stores, alone in the wilderness. Travelling six miles on foot across the country to the Rappahannock, they pushed into the interior for some distance along the coast of that river, till they reached an Indian village. Here they put up a rude log cabin for their own shelter and as a chapel, which they named "La Madre de Dios de Iacan"—"the chapel of the mother of God at Iacan," or Axacan.

Missionaries on the Rappahannock.

Their provisions were scanty, and they were soon called upon to endure the hardships of winter. The Indians were even poorer than usual, for there had been a long period of scarcity, and they could give at best but little aid to the strangers, though they received them with kindness. The helpless missionaries could neither hunt nor fish, and were almost entirely dependent upon the good-will and good offices of Don Luis, through whom alone could they hold much intelligent communication with the people of his tribe. But Don Luis soon forgot that he was a Christian; the instinct of Indian blood and the force of early habits were stronger than the rite of baptism and the pious promises of the neophyte; he soon abandoned the brethren and resumed the companionship of his youth and the free and savage life of the woods. In ceasing to be the friend of the Christians he became their most dangerous enemy, constrained in the nature of the case to prove thus the sincerity of his conduct to those whom he had once abandoned for civilized life and the religion of the white man.

Desertion of their Indian ally.

Again and again messengers were sent to the renegade to recall him to the duties he had so solemnly assumed, but they were answered only with frivolous excuses. Late in January father Quiros, taking with him two of the Indian boys belonging to the mission, went to try the effect of personal and spiritual authority with the man upon whose friendship now even their lives depended. But his expostulations and entreaties were met with evasions by Don Luis, who was unable, nevertheless, while standing face to face with the good father and listening to the solemn and tender admonitions of the priest, to avow the full extent of his own hypocrisy and treachery. But no sooner had Quiros and his two companions turned disappointed and sorrowful to retrace their foot-steps than they were brought to the ground by a volley of arrows from the lurking savages.

The father Segura and his little company spent the time meanwhile in prayer in the chapel as day after day passed and there were no tidings of Quiros. On the fourth day the war-whoop rung through the woods; a band of painted savages surrounded the chapel, Don Luis at their head dressed in the cassock of the murdered priest. Segura and his companions were no longer in doubt as

Massacre of the priests.

to the fate of Quiros; they guessed, no doubt, what was speedily to be their own. Don Luis demanded their knives and hatchets, which were meekly surrendered. At a signal from the apostate the savages rushed upon the defenceless missionaries, and all except one of the Indian boys, saved by a brother of Don Luis, were instantly slaughtered.

In the spring a vessel arrived from Port Royal with supplies. A crowd of Indians thronged the banks of the river as it approached; at a distance men were visible, clothed in the garments of the dead priests. The savages shouted, — "See the fathers who came to us. We have treated them well; come and see them, and we will treat you likewise." The sailors were not deceived by this shallow artifice, and returned at once to Port Royal to report the evident fate of the mission.

Menendez, in the course of the year, returned from Spain, and resolved, on hearing the story, to punish the Indians for killing his friends. Taking a small and fast vessel he sailed up the Potomac, landed a small force and marched in pursuit of Don Luis and his brother the cacique. He failed to overtake them, but others were captured, and confessed; the boy, Alphonsus, was brought to him, who related the particulars of the massacre, pointing out eight of those among the prisoners who were concerned in it. These the adelantado hanged at the yard-arm of his vessel, first having them baptized, more perhaps, to the satisfaction of his own conscience than to their edification. This done he returned to St. Augustine. For more than thirty years longer that remained the sole European colony within the limits of the present United States. The unknown site somewhere on the banks of the Rappahannock, of the chapel of Our Lady of Axacan, marked the only important attempt of Spanish colonization north of Florida.[1]

In 1586, Sir Francis Drake, on his way home from an expedition to South America, in cruising along the coast of Florida in search of the first English colony on the island of Roanoke, saw an outlook on Anastasia Island. Entering the River of Dolphins he found the Spanish settlement, then under the command of Pedro Menendez, a nephew of the founder. In the fort was a treasure-chest, containing £2,000, which Drake did not leave behind him; the town was a cluster of wooden houses, and these he burnt.[2] As he approached the fort, from which the Spaniards had fled, "forthwith came a Frenchman being a Phipher (who had bene prisoner with

Sir Francis Drake takes St. Augustine.

[1] See original MS. by John Gilmary Shea, in New York Historical Library; and "The Log Chapel on the Rappahannock," by the same author, in *Catholic World* for March, 1875.

[2] Barcia.

them) in a little boate, playing on his Phiph the tune of the Prince of Orenge his song."[1] Of the companions of Ribault whom Menendez

The French Fifer.

spared from the second massacre at Matanzas Inlet, because he had need of them, one was a fifer, and he it was, probably, who gave this shrill welcome to the English invader.

[1] Sir Francis Drake's *West Indian Voyage of* 1585. Hakluyt, vol. iii., 1600.

CHAPTER X.

ENGLISH VOYAGES AND ATTEMPTS AT SETTLEMENT.

First Impulse in England toward American Colonization. — Unsuccessful Voyages. — Theories of a Northeast Passage. — Voyage of Sir Hugh Willoughby and Richard Chancellor. — Frobisher and Davis in the Northwest. — Sir Humphrey Gilbert's Plan for American Settlements. — His Departure from England and Arrival at Newfoundland. — Loss of Sir Humphrey on his Return. — Walter Raleigh sends two Ships to Explore in America. — His First Colony reaches the Coast of North Carolina. — Tobacco introduced into England. — New Plantation begun under Governor John White. — Mysterious Disappearance of the Settlers. — Unsuccessful Search for the Lost Colony. — Raleigh's Attempt at Colonization ended by Imprisonment.

It is not always unprofitable, and it is often interesting, to reflect what might have been the course of human events but for the intervention of some slight action, seeming at the moment to be of trifling importance. Had Columbus, for example, refused to deviate on his first voyage from that directly westward course which he had laid down as the only true one, his first land-fall would probably have been the coast of Florida. The history of the world would have flowed in another channel, and the progress of the human race been arrested for centuries if the order had not been given on board the *Santa Maria* to put the helm up and stand southwest for a night, in pursuit of a cloud-bank which one of the Pinzons mistook for land. We may venture upon almost any latitude of conjecture as to what might have been, had the Spanish march of conquest and possession been directed to the territory now occupied by the United States rather than to that of the rich and semi-civilized peoples of Mexico and Peru. In the providence of God it was not to be.

Besides, the disasters and disappointments attending all the expeditions of the Spanish, the Portuguese, and the French in North America, in the course of the sixteenth century, were alleviated and atoned for by none of that dazzling acquisition of wealth that came from the spoiling of the semi-civilized nations of the South. The North American Indians, unlike the natives of softer climates whom the Spanish subdued so easily, would fight to the death with the fierceness of wild beasts rather than quietly submit to the white men, or if re-

duced to slavery would die in obstinate despair. There were no slaves and no gold in this inhospitable region; people and country were proved to be alike valueless in the estimate of the Spanish conquerors, the one feeble colony at St. Augustine alone being an exception, and that owed its origin to a cruel fanaticism and was held together by the spirit of religious propagandism. It was happy for the world that it was so. If the history of South America had been repeated in the north it would have been better that the Atlantic had still been held to be a sea of darkness into which no ship manned by mortals could penetrate and live. At length it was plain that not the Spanish but a people of another blood, another faith, and another destiny were to possess the land, though more than a century passed from the time that the Cabots looked upon their *terram primûm visam* of the New World before an English colony was planted upon its shores.

The idea of the real value the new-found regions were to be to the English people, was of slow growth in the English mind. A short way to India was the main purpose of the voyages of the Cabots. If other voyages were projected or made under commissions from Henry VII. early in the sixteenth century, as was probably the case, they had no other object. Robert Thorne, an eminent merchant of London, whose father is supposed to have been upon a voyage to Newfoundland, urged Henry VIII. in 1527, to send out fresh expeditions to discover new lands and kingdoms whereby the king would win perpetual glory, and his subjects infinite profit. "To which places," he said, "there is left one way to discover, which is into the north, for that of the foure partes of the worlde, it seemeth three partes are discovered by other princes. For out of Spaine they have discovered all the Indies and Seas Occidentall, and out of Portingall all the Indies and Seas Orientall; so that by this part of the Orient and Occident they have compassed the world. . . . . So that now rest to be discovered the sayd northe parts, the which it seemeth to mee, is onely your charge and duety. Because the situation of this your Realme is thereunto neerest and aptist of all others."[1] And in another letter on the same subject and written with the same purpose, he says: "It appeareth plainely that the Newfoundland that we discovered, is all a maine land with the Indies Occidentall, from whence the Emperor hath all the gold and pearles: and so continueth of coast more than 5000 leagues of length. . . . . So that to the Indies it would seem we have some title. . . . . Now then if from the sayd New found lands the Sea be navigable, there is no doubt but sayling northward and passing the Pole, descending to the Equinoctial line, we shall hit these Islands [of India,] and it should

Awaking of English interest in America.

[1] Letter of Robert Thorne to Henry VIII., Hakluyt, vol. i., p. 212.

be a much shorter way than either the Spaniards or Portingals have." [1]

Early voyage from England, 1527.

The same year two ships, the *Mary of Guilford* and the *Samson*, sailed from London, possibly in compliance with these exhortations of Thorne's.[2] At any rate the expedition was undertaken at the king's command; it went, wrote John Rut, the captain of the *Mary of Guilford*, as far north as the fifty-second parallel; was prevented by the ice from venturing further; and the ship then returned to England, without reporting any more interesting fact than that John Rut counted "eleven saile of Normans, and one Brittaine, and two Portugall Barkes, and all a fishing," in the harbor of St. John.[3] The *Samson* parted company with the other ship before she reached St. John and was probably lost. In this expedition Cardinal Wolsey seems to have had some pecuniary interest.

Voyage of Master Hore, 1536.

In 1536 an enterprise equally discouraging and certainly tragic was undertaken by one Master Hore, of London, "assisted by the king's favor and good countenance," Hore persuading many gentlemen of Inns of Court and of Chancery and some country gentlemen of good estate to go with him. Altogether there were one hundred and ten persons who sailed from Gravesend in April of that year in the ships *Trinitie* and *Minion*, the former of one hundred and forty tons burden. They arrived in Newfoundland after a stormy passage of two months, where they went ashore and remained for the summer. What good result was expected from such an expedition it is not easy to understand, for it was so ill provided that the men were soon in a starving condition, and forced to seek sustenance in such wild roots as they could gather. And to such extremity were they reduced that they soon murdered each other secretly and fed upon the flesh of the victims.

The captain, who had supposed that the loss of his men was due to wild beasts and Indians, had no other remedy, when the shocking truth became known to him, than to make a "notable Oration," in which he set forth their sin in the strongest terms as offensive to God, exhorting them to repentance and prayer. The murders probably ceased, but the famine continued, and it was not long before hunger drove them to cast lots for the choice of one who should die to save the rest. But such was the mercy of God, says the narrative, that a French ship well provisioned arrived that same night. Of this the

[1] Thorne to the English Ambassador in Spain. — Hakluyt, vol. i.

[2] Biddle (*Memoir of Cabot*, p. 279) suggests that it was on board the *Mary of Guilford* that Verrazano was pilot when he was captured and eaten by the savages. Her captain would hardly have omitted to mention such an incident had it occurred on board his vessel.

[3] *Purchas's Pilgrims*, John Rut's letter to Henry VIII., vol. iii., p. 809. Hakluyt refers to the sailing of one ship in 1527, and calls her the *Dominus Vobiscum*, vol. iii., p. 129.

Englishmen, either by force or by fraud, possessed themselves and put to sea, leaving the Frenchmen their empty vessel, and to starve in their stead. The Frenchmen, afterward, however, found their way to England, and were recompensed by the king for their losses, though the pirates who had overpowered them were not punished, as they should have been, in consideration of the dire distress which incited them to so base a crime.[1]

The want of success in these adventures had undoubtedly a discouraging influence. The belief, handed down even to a recent period as a kind of national heirloom, that British courage and perseverance would find somewhere a northwest passage to India, was, if not abandoned, at least forgotten for nearly forty years in the middle period of the sixteenth century. In place of it a conviction gained ground that the true road to Cathay was by the northeast. Sebastian Cabot was at that time in England, and he had "long had this secret in his mind;" originating, perhaps, in his own experience of half a century before, and his familiar knowledge, gained as pilot-major of Spain and England, of the abortive attempts of Spanish, Portuguese, French, and English to go, as Thorne said in his letter to Henry VIII., by way of the north into the back side of the New found land.

There was at this period great depression in the trade of England, and the growth of commercial enterprise was seeking untried channels. The merchants of London were looking for new and better markets for their "commodities and wares" than could be found near home, and they sought counsel of Cabot. Trade and science struck hands at once. In 1553 Sebastian Cabot appears as first governor of "the mysterie and companie of the merchants adventurers for the discovrie of Regions, Dominions, Islands, and places unknown," and is preparing "ordinances, instructions and advertisements of and for the direction of the intended voyage for Cathay."

Sebastian Cabot made governor of a company of merchants.

In May of that year three ships sailed from London under the command of Sir Hugh Willoughby as captain-general of the fleet. Evidently great things were expected. Willoughby was "a most valiant gentleman and well born," chosen as the admiral above all others because he was "of goodly personage and singular skill in the service of warre;" Richard Chancellor, captain of one of the ships and pilot-major of the fleet, was of the household of Henry Sidney — afterward the father of Sir Philip Sidney — who, in a public speech, assured the merchants, not only of the value of his friend, but that he hoped "this present godly and virtuous intention would prove profitable to this nation and honourable to this our land;" an intention

Sir Hugh Willoughby.

[1] Hakluyt, vol. iii., p. 129.

which the nobility were ready to help and further. Even the names of the ships indicate the sanguine hopes of the expedition, for they were called the *Bona Esperanza*, the *Edward* (for the king) *Bonaventure*, and the *Bona Confidentia*. They were well built and well provided; and one of them, says Clement Adams,[1] "was made stanch and firme by an excellent invention:" they covered a piece of the keel of the ship with thin sheets of lead to protect it from the worms, — the first time apparently that sheathing was used in England.

The departure of Willoughby.

On the 20th of May the fleet dropped down to Greenwich. The court was at that place, and the courtiers came running out to see the vessels; the privy council looked out from the windows and from the tops of the towers; the people crowded down to the shore; upon the ships the sailors clustered like bees in

Willoughby's Ships in Arctic Seas.

the tops, upon the yards and shrouds, and while hills and valleys reverberated with salute after salute, these mariners "all apparelled in watchet or skie-coloured cloth," . . . . "shouted in such sort that the skie rang againe with the noyses thereof." It was a gala-day on the Thames, "a very triumph in all respects to the beholders."

In the north seas the ships, not many days after, parted company in a storm. Two of them kept together, and were found two years later by some Russian fishermen in a Lapland harbor. They were the *Bona Esperanza* and the *Bona Confidentia*. In the cabin of the *Esperanza* sat the body of Sir Hugh Willoughby, a pen between his

[1] See his narrative in Hakluyt, vol. i., p. 243, *et seq.*

frozen fingers, his journal open on the table before him. Scattered about both ships lay the bodies of the frozen crews; every man on board had perished with the cold. When afterward an attempt was made to take the ships back to England with their frozen companies, they were buried as they had died, together, for both the vessels foundered at sea.

In all the tragedies of Arctic explorations none is more pathetic than this; unlike many others, however, it was not a useless sacrifice. Chancellor in the other ship reached Archangel, and travelled thence overland to Moscow. A new channel of trade was opened; such civilization as Western Europe then possessed was brought to the knowledge and observation of less cultivated peoples; the Muscovy Company became powerful and rich, and largely added to that commercial prosperity and greatness which were to be the pride and strength of England. Satisfied that a northeast passage to Cathay was doubtful if not impossible, the English were content with the fruits which this search for it had brought them.

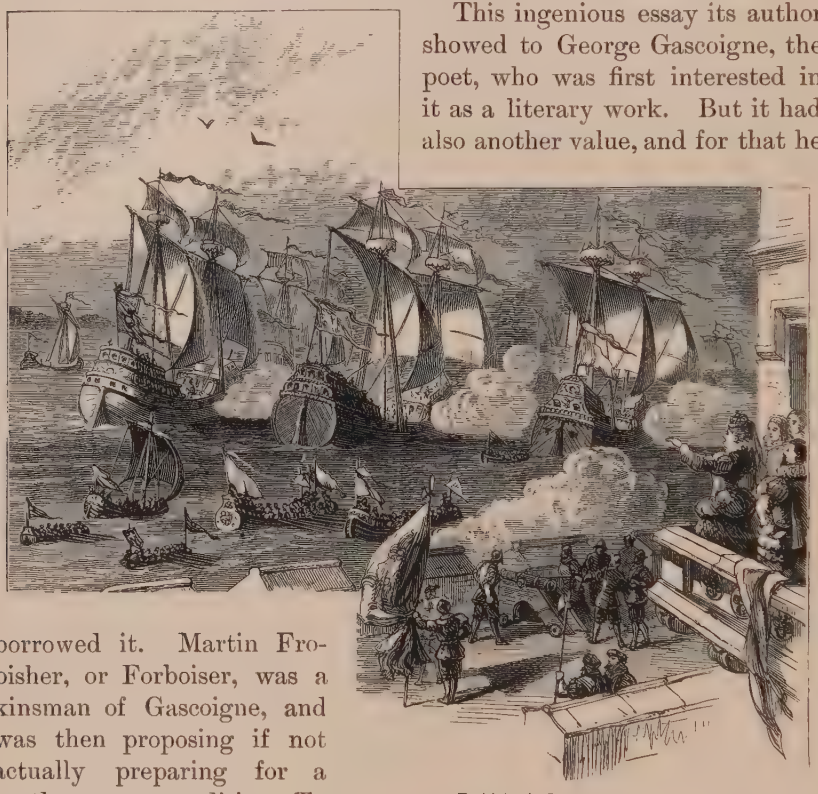
Commerce opened between England and Russia.

A few years later the old idea revived. In 1570 an ingenious essay full of the cosmographical learning of the time, written by Sir Humphrey Gilbert, renewed the interest if not the belief in the northwest passage.[1] America, he thought, was the Atlantis of Plato, Aristotle, and other ancient philosophers. Partially submerged and divided by floods, all knowledge of it was lost for many centuries; but since it had been recently rediscovered, modern geographers had come to the conclusion of the ancients, that it was an island. If an island it could be circumnavigated, and it would be possible by sailing on the north side of America to go to "Cataia, China and East India." Not only was it theoretically possible, but it had actually been done. According to several writers, there had been, both before the Christian era, and also in the eleventh century, certain Indians cast upon the shores of Germany. They could not, argued Gilbert, have come by the southwest through the Strait of Magellan, nor by the southeast around the Cape of Good Hope, because of the distance and because of the winds and currents; nor by the northeast, even if there were any passage that way, which he doubted, because of the shallowness of the sea, and its being therefore perpetually frozen. Their only probable route, therefore, was by the northwest. But it was not a question of probabilities. One of the old writers had declared that three brothers had sailed from Europe through this passage, and hence it was called *Fretum Trium Fratrum* — the Strait of the Three Brothers. He, Sir Humphrey, had with his own ears heard a certain Spaniard assure Sir

Humphrey Gilbert's discourse on the northwest passage.

[1] "Discourse written by Sir Humphrey Gilbert, Knight," Hakluyt, vol. iii., p. 11.

Henry Sidney[1] that he knew a friar, a man famous for his many voyages, who had sailed through and made a map of this strait; that he told the King of Portugal of it, who "most earnestly desired him not in anywise to disclose or make the passage knowen to any nation: 'for that (said the king) if England had knowledge and experience thereof, it would both greatly hinder the King of Spaine and me.'"



Frobisher's Departure.

This ingenious essay its author showed to George Gascoigne, the poet, who was first interested in it as a literary work. But it had also another value, and for that he borrowed it. Martin Frobisher, or Forboiser, was a kinsman of Gascoigne, and was then proposing if not actually preparing for a northwestern expedition. To him, doubtless, Gascoigne showed the paper; perhaps it was by his counsel that it was soon after published;[2] at any rate it can hardly have failed to influence opinion, and so have forwarded Frobisher's purposes. Two months later—in June, 1576—he sailed with three small vessels, one of them a pinnace of only ten tons. As they passed Greenwich on their way down the river, the queen, Mary, watched them from the windows, and conde-

Martin Frobisher departs on a northwest voyage. 1576.

[1] Sir Henry Sidney, who nearly twenty years before took so lively an interest in the discovery of the northeast passage, and made a speech at a Merchants' meeting just before the sailing of Sir Hugh Willoughby.

[2] *Memoir of Cabot*, p. 290. Biddle quotes from the original publication, now in the British Museum, of Gilbert's essay with an introduction by Gascoigne. This introduction Hakluyt omits.

scended to wave her hands in token of farewell. She afterwards sent messengers on board to express her "good liking" to the expedition — an evidence of the importance attached to it.

Frobisher made two other voyages in the two following years. On all of them he saw the land of Frisland "rising like pinnacles of steeples," in about latitude 61°, from twelve to fifteen days sail west from the Shetland Islands. All along its coast were high mountains covered with snow, except where their sides were too precipitous. Nowhere could he find a landing-place or a harbor, nor were there any signs of habitation. Either this was Greenland, or Frisland has since disappeared, for no navigator since Frobisher has ever seen it.

Frobisher's second and third voyages.

Thence Frobisher steered westward, pursuing on each voyage nearly the same course. The strait, which to this day bears his name, he thought was a passage to the sea of Suez, and the island of Cumberland he supposed to be a part of the coast of Asia. On the first voyage he picked up some black stones, and one of these, on his return, was given as a curiosity to the wife of one of the adventurers. She threw it into the fire, and after long exposure to the heat without being consumed, it glistened like gold, and was pronounced to be such by the refiners. A new impulse and a new purpose were given to the subsequent expeditions, and on the last Frobisher went out in command of fifteen ships. They were to come back laden with ore, and, said the commander of the fleet, "if it had not beene for the charge and care we had of the fleete and freighted ships, we both would and could have gone through to the South Sea, called Mar del Sur, and dissolved the long doubt of the passage which we seeke to finde to the rich countrey of Cataya."[1] But the hundreds of tons of supposed ore which they brought back to England proved no less a delusion than the passage to the East, for they held no gold.

The cost of these shiploads of black stones was forgotten in the course of the next four or five years, and only Frobisher's assurance remembered — that, but for the care of those useless cargoes he would have sailed direct to Cathay. Another northern expedition remains to be noticed before we turn to the more important events of the same period under the guidance of statesmen who were wise enough to see that the power and opulence of England were to be increased by founding an empire in the New World rather than by seeking a passage to the rich kingdoms of other peoples. Three times in the course of the years 1585–86 and 1587, John Davis heroically pushed his way through those frozen northern

John Davis in the Arctic regions. 1585.

[1] Hakluyt, vol. iii., p. 80.

seas. On the third of these voyages, in 1587, he left his two small vessels on the coast of Cumberland Island to fish, while he went northward in a pinnace. For about six weeks he pushed his way among the icebergs and fields of ice, sometimes along the western coast of Desolation, as he called Greenland, sometimes on the opposite coast, and penetrating Baffin's Bay as far as the seventy-third parallel. In the Strait, which ever since has borne his name, he saw the land on both sides of him; but beyond was "a great sea, free, large, very salt and blew, and of an unsearchable depth." Davis was persuaded that nothing but ice and bad weather prevented his sailing direct to India along the northern coast of America; but these did stay his further progress in any direction and he returned to where he had left his ships. These, meanwhile, satisfied with their "catch" of cod, had ruthlessly abandoned their commander and gone home to save their fish. The pinnace, however, reached England in safety. The death of Secretary Walsingham, who was Davis's chief patron, and the preparations to meet the Spanish Armada, prevented any further prosecution of his discoveries.

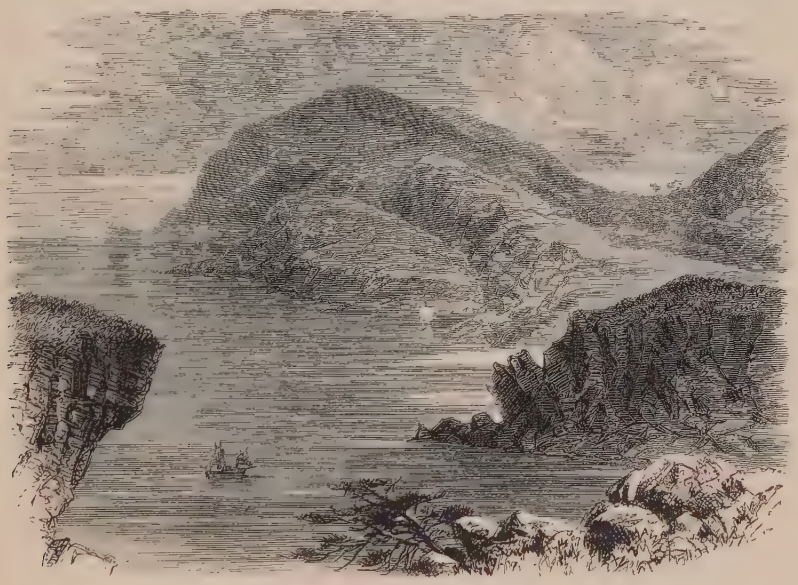
Sir Humphrey Gilbert's plan of colonization.

The familiar names of two straits upon the map of North America keep alive the memory of these intrepid navigators, Frobisher and Davis. The voyages of both, if not directly due to the "Discourse" of Sir Humphrey Gilbert, which George Gascoigne published, received from it, doubtless, an important impulse. But Gilbert himself meanwhile had wider views than the possibility of navigation around the northern coast of North America, though no strait or headland upon the continent bears the name of the first Englishman who sought it with the single purpose of colonizing and making it a part of the British Empire. "Many voyages," says Captain Edward Hayes, "have bene pretended, yet hitherto never any thoroughly accomplished by our nation of exact discovery into the bowels of those maine, ample and vast countreys, extended infinitely into the north from 30 degrees, or rather from 25 degrees, of septentrionall latitude, neither hath a right way bene taken

Sir Humphrey Gilbert.

of planting a Christian habitation and regiment upon the same." [1] It is not, indeed, quite true that, as the narrative goes on to say, that "worthy gentleman our countryman, Sir Humphrey Gilbert, Knight, was the first of our nation that caried people to erect an habitation and government in those northerly countreys of America;" for Cabot had taken colonists to Baccalaos eighty years before. It nevertheless is true that in the active brain of Gilbert was first conceived the project which was the germ of the future power of England in the New World, the seed whence grew the present United States.

Sir Humphrey Gilbert was one of three brothers, all of whom were men of character and distinction, and all engaged in schemes of Ameri-



View on Coast near Torquay.

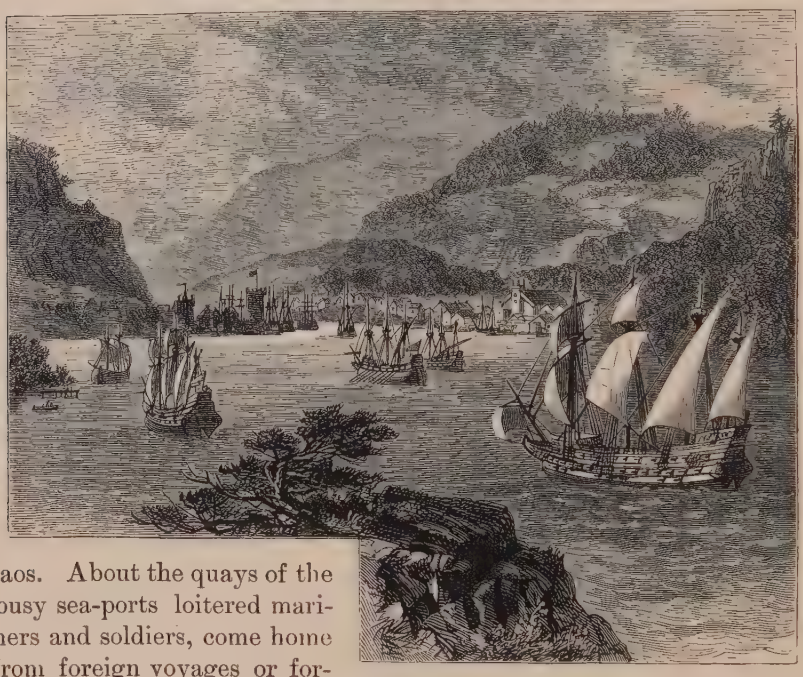
can colonization. The family was one of consideration and wealth in the County of Devon, then of the first importance in the country for its commerce and sea-ports. The family seat was not far from the port of Torquay, looking out upon the English channel.[2] The father was Otho Gilbert, whose name is remembered because he was the father of such sons and the husband of their mother. Humphrey, the second son, was educated at Eton and Oxford, and was destined for the law. But Devon influences were stronger than those of school and college. Let him ride where he would from his father's castle, within a circuit of not many miles, he would

Family of Sir Humphrey Gilbert.

[1] Hakluyt, vol. iii., p. 143, *et seq.*

[2] *Life of Sir Walter Raleigh*, by Edward Edwards, vol. i., p. 76.

come upon Torquay, Dartmouth, Brixham, Teignmouth, Exeter, their ports filled with vessels of all kinds, from the tall ship that sailed southward in pursuit of Spanish galleons, to the little craft that ventured into northern seas to load with cod upon the coast of Bacca-



Dartmouth Harbor.

laos. About the quays of the busy sea-ports loitered mariners and soldiers, come home from foreign voyages or foreign service, with tales of travel in strange lands and of deeds of war; and to a young man of courage and imagination these would have an irresistible charm in an age when the lure to ambition was romantic adventure.

On the maternal as well as paternal side Gilbert was of good blood, for his mother, who was the mother also, by a second marriage, of Sir Walter Raleigh, was of a family distinguished at various periods of English history, — the Champernouns. She was, says John Fox, the martyrologist, "a woman of noble wit and of good and godly opinions." Not much is known of her, but it is enough to know that she was the mother of the Gilberts and of Raleigh, — a woman to be held in reverential remembrance in a land where her sons were the first to plant the seed that should bear good fruit in the New World.

Humphrey Gilbert's services as a soldier.

Sir Humphrey Gilbert was first a soldier, serving in the wars of France, of Ireland, and of the Netherlands. That he did good service there is ample testimony. In the Netherlands he led a regiment for the Prince of Orange, fighting for the

Huguenots and the new faith. In Ireland he was made Governor of Munster. "For Sir Humphrey Gilbert," wrote Sir Henry Sidney, "I cannot say enough . . . . for the estimation that he hath won to the name of Englishman there [in Ireland] before almost not known, exceedeth all the rest." "I never hard," wrote Sir Walter Raleigh, "nor rede of any man more fered than he is among the Irishe nacion." [1]

In 1578 Gilbert received an ample charter giving him power for the next six years to discover "such remote heathen and barbarous lands, not actually possessed by any Christian prince or people," and have them for his own both by sea and land as absolute proprietor. Though that portion of America near the river of Canada was the best known, the more southern region was — Gilbert and those engaged with him believed — the more valuable. Florida, it was said, was by divine limitation the impassable boundary of Spanish dominion in the New World, and "that the countreys lying North of Florida God hath reserved the same to be reduced into Christian civility by the English nation." [2] His charter, 1578.

Sir Walter Raleigh was chief among those who entered into this scheme of his half-brother, and who contributed money, influence, and personal effort for its success. When, the year after Gilbert received the charter, he made the first attempt to avail himself of the privileges it bestowed, Raleigh, it is said, sailed with him. The expedition, however, returned within a few days crippled, and with the loss of one ship probably captured in a fight with the Spaniards at sea. But it encountered many difficulties even before starting. Dissensions had arisen among those who had engaged in it, followed by withdrawals; then Orders of Council came, first that Gilbert should only put to sea under sureties of good behavior; then that he should abandon the enterprise altogether under pain of the queen's displeasure. For the watchful Spaniards, jealous of every English vessel that turned her head westward, complained of depredations made or to be made upon Spanish commerce — complaints likely enough to be well founded, for he was no true British sailor in the reign of Elizabeth, who did not hate the Spaniard as he hated the enemy of mankind, and did not hold him to be the lawful prey of all Christian men.

But in 1583 the start was more successful. Raleigh's influence with Elizabeth removed all obstacles that the Lords of Council could put in the way, if they were still disposed to listen to Spanish complaints, or the Spaniards to offer them. The queen wished Gilbert "as great goodhap and safety to his ship as if herself were there

[1] Edwards' *Life of Raleigh*, vol. ii., pp. 2–12.

[2] *Report of the Voyages, etc., of Sir Humphrey Gilbert*, by Edward Haies. Hakluyt, vol. iii., p. 143.

in person," and desired him to send her his picture as a keepsake. His charter, moreover, expired in a year, and he could afford to delay no longer. He sailed in June in command of five ships, the largest of which, the *Raleigh*, was fitted out by Sir Walter himself at an expense of £2,000, and was two hundred tons burden. The smallest, the *Squirrel*, was only ten tons burden; of the other three, the *Golden Hind* and the *Swallow* measured forty tons each, and the admiral's ship, the *Delight*, was one hundred and twenty tons. The *Raleigh* deserted them in a few days and returned to port, pestilence having broken out, it was said, among her crew; but something else was the matter, for, says Captain Edward Hayes, the owner and captain of the *Golden Hind*, as well as historian of the expedition, "the reason I could never understand. . . . . Therefore I leave it unto God."[1] And Gilbert himself wrote to Sir George Peckham,[2] "the Ark *Raleigh* ran from me in fair and clear weather, having a large wind. I pray you, solicit my brother Raleigh to make them an example to all knaves."[3]

Gilbert sails with a fleet of five ships. 1583.

In all there was a company of about two hundred and sixty men, among them mechanics of all trades fitted for a new settlement, as well as mineral men and refiners. On the admiral's ship was a band of music "for solace of their own people," and they carried such "toyes as morris-dancers, hobbie-horses and May-like conceits to delight the savage people, as well as petty haberdashrie wares" for barter with them.

The vessels all arrived in due season at the appointed place of meeting, — St. John's, Newfoundland. Here Sir Humphrey read to the tradesmen and fishermen of all nations, who, as had come to be the settled custom, had gathered there for the summer, his commission from the queen. He took possession of the place and the neighboring country, for two hundred leagues in every direction, with proper solemnities, receiving a sod and a twig in token thereof, and setting up a pillar with the arms of England carved upon it. He had gone there, however, only as a convenient stopping-place for repairs and provisions, on his way to that more southern country, which was the real object of the expedition. It was a disastrous delay. Many of his men deserted; many were disabled by sickness from further service; and some died. Altogether they were a rough and worthless set, some of whom had been pirates, and were impressed

Newfoundland claimed as English territory.

[1] *Hayes' Narrative*, Hakluyt, vol. iii.

[2] Letter to Sir George Peckham, *Purchas Pilgrims*, vol. iii.

[3] Oldys, in his *Life and Works of Sir Walter Raleigh*, vol. i., says, and others have repeated it on his authority, that Raleigh was in command of his own ship. Gilbert's letter is the most conclusive evidence that that could not have been the case. He would not have asserted that a ship which Raleigh commanded deserted in fair and clear weather, nor have asked him to punish as knaves the men who were under his orders.

against their will for the voyage. On the passage out, the crew of the *Swallow* had overhauled a French fishing vessel, stripped her of sails and rigging, and robbed the men of provisions and clothing, leaving them to perish seven hundred leagues from land. At St. John's, a conspiracy was detected to seize the vessels while the admiral and the captains were on shore. Defeated in this, some of the men boarded a fishing vessel, put the crew ashore, and stole out to sea. This accumulation of mishaps made it expedient to send the *Swallow* home with the sick and as many of the discontented and the insub-

Sir Humphrey Gilbert reading his Commission

ordinate as could be spared, leaving Sir Humphrey with only three vessels and a diminished company.

At length they resumed the voyage. Doubling Cape Race, they sailed along the west coast of Newfoundland, as far as Placentia Bay, then headed for Cape Breton and Sable Island, meaning to land upon the latter, where they had heard were great store of cattle and swine, the progeny of some left there about thirty years before. For a week they struggled with contrary winds, making only about one hundred and twenty leagues. In thick weather and a gale of wind they suddenly found themselves, in the early morning, among breakers and on a lee shore, as so many have done

Loss of the *Delight*.

since on the dangerous coasts of Nova Scotia. Presently the *Delight*, the largest ship, struck and in a few moments went to pieces. Seventeen of her crew jumped into the long-boat, and after seven days of exposure, without food or water, fifteen of them reached Newfoundland; the rest were drowned; among them the captain, Maurice Browne, who refused to leave his ship, but "mounting upon the highest deck he attended imminent death and unavoidable." These were the men who had belonged to the *Swallow*, and had robbed and left to "imminent death" the crew of the French fisherman on the out-

Wreck of the "Delight."

ward passage, and that deed "justified to the mind," said Captain Hayes, "God's judgments inflicted upon them" in this sudden shipwreck. The *Golden Hind* and the *Squirrel*, warned in time by the fate of their fellow, hauled off and stood out to sea.

Gilbert resolves to return to England.

The weather continued tempestuous and cold, for winter was approaching; the land they sought they could not fall in with after beating about for many days; provisions were failing, and hunger pushing them sore; and it was resolved to return to England. Notwithstanding the disasters that had attended

the expedition, Sir Humphrey was content. At St. John's one of his assayers had brought him an ore, which he solemnly affirmed was of silver, and so persuaded of this was Gilbert that he believed he had but to return in the spring to gather great wealth. This vision took possession of him and was a great comfort in all his trials, though it did not make him forget his wise purpose of colonization on the continent farther south. The specimens of the ore had been left on board the *Delight*, by mistake of his servant, and the assayer, who knew most about them, was lost in that vessel.

But Sir Humphrey knew where to find the mine. Hitherto he had said little about it, and had enjoined silence upon others; but now that he was far out at sea and returning to England after so many misfortunes, he talked not a little about the great store of silver in his new possessions. The thing he seemed most to regret, next to the loss of his men, was the loss of the lumps of ore; and when long after, on visiting the *Golden Hind* at sea, he met the boy whose fault it was that these precious minerals were left on the *Delight*, he fell upon and beat him "in great rage." Good and pious and wise man as he was known to be, he was of a choleric and unforgiving disposition. Years before, when he was putting down the rebellion in Ireland, the castle or fort that did not surrender at his first summons, he "would not afterwards," he said, "take it of their gift, but won it perforce — how many lives so ever it cost; putting man, woman, and child of them to the sword." There was good reason why he should be more feared than any other man by the Irish, as Raleigh said he was. Among sailors who were pirates if they had the opportunity, and among Irish outlaws who were no better than half savages, he showed little of the quality of mercy.

So much did he rely upon his mine of silver, that he was sure the queen, upon report thereof, would readily advance £10,000, wherewith he would equip two fleets in the spring, one to bring home the ore, the other for a new venture to the south to plant colonies. "I will set you forth royally next spring," he said to his companions, "if God send us safe home." That hope was not ill-founded; the promise of sudden wealth in the New World was never made to dull ears. But it would only have been one more idle tale to be confuted, for there was no mine; the colonies, other hands than his were to plant.

The vessel Gilbert had last embarked upon was the *Squirrel*, the smallest of the fleet, of only ten tons burden. He was besought to leave her and find greater safety on board the *Golden Hind;* but his answer was always: "I will not forsake my little company going homeward, with whom I have passed so many storms and perils." Severe as he was he would ask no man

The sinking of the *Squirrel*. Sir Humphrey Gilbert's death.

to do that which he was himself afraid to do. So small a craft was a poor thing in which to cross the Atlantic in September. The weather was foul, the waves "terrible, breaking short and high like pyramids. . . . . Never men saw more outrageous seas." On the 9th of the month the *Squirrel* came near foundering, but rode out the storm. The *Golden Hind* approached and hailed her, and Sir Humphrey Gilbert, sitting quietly in the stern of the boat with a book in his hand, answered cheerfully, "we are as near to heaven by sea as by land." In the darkness of the night that followed they anxiously watched on board the *Hind* for the *Squirrel's* lights; suddenly at midnight, "as it were in a moment," they disappeared. The little vessel "was devoured and swallowed up of the sea."

Sir Walter Raleigh.

The County of Devon bred great men for the reign of Elizabeth, and the greatest of them all was Walter Raleigh. Whatever the local influence of its maritime position, the contagion of example, or the stimulus of noble emulation in families, did to form the characters of its sons, was done in larger share for Walter Raleigh than for all the rest. His half brother, Humphrey Gilbert, was a dozen years his senior; but that difference did not forbid close affection and companionship between them, while it gave the weight of years to example and precept. Walter, like Humphrey, went with the gallant band of young Englishmen, to fight on the continent for the new faith, and against the Pope; like him he served in Ireland, to subdue the half savage rebels of — as he called it — "that commonwelthe or rather common woo;" like him he hated the Spaniard, and longed for adventure and discovery; and he saw, as Gilbert saw, that the way to check the growth and power of Spain in the New World, was to take possession of the thousand miles of sea-coast, north of Florida, which the curse of Spanish invasion had not yet blighted, — that therein was to be found the true glory of England, and the best service to her queen. They were true brothers in spirit, in character, and in determined purpose, even more than in blood.

Sir Walter Raleigh.

Raleigh's loss was not a slight one in the desertion, at the outset, of the ship — the *Raleigh* — which he had built and fitted out at his own charges; but that was as nothing to the loss of his friend and brother,

whose heroic death the *Golden Hind* reported within a few days in England. Neither discouraged him, and he seems to have accepted the last as imposing upon him the new duty of carrying out alone the projects in which hitherto he had been content to second his half brother. Gilbert's patent was so near the time of its expiration as to be useless for any fresh enterprise; and as all knowledge of the supposed silver mine was lost with him, Raleigh had no special motive for planting a colony so far north as Newfoundland. With the promptitude and energy so characteristic of the man, he at once set himself to work, and in March, 1584, had secured from the queen a new patent with enlarged powers and privileges. A month later two ships, well manned and victualed, sailed down the Thames and put to sea, under the command of Captain Philip Amadas and Arthur Barlow.

Raleigh obtains the patent of Gilbert.

This evidently was only a voyage of exploration, to find the place best adapted for the future colony. They sailed by way of the Canaries and the West Indies, for navigators had not yet learned to venture out of the course laid down by Columbus a century before, except when seeking those northern parts about the great river of Canada. It was sixty-six days before the smell of the land, "so sweet and so strong a smell, as if wee had been in the midst of some delicate garden abounding with all kinds of odoriferous flowers," warned them of their near approach to the Western Continent, and two days more — July 4th — before they saw the low, sandy shore of North Carolina.

His first expedition. 1584.

Presuming this to be the main land, they kept along the coast for one hundred and twenty miles, seeking for a good harbor, and then entered an inlet, supposing it to be the mouth of a river. After their long and weary voyage, worn out with the heat, and suffering from the malaria of the tropics, they were enraptured with the region upon which they had fallen, more by chance than design. The cool sea-breeze tempered the heats of July; the waves rippled gently upon the white sands of the beach, lifting in their ebb and flow the graceful branches and clustering fruit of the vine which climbed every tree and bush down to the water's edge. The land rose gradually into low hills, crowned with cedars more stately and more beautiful than the cedars of Lebanon.

Mounting one of these hills they saw that they were upon an island about sixteen miles in length, the sea stretching on both sides further north and south than the eye could reach. The main land was still distant. As they afterward discovered, and as Verazzano had observed sixty years before, there ran along this coast for many miles a chain of long and narrow islands washed

Landing of Barlow and Amadas.

on one side by the ocean and on the other by an inner sea from twenty to fifty miles in breadth. In one of the connecting inlets Amadas and Barlow had found a harbor and had anchored their vessels in Pamlico Sound.

The island on which they landed has been generally supposed to be Wocokon, identical with that now known as Ocracoke, lying between Hatteras and Ocracoke inlets.[1] But on the map accompanying Hariot's "Briefe and True Relation of the New found Land of Virginia," published by De Bry in 1590, the island beginning next south of Cape

Landing on the Island.

Hatteras, is called Croatoan, and the second island south of that is Wocokon. Ocracoke, therefore, is that which was then called Croatoan, while that then known as Wocokon, is now, probably, Portsmouth Island.[2] The first footprints of the coming nation of Eng-

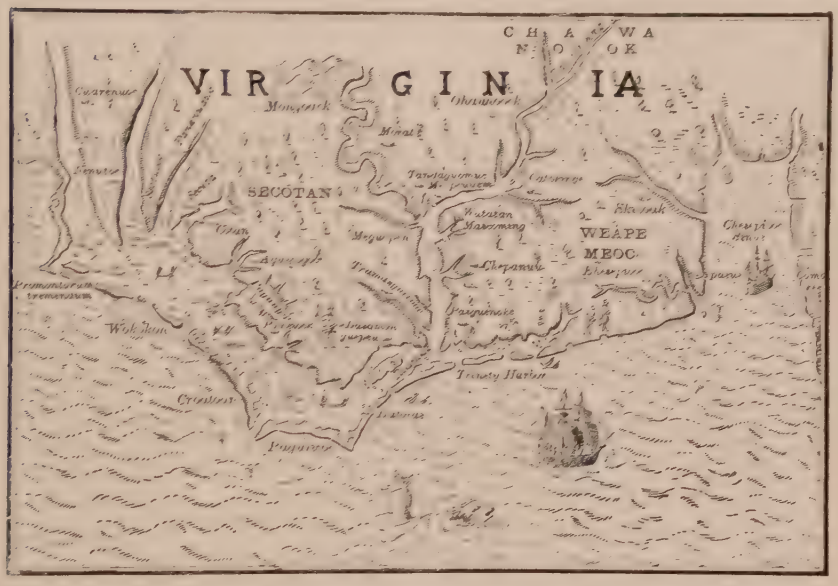
[1] See Stith's *Virginia;* Holmes' *Annals;* Belknap's *American Biography;* Bancroft's *History of the United States;* Hildreth's *History,* and others.

[2] In the original narrative, the source of all that is known of this voyage, written by Captain Barlow,[1] no name is given to the island on which the expedition first landed. But in describing the boundaries of the territory under the separate rule of different Indian chiefs, the southernmost town of one of them is placed on what is now known as Pamlico River, and Wocokon is referred to as not far distant. The unnamed island where they first went ashore, was, says Captain Barlow's narrative, about twenty miles from Roanoke Island: and from the Occam — Albemarle Sound — at the entrance of which lay Roanoke, to the

[1] In Hakluyt, vol. iii., p. 246

lish blood on the shores of the New World were made not at Ocracoke but on the low sandy beach of Chickconocomack Bank, still often called by the people of the neighborhood Hatteras, Cape Hatteras, or Hatteras Bank. And as the inlet, through which the ships of Amadas and Barlow entered Pamlico Sound, was twenty miles from Roanoke Island, that channel must in the course of time have been filled by the shifting sands, while New Inlet, which is only

Exact point of landing.



Map in Hariot's "Relation." [Fac-simile.]

twelve and a half miles from Roanoke, has been formed — as its name implies — since the settlement of the country.

The ships had not long to wait for a visit from the natives. On the third day came three Indians across the sound in canoes, one of whom ventured boldly among the strangers, was shown about the ships, entertained with wine and food, and made happy by presents of a shirt and some other trifles. In return he loaded his

Visit from the natives.

Indian town near Wocokon, was four days' journey. Then Strachey, who was the first secretary of the first permanent Virginia colony, founded twenty-three years afterward, and who was probably familiar with the whole region, says of Amadas and Barlow, — "they arrived upon the coast in a harborow called Hatorask:" and he subsequently confirms, while he follows the original narrative by adding, "to the so-ward four daies journey, they discovered Socoto the last town southwardly of Wincandacoa" "neare unto which" was Wocokon, an "out island."[1] On the map of 1590 in Hariot's *Reuation*, "Hatoras" is laid down as at the first inlet north of the point now called Cape Hatteras.

[1] *The Historie of Travaile into Virginia Britannia*, etc., by William Strachey, Gent. First published in 1849, by the Hakluyt Society, London, pp. 142. 143.

canoe with fish, fresh caught in the sound, and piling them up in two heaps upon the sand signified by signs that one was for each ship. The next day there came many boats bringing forty or fifty men, led by Granganameo, the brother of the king of that country. From him the Englishmen learned that the region round about was called Wingandacoa, whereof Wingina, then ill at home from a wound received in battle, was the king. These visitors were a "handsome and goodly people, and in their behaviour as mannerly and civil as any in Europe."

Afterward they came in greater numbers and in entire confidence and cordialty, bringing food and skins, and accepting in return whatever the strange white men —at whose whiteness they "wondered marvellously" — chose to give. They soon brought with them their wives and children, and among them was the wife of Granganameo, a "woman very well favoured, of meane (medium) stature and very bashful; she had on her backe a long cloake of leather, with the furre side next to her body, and before her a piece of the same: about her forehead she had a bande of wite Corall, and so had her husband many times: in her eares she had bracelets of pearles hanging downe to her middle, and those were of the bignes of good pease." Such was a Virginia princess of the sixteenth century.

Indian hospitality.

A few days later Captain Barlow, with seven men, went up the Occam — Albemarle Sound — for twenty miles, and on returning landed on the north end of Raonoak (Roanoke) island. Here in a palisaded village of nine houses, built of cedar, was the residence of the chief Granganameo; and here this modest wife — he being absent — received and entertained their new friends with a boundless and graceful hospitality. Her house of five rooms she put at their disposal; she and her women fed them with the best that field, forest, and rivers, and Indian skill could provide; washed and dried their clothing; bathed their feet in warm water. And she disarmed her men that the confidence of her guests might remain undisturbed, and sent guards to watch by the river bank that no danger should approach while they slept in peace in their boat, covered by the dressed skins she gave them.

Lord and Lady of Secotan. [From De Bry.]

The adventurers were back again in England by the middle of Sep-

tember, having spent, perhaps, six weeks among a people so attractive and so simple, amid scenes so novel. Of the country they said "the soile is the most plentifull, sweete, fruitfull and wholesome of all the worlde;" of trees they found fourteen "of sweet smelling timber;" the oaks were of as many kinds as in England, but "far greater and better;" the fruits were "of divers kinds, and very excellent good," such as "melons, walnuts, cucumbers, gourdes, pease," and "grapes in all the world the like abundance is not to be found;" the corn of the country [maize] was very white, fair and well tasted, and there were three crops from May to September; the fish were the best in the world and in greatest abundance; of "divers beasts" they name fat bucks, conies, and hares; and for the people, — they were "most gentle, loving and faithful, void of all guile and treason, and such as live after the maner of the golden age."[1] As witnesses to the truthfulness of this pleasing picture of the new found land, they carried back with them to England two of the natives named Manteo and Wanchese; some of its products, "as chamois, buffalo and deer skins," and "a bracelet of pearls as big as peas" for Sir Walter Raleigh.

Enthusiastic reports of the adventurers.

Queen Elizabeth.

The effect of such a report was very marked in England. In the name of a virgin queen Raleigh was permitted to call the new country Virginia; as a reward for his part in its discovery the honor of knighthood was bestowed upon him; to his arms was added the legend, *Propria insignia Walteri Ralegh, militis, Domini, et Gubernatoris Virginiæ*;[2] and perhaps that he might

The land named Virginia.

[1] Captain Barlow's "Narrative" in Hakluyt.

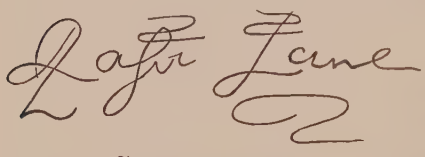
[2] Edwards' *Life of Raleigh*, vol. i., p. 87.

have the means to persevere in this enterprise he was enriched with a monopoly in the granting licenses for the sale of certain wines. Already a favorite with Elizabeth, he entered now more actively into public affairs as member of parliament for the County of Devon, and procured from that body a confirmation of the royal patent for the possession and colonization of foreign lands.

Raleigh's colony under Sir Richard Grenville. 1585.

In the spring a larger expedition and with a more definite purpose was fitted out. On the 9th of April, 1585, a fleet of seven ships, under command of Sir Richard Grenville, sailed from Plymouth. On board were about one hundred men who were to form the future colony. Of this Ralph Lane was to be the governor; Philip Amadas, who in this as in the expedition of the previous year, commanded a ship, was his deputy; of another ship Sir Thomas Cavendish, a young gentleman just come of age and into his inheritance by the death of his father, was owner and captain; Thomas Hariot, the mathematician and astronomer, went as the scientific man of the expedition. One John White was the artist, and his sketches are among the earliest, the most authentic, and the most valuable of the habits and appearance — though no doubt somewhat idealized — of the natives of Virginia as the Englishmen found them.

Altogether it was a notable company. Lane was already a soldier of reputation and was afterwards knighted by the queen. Cavendish, just out of boyhood, made, a year later, the most famous voyage of the time around the world, in which he gave some valuable contributions to geographical knowledge; and he specially commended himself to the affectionate respect of his countrymen and the approbation of the queen, for he wrote on his return, "I burnt and sunk nineteen sail of ships, small and great; and all the villages and towns that ever I landed at I burned and spoiled," — ships, towns, and villages being all Spanish. Hariot was Raleigh's friend to the end of his career; aided him in that "History of the World" which he wrote in the Tower; and because of this friendship, was thought worthy to be called from the bench a "devil" by Chief Justice Popham. Of him it is questioned whether he or Des Cartes invented the system of algebraic notation; whether he or Galileo was the first observer of spots upon the sun, and of the satellites of Jupiter, — the testimony in Hariot's favor being not trivial. Grenville, the admiral, was Raleigh's kinsman and his dear friend. Five years later, off the Azores, he in his single ship fought fifteen



Signature of Ralph Lane.

Notable men in the colony.

great Spanish galleons for fifteen hours, and when at last mortally wounded, said with his last breath in the heat and smoke of battle, "Here die I, Richard Grenville, with a joyful and quiet mind, for that I have ended my life, as a true soldier ought to do, fighting for his country, queen, religion and honour."

It was men of this stamp who entered into the projects of Raleigh to plant English people, with English law and English civilization, in the New World. English hatred of the Spaniard took that direction — that the growth of Spanish power and dominion and wealth should be checked beyond the sea as well as on it. Nor was Raleigh's policy confined to North America. But here we have nothing to do with his romantic expeditions to Guiana, the last one a brief and sad interval between his release from twelve years' imprisonment in the Tower and his mounting the scaffold at Westminster Gate House. There, feeling with his finger the edge of the axe, he said, "It is a sharp and fair medicine to cure me of all my diseases;" and to a hesitating executioner, he added, "What dost thou fear? Strike man, strike!" That which was glory under Elizabeth was treason under James.

Every man who went with Grenville hated Spain as Raleigh hated her. The fleet sailed by way of the Canaries and the West Indies, spoiling the Spaniards wherever the opportunity offered, taking two of their frigates, one of which "had a good and rich fraight and divers Spaniards of account in her which afterwards were ransomed for good round summes." On his return voyage in August, the admiral fell in with another richly laden Spaniard which he took, he and his men boarding her in a boat, made on the instant and so hastily knocked together that it fell to pieces as they sprang from it to the deck of the enemy.

It was nearly three months from the time they left Plymouth before they had their first sight of the American coast south of Cape Fear. Standing northward they narrowly escaped shipwreck at that stormy point, and three days afterward landed as the original narrative distinctly says, at Wocokon. Arrival at Wocokon.

Word was sent to Roanoke Island, by the Indian Manteo, of the return of the English. But the pleasant relations with the natives, established the year before, were soon disturbed. Grenville with his captains and other principal men of his fleet started almost immediately for an excursion of eight days further inland. Crossing Pamlico Sound they visited several Indian villages along the coast of the present Hyde County, North Carolina, and the lake which the savages called Paquipo, now named Mattamuskeet Lake. In one of these villages a silver cup was stolen by an Indian, and not being

speedily returned, they burnt and spoiled their corn and town, says the narrative, all the people being fled. Grenville soon returned to England with a portion of the fleet; but Lane, who remained as governor, followed, in the subsequent intercourse with the Indians, the evil example thus set him, — found it, perhaps, difficult to do anything else when the fears and the passions of the savages were once

An Indian Village. [From Hariot's "Relation." Fac-simile.]

aroused by such an act of cruel injustice. Peace for a time was kept by Granganameo, and his father Ensenore, an old and venerable man; but they both died in the course of the winter and spring, and with them all memory of the kindly intercourse of the year before was lost.

Wingina, — who called himself Pemissapan after the death of his brother, Granganameo, — the chief of the country round about Roanoke Island, threw off at length all pretences of friendship. He

and his subjects alone had been under the kindly influences of the visitors of the year before, while tribes farther off had not come in contact with Amadas and Barlow. This second expedition had begun with burning a village on Pamlico River; some of the men made their way almost as far north as Chesapeake Bay; Lane with two boats penetrated the interior far up the Chowan and the Roanoke rivers; and wherever the strangers went it was with such evident purpose and spirit as to excite throughout all this region at first secret mistrust and dread, and then open warfare. The son of one powerful chief Lane carried about with him as a prisoner, sometimes putting him in "the bilboes" and threatening to cut off his head. The simple, trustful, and kindly natives whom Barlow had found only a year before living, as he said, after the manner of those of the Golden Age, were suddenly transformed into wily savages. They hated and feared the Englishmen who, they believed, had brought pestilence among them, and who could kill them with invisible bullets, though they fled far out of sight into the most secret recesses of the forest. To submit to the presence of the strangers was, they feared, to consent to their own final extermination, and they acted accordingly. Pemissapan proposed to starve out the colony on Roanoake Island by planting no maize, hoping that the men would separate themselves into small companies to seek for subsistence, and could then be cut off in detail. Ensemore, Pemissapan's father, persuaded him to forego this project, and fortunately the seed was sown before the old man died in April. Then the chief entered into conspiracies with the heads of other tribes, ventured at last upon an attack on the colony, and lost his life.

Change in the temper of the natives.

But Lane, meanwhile, had pushed up the Roanoke River, beguiled by a tale of the abundance of pearls, of a rich mine of copper, and that the head waters of the river were so near a sea that the waves thereof would break into it in stormy weather. The mine they may have thought was gold, as probably it was; the Spaniards before them had heard of the smelting of gold in North Carolina. Lane and his men did not go far enough to find either the gold or the passage to the South Sea; but the Indians kept them ever on the watch with their frightful war-whoops; starvation was so imminent that they were reduced to a pottage of sassafras leaves and a porridge of dogs'-meat; and the captain concluded that nothing else but a good mine, or a passage to the South Sea, could bring the country "into request to be inhabited by our nation," notwithstanding the fatness of the soil and "its most swete and beautifullest climate."

Governor Lane explores the Roanoke.

Soon after Lane's return from this expedition and when the enmity

among the Indians about Roanoke Island had broken out into open hostilities, a fleet of twenty-three ships, commanded by Sir Francis Drake, appeared off the coast. They were fresh from the sack of St. Augustine, and called to get tidings of the progress of the Virginian colony, and give it help if needed. Drake loaded a well-manned ship with provisions to leave with Lane, but a storm soon after dispersed his fleet, and this ship with others was driven out to sea and returned to England. Another vessel was put at the governor's disposal and the question submitted by him to the colonists whether they would remain or return home. They had given up all hope of the succor which Grenville had promised to send them; a year's trial of the hardships of the wilderness and the disappointment about the mine had so completely disheartened them that they clamored to leave the country. They carried tobacco with them, which was then, it is supposed, introduced for the first time into England.[1]

Visit of Francis Drake to the colony. 1586.

Tobacco Plant.

In such haste did they take their departure[2] that "they left," says a narrator, "all things confusedly, as if they had been chased thence

[1] Sir Walter Raleigh made the smoking of tobacco fashionable among the courtiers, and even Elizabeth and the ladies of the court are said to have followed his example. Its cultivation and use seem to have been universal among the North American Indians. The Portuguese introduced it into Europe. Lord Nicot, French Ambassador to Portugal, in 1559, 1560, and 1561, sent the seeds to France, and from him it was named Nicotiana. It was held as a sovereign remedy for some diseases, especially ulcers. (*Maison Rustique, or the Countrie Farm. Translated into English by Robert Surflet Practitioner in Physicke.* London, 1600.) Hariot, in his *Briefe and True Report of the New found land of Virginia, and its Commodities*, says the Indians called tobacco Uppowoc, and that "the leaves thereof being dried and brought into powder they use to take the fume or smoke thereof, by sucking it thorew pipes made of clay, into their stomacke and head; from whence it purgeth superfluous fleame and other grosse humours, and openeth all the pores and passages of the body; by which meanes the use thereof not only preserveth the body from obstructions, but also (if any be, so that they have not been of too long continuance) in short time breaketh them: whereof their bodies are notably preserved in health, and know not many grievous diseases, wherewithal wee in England are oftentimes afflicted." The Carribbees called their pipes *Tobacco*, and the Spaniards transferred the word to the herb itself.

[2] Hakluyt, vol. iii., p. 265.

by a mighty army, and no doubt so they were; for the hand of God came upon them for the cruelty and outrages committed by some of them against the native inhabitants of that countrey." But Raleigh had not forgotten them. Drake's fleet had not been long at sea before a ship arrived at Hatorask well freighted with all things needful for their relief. Finding Roanoke Island deserted, they set sail again for England, and had been gone only a fortnight when Sir Richard Grenville himself arrived with three ships well provided with supplies for the colony. As there was no colony to relieve he landed fifteen[1] men to hold possession, consoling himself for his fruitless errand by spoiling some towns in the Azores and taking some Spaniards on his homeward passage.

Grenville returns to Virginia.

Raleigh was not discouraged by these repeated reverses, but the next summer (1587) sent a new colony of one hundred and fifty men. He gave it a charter, and incorporated it under the name of the Governor and Assistants of the City of Raleigh, Virginia. The company included women as well as men. The governor was John White, and Simon Ferdinando, who had been a captain of one of Grenville's ships two years before, was admiral. There was utter want of harmony and coöperation between these two men from the hour of sailing to the end of the voyage, — an element in the expedition necessarily fatal to its success. What Ferdinando thought of White we do not know; but White's opinion of Ferdinando he has left on record. The Admiral was passionate, wilful, given to much swearing — "tearing God to pieces," says White — and clearly had his own way always. That way was, if we may believe White, an intention to ruin as well as rule. One of the vessels he is accused of leaving at a port in the West Indies, stealing away in the night in his own ship, hoping that her captain would never, for want of knowledge, reach Virginia, or that he would be taken by the Spaniards. It was White's intention to go up the Chesapeake Bay, in accordance with Sir Walter Raleigh's orders, to find a seat for his colony, after looking on Roanoke Island for the fifteen men whom Grenville had left there the year before. But when Ferdinando had got forty of the colonists on board the pinnace at Hatorask to go to the island, he ordered the sailors not to bring them back again, declaring that the summer was too far gone to admit of time being spent in seeking for the best spot for a settlement. The two men were governed by different motives: one was for delay; the other for speed; the governor wanted time to move with caution and consider consequences; the sailor wanted to reach his port and discharge

The city of Raleigh incorporated. 1587.

[1] Hakluyt, vol. iii., p. 265, also Strachey, p. 150. Smith, Stith, and others who follow them say erroneously fifty men were left by Grenville.

his cargo, looking forward to some new venture, — probably some homeward-bound Spaniard laden with treasure.

Governor White and his colony on Roanoke Island.

The fifteen men whom Grenville had left at Roanoke were not to be found. The fort was razed to the ground; the huts were standing, but they were overgrown with melon-vines, and the deer roamed through them undisturbed by any fear of human presence. The whitening bones of one man were the only sign of recent habitation. All that White could learn of the fate of his countrymen was that they had been attacked by the Indians, two of them killed and the rest driven to a little island in the harbor of Hatorask. They could be traced no farther.

The fleet remained a little more than a month, but before it sailed the enmity between the Englishmen and the Indians was renewed with fresh fury. One of the assistants, Mr. Howe, while searching alone for shell-fish along the beach of Roanoke Island, was killed by some of the tribe of which Pemissippan had been chief. To revenge his death an attack was made before daylight upon an encampment of Indians, who, after one of them was killed, were found to be friends from Croatan where Manteo's people lived. The effect upon the Croatans of this unhappy blunder was probably not favorable to their continued friendship, though they may have been appeased for the moment by the subsequent christening of Manteo who, by Sir Walter Raleigh's order, was, in reward of his faithfulness to the English, baptized with due ceremony under the name of Lord of Roanoke and Dasamonquepeuk. Before the fleet sailed, also, the daughter of White, the wife of Ananias Dare, one of the assistants, gave birth, August 18, to a daughter, who was christened Virginia — the first child of English parentage born upon the territory of the present United States.

White goes back to England.

White returned to England to ask for further assistance. He says he went at the earnest solicitation of all the colonists; but it seems unlikely that a necessity for sending the governor on such an errand could have arisen within a month of their arrival. The anxious desire, so evident in his narrative, to justify his going, indicates that it was his own wish rather than the wish of those he left behind him, to get back to England. He never succeeded in anything he undertook for the colony, and never failed in ingeniously finding reasons for the failure in the conduct of other people.

Only one single word was ever again heard directly from the colony. White sailed from Roanoke on the 27th of August, 1587; it was the 9th of the same month, three years later, — 1590 — before he again set foot in Virginia. There was no help at first for this delay. When

White reached home England was busy from one end to the other in raising recruits for the army to resist the threatened Spanish invasion; every ship in her ports was pressed into the naval service in one capacity or another. Sir Francis Drake, who, that year, cruising along the coasts of Spain destroyed a hundred of her ships, wrote to Lord Burleigh: "Assuredly there never was heard of or known so great preparations as the king of Spain hath and daily maketh ready for the invasion of England." In the summer of 1588 the Armada of one hundred and forty ships was in the Channel; Raleigh, as he had been among the foremost to arouse, arm, and drill the people to repel the invaders, so now he was on board the fleet that went to meet them on the sea. The "Invincible Armada" soon ceased to terrify England, and though Philip of Spain, when he learned of its dispersion and partial destruction, swore he would waste his crown to the value of a wax candle but he would drive Elizabeth from the throne he claimed as his own,[1] Drake was heard of ere the year was over harrying the Spaniards again on their own coasts. White, meanwhile, succeeded in getting off in April, 1588, to the relief of the colony with two vessels and fifteen new planters. But they went no further than a few leagues north of the Madeira Islands, where, in an encounter with the Spaniards, so many of the men were wounded and the pinnaces so disabled that they were compelled to return to England.[2] It had been first proposed to send a larger expedition under Sir Richard Grenville, but the ship was stopped by Order of Council, and Grenville himself ordered for service against the Armada. It was only by importunity that White was allowed to sail with these two small pinnaces, and it was not till 1590 that he was permitted to make another attempt to get back to his colony.

War between England and Spain.

In February of that year, hearing that three ships belonging to a London merchant were ready for sea on a voyage to the West Indies, but detained by general Order of Council, he procured their release through the influence of Raleigh. The condition was that they should carry a reasonable number of passengers and land them in Virginia; but this was fulfilled only so far as to take White alone. They sailed in March; spent four months in a cruise against the Spaniards among the West India Islands, capturing some prizes, and arrived at Wocokon on the 9th of August.

White goes to the relief of the colony. 1590.

Six days later the ships anchored in Hatorask harbor, having spent one night on the way off the Island of Croatoan. At Hatorask White was cheered with the sight of a great smoke rising in the direction of

[1] Rapin's *History of England*, vol. ix.

[2] See the first edition of Hakluyt, of 1589, p. 771. The voyage is not mentioned in the second edition of 1600, which contains White's narrative of his visit to Roanoke in 1590.

Roanoke Island, and the next morning salutes were fired at proper intervals to let the colonists know of the arrival of their countrymen. Boats put off for the island, but before they reached it another column of smoke in another direction raised fresh hopes. This they steered for, but having consumed the day in reaching the place where it seemed to rise it proved a delusion. Neither men nor signs of any habitation were found.

A disaster the next day well nigh put an end to all further attempts to reach Roanoke. The boats were sent ashore at Hatorask for water; the surf was heavy in the inlet, one of the boats was upset, and two of the captains of the ships and five others were drowned. So disheartened were the sailors at this mishap that they refused at first to go on, and this determination was with difficulty overcome by the will and authority of White and the remaining captain. It was night before they reached Roanoke and approached the spot where White expected to find his friends. Glimmering through the trees they saw the light of a fire, and for a moment their hopes were kindled into enthusiasm. Approaching it along the shore the notes of a trumpet-call from the boats rang clear and shrill through the silent woods; the sailors sung out in cheering tones the familiar words of English songs which would have so stirred the blood of any listening Englishmen long exiled from home. But there was no answer. The light of the distant fire still flickered above the dim line of the forest; but out of the darkness came no friendly shout of men, no woman's glad cry of joy and welcome.

Search for White's colony.

They landed at day-break; the fire they had seen was from burning grass and rotting trees, kindled, no doubt, by the Indians whose fresh foot-prints were found in the sand. Pushing through the woods toward the spot where White had left his colony three years before, they saw the letters C R O, carved upon the trunk of a tree, upon the brow of a hill. Pausing to consider what this might mean, White remembered that when he left the colony it was proposed that the people should remove to the main land, and that wherever they went the name of the place should be left behind them here upon trees or door-posts. It was further understood that should any misfortune have overtaken them, they should carve beneath the name a cross. Here then was the guide, if CRO meant Croatoan, to the place whither the colony had removed, though it was to an outer island rather than to the main. But to the anxious father and governor there was this encouragement, — the sign of the cross was wanting.

Again they pushed on after a brief consultation upon the "faire Romane letters curiously carved," which White had thus explained. It was not far to the deserted post, still surrounded with its palisades.

THE LOST COLONY

Here all doubts were removed: at the entrance, upon one of the largest of the trees from which the bark had been stripped, was carved in capital letters, the word CROATOAN in full, and still without the cross. Within the palisades the houses were gone, but scattered about were bars of iron and pigs of lead, some large guns with their balls — "fowlers" and "sacker shot," they were called, — and other things too heavy for a hasty removal, all overgrown with grass and weeds. In a trench not far off were found some chests where they had been buried by the colonists and dug up afterward by the Indians; among these were three belonging to White, but all had been rifled; books were torn out of their covers, the frames of pictures and of maps were rotten with dampness, and a suit of armor was almost eaten up with rust. "Although it much grieved me," says White, "to see such spoyle of my goods, yet on the other side I greatly joyed that I had safely found a certaine token of their [the colonists] safe being at Croatoan, which is the place where Manteo was borne, and the Savages of the Island our friends."

The deserted fort.

It was his only consolation — if he really believed that his friends, among whom was his daughter, had found any such refuge. The boats had hardly regained the ships at Hatorask when a gale of wind with a heavy sea set in, and in attempting to get under way one of the ships lost her anchors and was near going ashore. The water casks, which had been taken to the land to be filled, could not be brought off; provisions were short, the sailors were despondent and impatient, and it was determined to abandon all attempts to go to Croatoan in further search of the colony, but to sail at once to the West Indies and recruit. White was only a passenger, and could probably do nothing to change this determination, though his friends, if still alive, were not many miles distant. He may, indeed, have been doubtful if they were still alive, for the ships on their arrival on the coast had stopped at Wocokon, had sailed along the shores of Croatoan, and anchored for a night off the north end of the island. Had there been any survivors of the colonists there, they could hardly have failed, on the look-out as they would always have been for succor, to see the passing vessels and have made their presence known by signals of some sort. But no signs had been seen of living men; no columns of smoke curled up above the trees; no flags of distress were descried; no friendly Indians beckoned them to land; no sound of gun or shout broke the silence of the wilderness. At Roanoke alone, in the one word Croatoan carved upon the trees, and in the crumbling vestiges of the colony, half buried in the rank growth of two or three summers, were there any evidences that Englishmen had ever been there — tokens, also, that they had perished.

End of White's search for the missing colony.

That such was White's conviction — that he believed his daughter and her children, and all the rest whom he had led to this distant land, had fallen victims to the vengeance of the natives — is the most charitable way of accounting for the readiness with which he seems to have acceded to the proposal to sail for the West Indies. It was, indeed, suggested that they should return to Virginia, after taking on board a fresh stock of water and provisions; but that could only have been a pretext, for as Croatoan was directly in their course a delay of half a day would have sufficed to ascertain whether there were any Englishmen alive upon the island. "I leave off,"— said White, in a letter to Hakluyt, narrating the details of this voyage, — "I leave off from prosecuting that whereunto I would to God my wealth were answerable to my will." Others did not leave off, no doubt sincerely believing what with White may have been only a desperate hope, that the unhappy planters were not all exterminated. Sir Walter Raleigh seems never to have neglected any chance of finding his lost colony, but excuses were never wanting for not making a thorough search on the part of those whom he engaged to undertake it.

Raleigh sends Samuel Mace to Croatoan.

In 1602, that no divided interest should interfere with a thorough prosecution of the object of the voyage, he bought a vessel and hired a crew for this one purpose. The ship was commanded by Samuel Mace, who twice before had been in Virginia, "a sufficient mariner, and an honest, sober man." But he, like the rest, found something else to do than to search for his countrymen. Did he think it a fool's errand? The honest man and sufficient mariner spent a month on the coast, forty leagues southwest of Hatteras, perhaps at the mouth of Cape Fear River, trafficking with the Indians, making no attempt to reach Croatoan, on the standing pretext of stress of weather and loss of ground tackle.[1] There was an evident unwillingness in England to acknowledge publicly that so cruel a calamity as the total destruction of so many men and women could have befallen an attempt to colonize Virginia; Raleigh himself was reluctant to give up — if he ever gave up — his firm persuasion that they had not all perished; but as those who were sent to their relief made little or no effort to find them, it is charitable to suppose that though they accepted his service they had no faith in his opinion.

Strachey's reference to the lost colony.

That the colonists were all massacred soon after White left them, has been the common belief in later times; but there is good reason for doubting if that were the fact. There was clearly a conviction prevalent in the colony at Jamestown, twenty years afterward, that some of the Roanoke people had es-

[1] Purchas, vol. iv.; Strachey's *Historie of Travaile into Virginia*, p. 134. The statement in Purchas is that Raleigh had sent succor to those left in Virginia in 1587, "five several times at his own charges," before he sent Mace.

caped destruction, and might be even then surviving.[1] Strachey refers to them again and again, and in a way that conveys the impression he is speaking of a fact he knows will not be questioned. In describing the country of the Upper Potomac, he says that in the high land "to the so'ward" the people of Peccarecamek and Ochanahoen have, according to the report of an Indian, houses of stone, which they were taught to build "by those Englishe whoe escaped the slaughter at Roanoak," and that a certain chief had "preserved seven of the English alive — fower men, two boyes, and one yonge mayde, who escaped and fled up the river Chanoke, [probably the Chowan,] to beat his copper." Of White's last visit to Roanoke, when he found the indication that should have led him to Croatoan, he also says: "Howbeit, Captaine White sought them no further, but missing them there, and his company havinge other practises, and which those tymes afforded, they returned covetous of some good successe upon the Spanish fleete to returne that yeare from Mexico and the Indies, — neglecting thus these unfortunate and betrayed people, of whose end you shall yet hereafter read in due place in this decade."

But this story, if he ever wrote it, has not yet been recovered. What it may have been we can only infer from expressions like these scattered through "The Historie of Travaille." "He [Powhatan] doth often send unto us to temporise with us, awayting perhapps a fit opportunity (inflamed by his furious and bloudy priests) to offer us a tast of the same cuppe which he made our poore countrymen drinck of at Roanoak." The King of England, it is said elsewhere, "hath bene acquainted that the men, women, and childrene of the first plantation at Roanoak were by practise and comandement of Powhatan (he himself perswaded therunto by his priests,) miserably slaughtered without any offence given him, either by the first planted (who twenty and od yeares had peaceably lyved intermixt with those salvages, and were out of his territory,) **or by those who now are come.**" And again: "Powhatan hath slaughtered so many of our nation without offence given, and such as were seated far from him, and in the territory of those weroance [chiefs] which did in no sort depend on him or acknowledge him."

Assuming that Strachey was a trustworthy reporter — and of that there is no question — of what he saw and heard in Virginia, we conclude it was the belief at Jamestown that there were some survivors

[1] *The Historie of Travaile into Virginia Britannia*, by William Strachey, the first secretary of the colony at Jamestown, though written at an early period of the settlement, was not published till 1849, and the new light he sheds upon this subject is so recent that it has not, we believe, been noticed anywhere except by the Rev. E. E. Hale, in vol. iv. of the *Collections of the American Antiquarian Socieiy.*

of White's colony, and that these Powhatan, or rather his priests, caused to be put to death after the settlement of the English at that place. Understanding this, we are better able to comprehend some allusions in the Smith histories which, without the light given by Strachey, have seemed blind and inexplicable, but are clearly a confirmation of Strachey's story that there were some survivors, in 1606, of the Roanoke people. Thus, in "The True Relation,"[1] the first book by Captain Smith on Virginia, he says, in relating an interview with the Emperor Powhatan: "What he knew of the dominions he spared not to acquaint me with, as of certaine men cloathed at a place called Ocanahonan, cloathed like me." And again he says: "The people clothed at Ocamahowan, he [Powhatan] alsoe confirmed."[2] The allusion in both cases can only be to the lost colonists. And in the work known as his "Generall Historie," published fifteen years afterward, is this passage: "How or why Captaine Newport obtained such private commission as not to return without a lumpe of gold, a certaintie of the South Sea, or one of the lost company sent out by Sir Walter Raleigh, I know not."[3] That one of the objects of an expedition into the interior was to succor some of the survivors of the Roanoke colony, and because some of those unhappy men and women lived to so late a period without being released by their friends in England, is why, probably, Strachey speaks of them as being betrayed.

Allusions in Smith's histories to these colonists.

Raleigh's patent of 1584 was renewed from time to time, though as early as 1589 he hoped that he had induced others to carry on the work which he had begun. In those first years of enthusiasm, he had expended it is said, forty thousand pounds sterling in his several expeditions,[4] and he then enlarged on behalf of Thomas Smith and others, merchants of London, the charter of "The City of Raleigh" under which White and his associates were incorporated.[5] But this new company did nothing, and Raleigh's efforts were limited to the attempt to convey help to those colonists in whose total destruction he persistently refused to believe, down to the time when he sent Mace, in 1602. Of that voyage we have some further

Raleigh's interest in his colony

[1] *A True Relation of Virginia.* By Captain John Smith. Edited by Charles Deane, Boston, 1866, p. 28.

[2] *Ibid.* p. 37. We follow the punctuation of the passage in accordance with Mr. Deane's suggestion, by which alone can it have any meaning.

[3] *The Voyages and Discoveries of Captain John Smith,* vol. i., p. 120. Richmond edition.

[4] Oldys, in his *Life of Raleigh,* vol. i., p. 117, makes this statement on the authority of a scarce pamphlet which he describes as "a brief relation of Sir Walter Raleigh's troubles." The sum named is probably exaggerated.

[5] The indenture between Raleigh and Smith has sometimes been supposed to be a conveyance of the patent of 1584, from Raleigh to Smith and others. It was only to include them, with enlarged privileges, in "the City of Raleigh" charter.

account in a letter from Raleigh, to Secretary Sir Robert Cecil, written in August of that year. "I wrote unto you," he says, "in my last that I was gonn to Weymouth to speake with a pinnes of myne arived from Virginia." Mace was from Weymouth, had sailed in March of that year for Virginia, and as he had spent a month on the coast to trade with the Indians, and to load his vessel with sassafras, he would be back in Weymouth in three or four months. His landfall was "forty leagues to the southwestward of Hatteras."[1]

Raleigh's pinnace was also loaded, he says, with "sarsephraze," and her landfall was "forty leagues to the west of it," — *i. e.* Virginia, — and it was for that reason that the captain did not "spake with the peopell" — the colonists at Croatoan. This letter was written to Cecil to ask him to intercede with the Lord Admiral for the seizure of sassafras brought home at the same time by a Captain Gilbert, who also had been on the American coast, forty leagues to the east of Roanoke, because, says Raleigh, "I have a patent that all shipps and goods are confiscate that shall trade ther without my leve." There can be no doubt that the pinnace here referred to was the one commanded by Mace.

Captain Gilbert was himself the bearer of this letter. He, said Raleigh, commending him to the good offices of the secretary, "is my Lord Cobham's man. . . . . It is he — by a good token — that had the great diamonde." The allusion recalled no doubt to Cecil's mind some stirring adventure, perhaps some piece of rare good luck in a fight with the Spaniard, in which Gilbert had been conspicuous. But although he was Lord Cobham's man, he was also, we suppose, a nephew of Raleigh's and in friendly relations with him, notwithstanding this proposed seizure of his sassafras. That, indeed, seems only to have been what is now called a business arrangement, Gilbert assenting to this method of taking one of the cargoes out of the market that the other might command a higher price. He also, no doubt, was the Bartholomew Gilbert who had sailed in April with Bartholomew Gosnold for the coast of New England, arriving home again the latter part of July, not long before the date of this letter.

Raleigh's letters on American business.

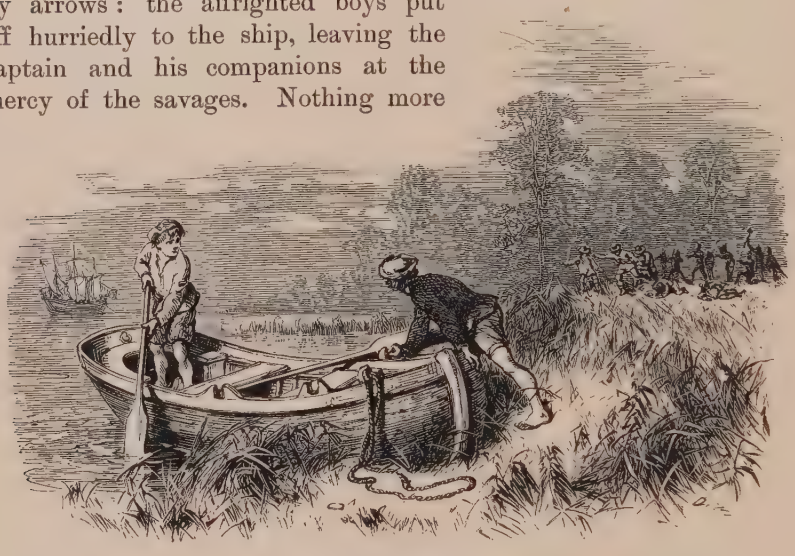
"I do sende both the barks away againe," writes Raleigh. Of Mace we hear no more; but Bartholomew Gilbert, it is known, sailed for Virginia, the following spring.[2] It was partly a trading voyage to the West Indies, but had also another object in which Raleigh's will is seen even if we had not his own assertion that Gilbert was to go

[1] Tracts appended to Brereton. *Mass. Hist. Coll.*

[2] Purchas, vol. iv., p. 1556.

again, this time with his sanction. The vessel took in a cargo in the West Indies, and on her way homeward went up the Chesepian (Chesapeake) Bay to look for the lost colony. The search was brief; heavy weather for some days prevented a landing, till at length Gilbert ventured to go on shore with a boat. Leaving this in charge of two boys, he with his men started on an expedition inland. They were still in sight of the lads they had left behind when a band of Indians started from an ambush and attacked them furiously. Several men were seen to fall, wounded by arrows: the affrighted boys put off hurriedly to the ship, leaving the captain and his companions at the mercy of the savages. Nothing more

Fate of Bartholomew Gilbert.



Bartholomew Gilbert's Death.

was heard of them, and the ship, her crew reduced in numbers, the captain and other officers gone, soon set sail and returned to England.

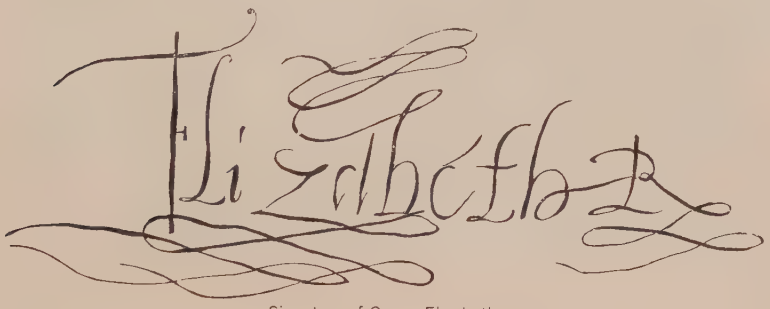
With this tragic event — the death of another Gilbert in the cause of American colonization — ends Raleigh's connection with that country to which, as he said the year before, he still held the title, and of which he speaks in this letter to Cecil in these memorable words: "I shall yet live to see it an Inglishe nation."[1]

In this same summer, when his nephew lay dead on the beach of Chesapeake Bay, the final sacrifice of Raleigh on behalf of that new English nation, his patent expired by his attainder. On the

[1] Edwards' *Life of Raleigh*, London, 1868, vol. ii. Letter cx. From the original Cecil Papers.

charge of high treason, James I. found in Sir John Popham — remembered now chiefly for the part he took in the trial of Raleigh, and for following his example in attempting to found a colony on the North American coast — a chief justice base enough to bend the law to the will of a tyrannical master.

End of Raleigh's American enterprises



Signature of Queen Elizabeth.

Signature of Sir Walter Raleigh.

Entrance to Chesapeake Bay.

CHAPTER XI.

FIRST ENGLISH SETTLEMENT IN AMERICA.

Gosnold's Expedition. — Patent Granted to London and Plymouth Companies. — A Colony sets out for Virginia. — Discord on Shipboard. — The Building of Jamestown. — Newport's Exploration of the River. — Governorship of Edward Wingfield. — Discontent and Suffering among the Colonists. — The Indian Chief Powhatan. — Accounts of Smith's Capture by the Savages. — Discrepancies in Smith's Own Story. — Return of Newport from England. — Coronation of Powhatan. — Services of Smith to the Colony. — The New Charter. — Expedition of Gates and Somers. — The Tempest and the Shipwreck. — Opportune Coming of Lord de la Warre. — Code of Laws for the Colony. — Administration of Gates and Dale. — Cultivation of Tobacco. — Marriage of Pocahontas. — Sandys and Yeardley. — The Colony firmly established. — White and Black Slavery. — The First American Legislature.

Bartholomew Gosnold sailed from Falmouth, England, on the 25th of March, 1602, in a small vessel called the *Concord* — Bartholomew Gilbert being his second in command — sent, not by Raleigh, nor going with Raleigh's consent, but by the Earl of Southampton.[1] He

[1] The letter from Raleigh to Cecil, referred to in the previous chapter, shows that the presumption that this voyage was made with his consent (see *Bancroft*, *Palfrey*, and others), is erroneous. He asks that Gilbert's "sarsephrase" be seized, "because I have a patint that all shipps and goods are confiscate that shall trade ther without my leve." That he had given such leave, has hitherto been assumed, because Brereton (see *Purchas's Pilgrims* and *Mass. Hist. Coll.*, vol. viii., Third Series), addresses his narrative of the voyage to Sir Walter Raleigh. Brereton's own words, however, make it plain that he did so only as a matter of courtesy.

took with him thirty-two persons, of whom twenty were to remain and found a colony somewhere on the northern coast of Virginia, as the whole country was then called, from the thirty-fourth to the forty-fifth parallel of latitude. His purpose was to go by a direct northwest course, avoiding the usual circuitous route by the Canaries and the West India Islands; but contrary winds drove him southward to one of the Azores, whence he steered nearly due west, arriving on the coast of New England at about 40° of latitude, on the 14th of May.

Voyage of Bartholomew Gosnold. 1602.

At a point which he called Savage Rock, not far, probably, from Cape Ann, if not the Cape itself, the *Concord* was boarded by a party of Indians in a Biscay shallop, carrying both sails and oars; their leader, and one or two others, were partially clothed in European garments, which, as well as the boat, they had obtained from Biscay fishermen; nor was this the only evidence of frequent intercourse with such visitors, for it is said, "they spoke divers Christian words, and seemed to understand more than we, for want of language, could comprehend."[1] Finding at this place no good harbor, they stood southward, crossed Massachusetts Bay, and the next morning dropped anchor, within a league from the shore, under the lea of a great promontory.

Provincetown.

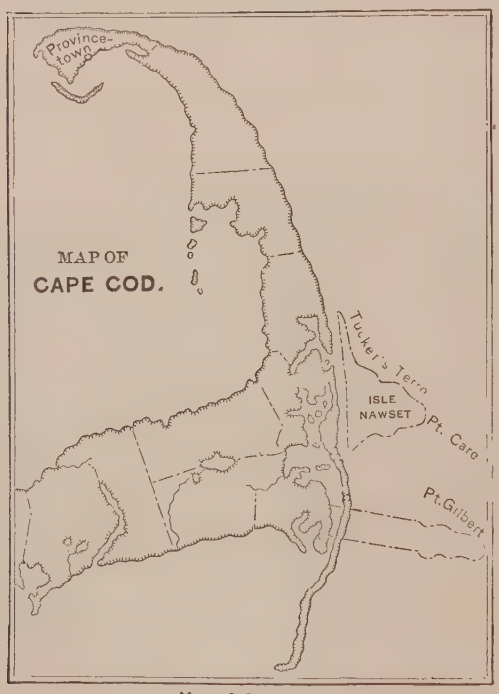
On this breezy point, jutting out into the Atlantic, which a voyager along the coast of the United States can hardly escape hitting, either in fair weather or foul, stands to-day the picturesque village of Provincetown, half buried always in sand, and at the proper season com-

[1] *The Relation of Captain Gosnold's Voyage*, by Gabriel Archer, in Purchas, vol. iv.

pletely covered over with drying cod-fish. Gosnold and his people at first called this promontory Shoal Hope, but presently changed the name to Cape Cod. Champlain called it *Cap Blanc* (Cape White), four years later, because of the aspect which its sands gave it;[1] and in 1614 Captain John Smith named it Cape James; but the name Cape Cod it has never lost. The captain and some of his companions landed, and found pease, strawberries, and whortleberries, as yet unripe; the woods were cypress, birch, witch-hazel, and beech — products which the visitor to the extremity of Cape Cod will now hardly find, by the most diligent search.

Gosnold sails past Cape Cod.

Doubling the headland, they sailed for six days along the outer coast of the cape, — "the back side" as it is now called, — which the Northmen, it is supposed, had discovered six hundred years before, and named Wonder-strands. Certain points now known as dangerous shoals, but which were then peninsulas of firm land, the *Concord's* crew called Tucker's Terror and Gilbert's Point, from two of their officers. The fishing was so good, — better, they thought, than off the banks of Newfoundland, — that they "pestered" their ship with the quantity of cod they took each day; inland the country seemed covered with grass and well wooded, and to be very populous. A few of the natives came alongside in their birch canoes, others ran along the beaches "admiring" the strangers; the pipes of those who boarded the ship, it was observed, were "steeled with copper," and one of these Indians wore a breastplate of that metal a foot in length and half a foot in breadth.



Map of Cape Cod.

Crossing the Vineyard Sound, they came "amongst many fair islands," on one of which they landed. It was full of woods and fruit-bearing bushes, with such an incredible store of vines running

[1] *Voyages du Sieur de Champlain.*

SITE OF GOSNOLD'S FORT.

upon every tree, that they could not go for treading upon them. It is the Northmen's story over again. "We will call it Vinland," said Leif the Lucky, of the country he found, probably in these same waters. To the island on which they first landed, Gosnold and his people gave the name of Martha's Vineyard.[1] This, there is little doubt, is now known as No Man's Land, the name of Martha's Vineyard being afterward transferred to the larger island north of it. Here they did not go ashore, but doubling its southwest extremity, calling it Dover Cliff as they passed, sailed into Buzzard's Bay. It seemed to them one of the "stateliest" of Sounds, and worthy to be called Gosnold's Hope. On an island now known by its Indian name of Cuttyhunk,[2] but which Gosnold called Elizabeth, — the designation now of that whole group of which Cuttyhunk is the outermost, — it was determined to plant the colony.

Decides to settle on Elizabeth's Island.

The soil was "fat and lusty." The seed of various grains, planted as an experiment, sprung up in fourteen days to a height of from six to nine inches. Indeed, on all the coast, no more enticing place could be found than this lovely island, with its southern side to the sea, the Gulf Stream winding in near enough to warm the tides that washed its shores. In a lake two or three miles in circuit, one end of it only a few yards from the outer beach, was a rocky islet — an island within an island — and on this they determined to build a fort. The larger part of the company at once set to work, and for the next three weeks were busy on a place of habitation and defence, while a few, "and those but easy laborers," employed themselves in gathering sassafras — few, because, adds Captain Gosnold, in a letter to his father,[3] "We were informed before our going forth, that a ton (of sassafras) was enough to cloy England." What became of this cargo, we learn from Raleigh's letter to Secretary Cecil.

The Indians were frequent visitors, bringing furs, wampum, tobacco — "which they drink (smoke) green, but dried into powder, very strong and pleasant" — and such provision as they had for traffic. Among them, as among the natives of the Cape, copper was in common use as an ornament, and by signs they made known that they dug it out of the ground, which gave great hope to the English of mines not far distant. Gosnold, with some of his companions,

[1] Or Martin's Vineyard, as it is often written by early writers. Captain Pring, who made essentially the same voyage the next year, was on board the *Concord*. His name was Martin, and it may have been given to the island in his honor, suggests Belknap, as the names of others of this ship's company were used to designate other places — as Tucker's Terror, Gilbert's Point, Gosnold's Hope, Hill's Hap.

[2] "A contraction of Poo-cut-oh-hunk-un-nok, which signifies a thing that lies out of the water." — *Belknap's American Biography*, vol. ii., p. 114.

[3] Master Bartholomew Gosnold's letter to his father, touching his first voyage to Virginia. See Purchas and *Mass. Hist. Coll.*

visited other islands of the group, and explored the main in the direction of the site of the present town of New Bedford, and found it to be "the goodliest continent that ever we saw, promising more by far than we did expect; for it is replenished with fair fields, and in them fragrant flowers, also meadows, and hedged in with stately groves, being furnished also with pleasant brooks, and beautified with two main rivers."[1] The natives were, on the whole, not unfriendly; and in a place so pleasant, with so much that was encouraging, this might have been the first English colony on the American coast, had the *Concord* been better provided.

Abandonment of the enterprise.

But when the time came for her return, it was found that only enough stores could be spared to sustain for six weeks at most those who should remain. There was little reason to hope that they might live upon the country, and they had made no provision for a crop by planting. The uncertainty as to how soon succor might reach them from home, and the doubt whether the Indians would leave them unmolested, counselled prudence, and they wisely resolved that none should be left behind. On the 18th of June they sailed for England, and on the 23d of July arrived off Exmouth. When four days afterward they anchored in Portsmouth Harbor, "we had not," said Gosnold, in the letter to his father, "one cake of bread, nor any drink but a little vinegar, left."

Indirectly this voyage of Gosnold's was not without important results, though a failure in its immediate purpose. New England thus just missed of being the site of the first settled colony, but attention was turned to these Northern coasts, never to be again relaxed for any long period. The immediate interest aroused was enough to send out in the course of the next two or three years, several expeditions for trade with the Indians.

Martin Pring's voyage. 1603.

Martin Pring, who was with Gosnold in the *Concord*, was fitted out by some Bristol merchants in the spring of 1603, with two vessels, one of fifty tons, the other of twenty-six only, with which he ran along the coast of Maine, stopping long enough in Casco Bay to find the fishing better than off Newfoundland; looking into the mouth of the Kennebunk, the York, and the Piscataqua rivers, cruising with delight among the many islands along that shore. Then following Gosnold's track from "Savage Rock" to Buzzard's Bay, trading with Indians wherever he could find them, he was back again in England, his two vessels well laden, within six months. Weymouth, whom the Earl of Southampton and Lord Arundel sent out two years later, was bent rather upon discovery than trade. But these voyages were the direct consequence of that of Gosnold; the

[1] Archer's *Relation*.

shorter route he opened by steering directly westward instead of the circuitous course followed by vessels going to Virginia for the previous twenty years, and the report of a rich and productive country, and a salubrious climate, at least in the summer months, on the Northern coast, promised a new field for English enterprise.

Gosnold himself was full of zeal and energy. The failure to plant a colony on Elizabeth Island did not in the least discourage him, and the few weeks spent in that region assured him of the possibility of successful colonization anywhere along the coast under better auspices. He inspired men of influence and wealth with something of his own enthusiasm. The merchants of London, Bristol, and Plymouth considered the subject in its commercial aspect, and that seemed full of promise; but there were many others who saw it in a more comprehensive light. Chief among these was Richard Hakluyt, a London clergyman, whose diligence as an author bore witness to the deep interest he felt in discovery in the New World, and the importance he believed the possession of its Northern portion to be to England. The result of the labors of such men was the formation of an association composed of some of the most influential and respectable persons in the kingdom, and which determined beyond a doubt the future of North America.

Letters-patent were issued in April, 1606, to Sir George Somers, Richard Hakluyt, Edward Maria Wingfield, and others who should be joined to them, by which was granted all the territory on the American coast, between 34° and 45°, and the islands within a hundred miles. It was required that two companies be formed, one to be called the first, or Southern Colony; the other, the second, or Northern Colony. The jurisdiction of the Southern colony, whose council was chiefly composed of residents of London and came therefore to be known as the London Company, extended from Cape Fear to the eastern end of Long Island, from 34° to 41°; the other was called the Plymouth Company, as its council was appointed from Plymouth and its vicinity; its limits overlapped those of the other, extending from 38° to 45°, or from about the latitude of Delaware Bay to Halifax, Nova Scotia.

Patent to the Virginia Companies. 1606.

Each colony was to be governed by a resident council of thirteen, to be appointed by the king, with power to choose a president, who should not be a clergyman, from their own body, and to fill any vacancies that should occur among themselves from death or resignation. The laws enacted by them were subject to revision either by the king or the council in England. No part whatever in the government was given to the people; even trial by jury was allowed only in cases of capital crimes, which were "tumults, re-

Government to be established in the New World.

bellion, conspiracy, meetings and sedition, together with murder, manslaughter, incest, rapes, and adultery;" lesser crimes and misdemeanors were to be tried before the president and council, and punished according to their will. Real estate was to be held as under the laws of England, but for the first five years all personal property and the fruits of the labors of the colonists were to be held as a common stock, and each member of the community was to be supported from the general store. Religion was to be established in accordance with the rites and doctrines of the Church of England; the people were enjoined by virtue of such penalties as the president and council should choose to inflict, to "kindly treat the savage and heathen people in those parts, and use all proper means to draw them to the true service and knowledge of God," and also to lead them to "good and sociable traffic." Such were the essential features of the first constitution of government established within the limits of the present United States. It was especially the work of that pedantic despot, James I., who afterward amused himself with drawing up a code of laws for the administration of a government where, in the last resort, all political power rested in his hands, and the hands of those of his appointment.

James I.

In the summer of 1606, two ships sailed for New England under the auspices of the Plymouth Company,—one in May commanded by Captain Pring; the other in August, of which Henry Chalong was Captain.[1] Chalong was taken by the Spaniards, but Pring sailed along the coast of Maine and made, on his return, so favorable a report of the country that Chief Justice Popham, of the Plymouth Company, determined, the next year, to send his brother George Popham and Raleigh Gilbert, a son of Sir Humphrey,[2] to settle a colony at the mouth of the Sagadahoc. As this colony, however, returned to England in a few months the first permanent settlement was that made by the London Company in Virginia.

[1] Some confusion has arisen in regard to these voyages. In the ship with Pring went Captain Hanam, or Hanham, some authors say as master, others as captain. Strachey speaks of a voyage by Captain Haines, which is probably a mistake for Hanam, and has led some writers to suppose there were three expeditions sent in 1606 by the Plymouth Company.

[2] See Prince's *Worthies of Devon.*

The colony numbered one hundred and five men — men only, for there were no women. Of these only about twenty were mechanics; of the rest, some were soldiers, some were servants, and nearly half of the whole number were "gentlemen," with whom it was not of so much consequence that they were unaccustomed to labor, — for the better bred and better educated a man is, the better able is he for any work — but that they looked upon labor as a degradation. Among its most notable persons were Bartholomew Gosnold and Gabriel Archer, Gosnold's companion in the *Concord* and historian of that expedition; Edward Maria Wingfield, afterward the first governor; the Rev. Robert Hunt, the chaplain, a good man, who soon had enough to do to keep the hands of his charge from each others' throats; George Percy, a brother of the Earl of Northumberland, who did efficient service in the early struggles of the colony; and John Smith, already distinguished for a romantic career as a soldier in a war against the Turks.

Members of the colony.

John Smith.

They sailed from Blackwall, England, on the 19th of December, 1606, in three vessels: the largest, the *Sarah Constant*, of one hundred tons burden, the second, the *God-Speed*, of forty, the third, the *Discovery*, a pinnace of twenty tons;[1] and of this little fleet, Captain Christopher Newport, an able and experienced sailor, was commander. Contrary winds kept them hanging about the coast for five weeks; when fairly started on their western course, they went — though Gosnold and Archer could have taught them better — by the old route of the West Indies, trading with the Spaniards and dallying in pleasant places, so that four months passed before they saw the coast of Virginia.[2] The delay was not only at great cost of provisions, which they soon came to sorely need, but so long a voyage was in itself enough to breed discontent among men who must have been impatient to reach their destination. Discontent bred insubordination, and this was aggravated by the ignorance as to who among them was to be in authority in the future colony, and might, therefore,

They sail for Virginia December 19, 1606.

[1] Purchas, vol. iv.

[2] Smith's *History of Virginia*, book iii., chap. 2, says five months, but this is an obvious blunder.

command beforehand obedience and respect; for the London Council had unwisely ordered that the seals of their letters of instruction and appointment should not be broken till the colonists had landed upon the shores of Virginia. Among these malcontents John Smith made himself peculiarly obnoxious. His offence may have been in reality nothing more serious than to complain loudly of a delay, which, to one of his active and impatient temper, must needs have been exceedingly irksome; but perhaps his example was contagious, and it was therefore thought necessary to put him under restraint. He was accused (if we may accept his own statement) of an intention to usurp the government, to murder the council, and make himself king;[1] whether charges so serious were really believed to be true, or were only meant to curb a turbulent disposition, he was still considered as under arrest for several weeks after the arrival in Virginia.

The intention, it is supposed — though on insufficient authority — was to follow the Raleigh colonies and go to Roanoke Island; the reckoning, however, was in fault, if that was their purpose, for they overshot it. But there was, probably, no such intention. The instructions of the Council were that the ships should seek for a safe port at the entrance of some navigable river, and if more than one was discovered that should be preferred, if there were any such, which had two branches. Should either of these branches come from the northwest then that one was to be entered, as it might be the passage to the South Sea.[2] The hope of finding this passage the London Council never relinquished so long as the Company remained in existence.

Only three days were consumed in search of such a harbor, and on the 26th of April, 1607, they sailed into Chesseian (Chesapeake) Bay. Its southern point — where some of the people, on landing, were attacked by the Indians, and Gabriel Archer and a sailor wounded — they called Cape Henry; its northern, Cape Charles, in honor of the sons of the king. They would, doubtless, have welcomed the sight of a much less inviting land than this after the long delay; but they sailed up this noble bay with irrepressible delight, eager to begin their work.

Arrival in the new country. April, 1607.

Their first business was to ascertain who among them were to have the management of affairs. On the night of their arrival at Cape Henry the sealed box was opened and it was ascertained that the council was to consist of Bartholomew Gosnold, John Smith, Edward Wingfield, Christopher Newport, John Ratcliffe, John Martin, and George Kendall. The next seventeen days were spent in looking for

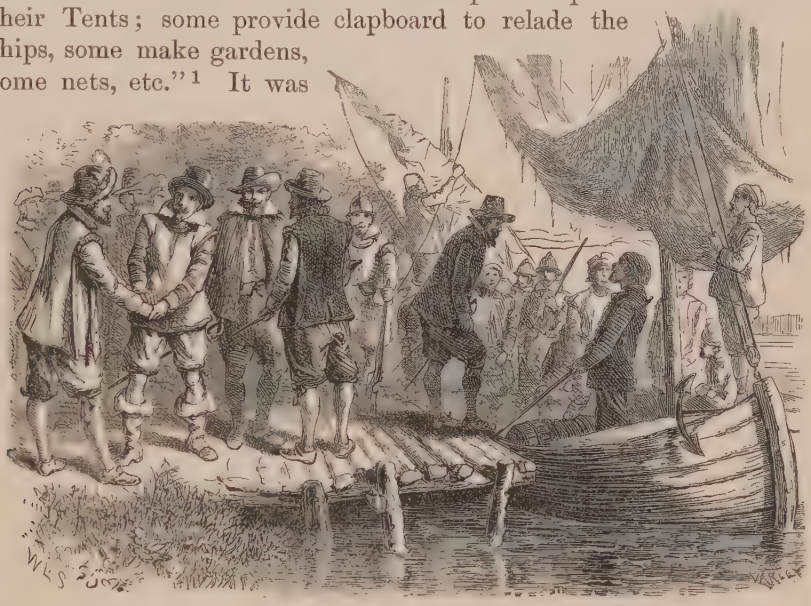
[1] Smith's *General History.*

[2] See instructions in full in Neill's *History of the Virginia Company in London.*

a suitable place to plant the colony, about which there was much disagreement, and on the 13th of May they fixed on the present site of Jamestown — so named in honor of the king — on a peninsula about forty miles from the mouth of the Powhatan, which, also in honor of James, they called the King's, and afterward James River. This was to be their permanent home; the council, excepting Smith, were sworn into office, and Wingfield chosen president.

Selection of the site of the town.

Then "falleth every man to worke; the Councell contrive the Fort, the rest cut downe trees to make place to pitch their Tents; some provide clapboard to relade the ships, some make gardens, some nets, etc."[1] It was



Newport's Embarkation.

the laying of the first solid foundation of that English nation, which Raleigh had said five years before he should yet live to see.

In the instructions of the Council the emigrants were commanded to discover the communication which was supposed to exist by some river or lake between Virginia and the South Sea. This they evidently looked upon as one of their first duties, and accordingly within a week Captain Newport "fitted out a shallop with provision and all necessaryes belonging to a discovery" — they believed they had not far to seek — and proceeded with "five gentlemen, four maryners, and fourteen saylors, with a perfect resolutyon not to returne, but either to finde the head of this ryver, the laake mentyoned by others hereto-

[1] Smith's *History*, book i., chap. 1.

fore, the sea againe, the mountaynes Apalatai [Appalachian] or some issue."[1] The issue was that they returned within the week without having discovered either the head of the river, the lake, the South Sea, or the mountains.

Newport's survey of the James River.

They made, however, a fair survey of James River for a hundred and fifty miles, visiting several Indian kings, or weroances, as they were called in the native tongue. By these they were received with great kindness, and made welcome with venison, turkeys, maize, strawberries, mulberries, raspberries, pompions (pumpkins), dried nuts, and tobacco. In return they gave their hosts the usual gifts of beads and other trifles, inviting the chiefs sometimes to share their English food, and drink of their strong drinks to that degree as to make the simple savage both sick and sullen. One tribe was governed by a "queen," — Queen Ahumatec — "a fatt, lustie, manly woman," dressed in a copper "crownet," a copper necklace, a deer-skin girdle, and "ells (else) all naked." She affected great state and was haughty in demeanor, but "cheered somewhat her countenance" when presented liberally with gifts. It was also observed of her, that she was much less affrighted at the discharge of a gun than the men.[2]

Their further progress up the river was stayed at that point where the city of Richmond now stands, and where the water fell down "through great mayne rocks from ledges of rocks above two fadome high." Just below was the village of a king Pawatah (Powhatan), — a brother or son, probably, of that Powhatan afterwards known as the Emperor, — which Newport named Pawatah's Tower, placed upon a hill on the north bank, or Popham side of the river; the south bank they called the Salisbury side. At this point it was proposed to proceed by land and reach the Quirauk (Blue Ridge) Mountains; but they were dissuaded by the Indians, who represented the way as tedious, and the people of that region as the enemies of Powhatan. Here, therefore, ended their discoveries, which, though they did not find the entrance to the South Sea, they hoped would "tend to the glory of God, his majeste's renowne, our countrye's profytt, our owne advancing, and fame to all posterity."[3]

As they went down the river, they observed a change in the conduct of the Indians which excited their apprehensions; and these were well founded, for on reaching Jamestown they learned that the camp had been attacked during their absence. Several of the men were

[1] *Captain Newport's Discoveries in Virginia.* First published, from MS. found in the English State Paper Office, in vol. iv. of *Collections of the American Antiquarian Society,* 1860.

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] *Ibid.*

wounded, one boy was killed, and the President, Wingfield, had narrowly escaped, an arrow having passed through his beard.

George Percy and Gabriel Archer, both men of note, went with Newport on this expedition, and were probably not without some share in its responsibilities and success, such as they were. The coupling of Smith's name alone with Newport's, in Smith's "History," is an assertion of a prominence belonging quite as much to others as to him. Courageous, enterprising, and energetic as he unquestionably was, he was inclined to make himself, or at least sanctioned others in making him, more the hero of the early history of Virginia than the facts seem always to warrant. His own "History" is apparently the only authority for the assertion that he was arrested in the West Indies; and such an arrest must have been made, if made at all, by Newport's orders.[1] It may be that the difference between Smith and Wingfield, which afterward led to such serious results, showed itself thus early, and that Newport saw the necessity of putting a restraint upon one of a turbulent and daring character. If this were so, it is more probable that he kept Smith with him that he might be under his own control, and prevented from interfering in the organization of affairs at the fort, rather than that he divided with him the responsibility and honor of the first expedition into the interior.

Newport's companions in this expedition.

Newport remained at the fort about three weeks before sailing for England, and assisted with his sailors in putting it in a better state of defence. "We labored," — says the narrative of his expedition, under date of May 28th, the day after his return — "pallazdoing (palisading) our forte." The colony had been on shore a fortnight, and had protected the encampment only with boughs of trees. The attack from the Indians showed that more efficient defence, for which the branches were only a temporary substitute and all that as yet there had been time to put up, must be at once made, But in Smith's "History," we are told that "the president's overweening jealousy would admit no exercise at arms, or fortification, but the boughs of trees cast together in the form of a half moon by the extraordinary pains, and diligence of Captain Kendall." This seems to be pure detraction, for there is nowhere else any intimation that Wingfield was wanting in diligence and energy, and the Newport narrative declares that at the first attack from the savages he "shewed himself a valiant gentleman," the proof whereof, was the arrow shot through his beard when with four others of the council he took the post of danger in the front.

Building the fort.

[1] We find no mention of it in the abridgment in Purchas of Percy's Narrative, in the report of Newport's expedition up the James River, nor in Wingfield's *Discourse of Virginia*.

Trouble brewing in the colony.

There was evidently trouble brewing which Newport tried to avert before he sailed on the 21st of June. Where the fault lay is not clear, but there was, says the Newport narrative, "among the gentlemen, and all the company, a murmur and grudg against certayne preposterous proceedings, and inconvenyent courses." A petition was sent in to the council, in relation to these difficulties, whatever they were, and Newport by "fervent perswayson" won a "uniformity of consent" among them, so that, continues the narrator, "we confirmed a faythfull love one to another; and in our heartes subscribed an obedyence to our superyors this day. Captain Smyth was this day sworne one of the Counsell, who was elected in England."

A compromise was thus apparently effected, and harmony restored by this admission of Smith to the board of councillors. But in Smith's "History" there is a material difference in the account of this transaction.[1] Referring to his arrest in the West Indies, from which he was not released, according to that authority, till he was admitted to the council, it is asserted that it was proposed to send him to England for trial. "But he so much scorned their charitie," says the narrative, "and publikely defied the vttermost of their crueltie, he wisely prevented their policies, though he could not suppresse their envies. . . . . Many vntruthes were alledged against him; but being so apparently disproved, begat a generall hatred in the hearts of the company against such vniust Commanders, that the President was adiudged to give him 200*l*, so that all he had was seized vpon, in part of satisfaction, which Smith presently returned to the Store for the generall vse of the Colony." Whether there was any such arrest or not, there is good reason for doubting that there was any such trial, for it is not mentioned in other relations of the troubles of that period. Two months later, however, Wingfield, who had then been deposed from the presidency, was called before the council to answer to an action of slander brought by Smith, who, he said, had concealed an intended mutiny; in this suit Wingfield was adjudged to pay a fine of £200 damages.[2]

As this is Wingfield's own acknowledgment, there can be no reasonable doubt of its truth, since he could have no motive for misrepresentation; while if the statement of Smith's "History" — hitherto ac-

[1] Smith's *Generall Historie*, which is a compilation of the narratives of various persons published under his name, has hitherto been the main reliance of writers upon this period of the history of Virginia. See Stith, Buck, and others who had access only to one side of the story.

[2] *A Discourse of Virginia. By Edward Maria Wingfield. Now first printed from the original manuscript in the Lambeth Library. Collections of the American Antiquarian Society*, 1860.

cepted in the absence of any other — be also true, then we are to believe that Wingfield was twice condemned that summer, to pay Smith £200, which is not at all likely, and is nowhere asserted, and to accept also the occurrence of so curious a legal proceeding as the trial of one man — Smith — for treason, whose acquittal involved the punishment of another man — Wingfield — who was not on trial at all. But if the account in Smith's "History" of the circumstances attending his admission to the council be rejected in so important a circumstance on the testimony, recently published, of the Newport narrative and Wingfield's "Discourse," it is impossible not to question its truth in other particulars, and to doubt not only that there was a trial at that time for treason, but that there was any arrest.

Governor Wingfield's "Discourse."

A few days before his departure, and a week after "the faithful love one to another" was confirmed by his fervent persuasions, Newport asked of Wingfield how he thought himself settled in the government. Wingfield's answer was: "that no disturbance could endanger him or the colony, but it must be wrought either by Captain Gosnold or Mr. Archer; for the one was strong with friends and followers, and could if he would; and the other was troubled with an ambitious spirit, and would if he could." [1] This epigrammatic presentation of the condition of affairs, Newport reported to both Gosnold and Archer, and urged them, with many entreaties, to be mindful of their duties to the king and the colony. The internal dissensions were plain enough to him; perhaps he also foresaw how they might be inflamed by the sufferings the colonists were to endure for want of those stores consumed on the long voyage from England which should have been their present support.

It was a summer of great hardship. Early in July disease broke out among them, partly the effect of climate, but more often caused and aggravated by the want of food and proper shelter. "For the most part," says Percy, "they died of mere famine." By September nearly one half were dead, and among them Gosnold. Wingfield had found no reason to fear the influence which he told Newport, "that worthy and religious gent," had over the colonists. Upon Gosnold's good-will, the president said, when speaking of his death, depended the success of his own administration of affairs and of the colony; and so much did he rely upon his countenance and counsel in the differences between himself and the other councillors, that he "did easily foretel his owne deposing from his command," when his friend was taken ill. This good opinion of Wingfield's is confirmed by all we know of Gosnold, who seems, in the

A summer of great hardship.

[1] Wingfield's *Discourse of Virginia*.

glimpses we have of him here and elsewhere, to have been a man of thoughtful mind, calm judgment, and self reliant temper. He deserves to be remembered next to Raleigh among the direct founders of the American colonies.

But for the scarcity of food harmony might have been maintained among the leaders, for that was clearly the ostensible and a bitter cause of quarrel, whatever ambitions and jealousies may have lain hidden beneath the surface. They might, say Smith's partisans, have all been canonized as saints had they been as free from all other sins as from the sins of gluttony and drunkenness; for a half pint of boiled wheat and another of barley, infested with worms, was each man's daily allowance.[1] The president, it is said, exempted only himself from this penurious and fatal diet, keeping for his own use all the good things in store, and denying them even to the sick. On the other hand Wingfield says in his defence: "As I understand by a report I am much charged with staruing the colony. I did alwaies giue every man his allowance faithfully. . . . . It is further said I did much banquet and ryot. I never had but one squirell roasted, whereof I gave part to Mr. Ratcliff, then sick, yet was that squirell given me. I did never heate a flesh pott but when the common pot was so likewise." When the store of oil, vinegar, sack, and aquavitæ was all spent, saving two gallons of each, he ordered the vessels containing them to be "boonged vpp," reserving the sack for the communion table, the other articles for emergencies of extreme sickness. Gosnold, whom he consulted, approved of this pious and prudent action; but when he was dead and the president told the rest of the council of this little reserve of precious stores, he exclaims: "Lord, how they then longed for to supp up that little remnant! for they had nowe emptied all their own bottles and all other that they could smell out." And this small reserve, when they afterward came into possession of it, they "poored into their own bellyes." Again and again, the council demanded of him, he declares, larger allowances for themselves and their favorites who were sick. The president, protesting he would not be partial, refused unless his associates would take the responsibility by official action; for had he at that time enlarged the proportions of food allowed to each man it would have been, he declares, to have starved the whole colony, and he would not join with them, therefore, in such ignorant murder without their own warrant.

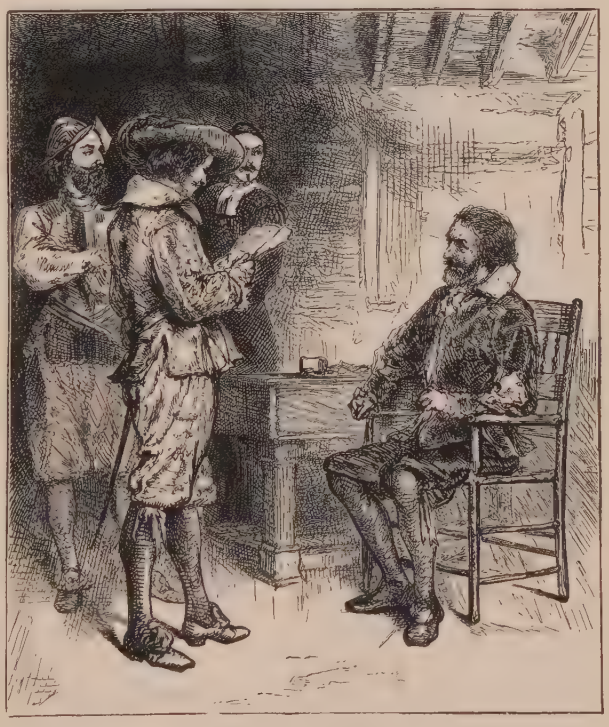
Accusations against Wingfield. His defence.

Early in September, Wingfield says the three other members of the

[1] "Our food was but a small can of barley sod in water, to five men a day; our drinke, cold water taken out of the river, which was at flood very salt, at a low tide full of slime and filth; which was the destruction of many of our men." *Percy in Purchas*

council, Ratcliffe, Smith, and Martin, waited upon him and by warrant deposed him from both the council and the presidency. Wingfield deposed. He declined at first to be thus summarily dealt with; more than once he reminded them he had offered his resignation, which the council had refused to accept, and now they could not legally remove him, as, according to the charter, that must be done by a majority of a full council of thirteen. But finally, he gave up the contest, saying, "I ame at your pleasure; dispose of me as you will, without further garboiles."

The next day he was called before the council, and the change in the government was made known and discussed at a public meeting of the colonists. The three councillors gave the reasons for their action, and with two of them hunger evidently was at the bottom of their discontent. Ratcliffe, the new president, complained that he had been denied "a penny whitle, (a small pocket-knife probably wanted for trade with the Indians), a chickyn, a spoonful of beere, and served with foule corne;" Martin declared that Wingfield had neglected his duties to the colony, "did nothing but tend his pott, spitt and oven;" and had, moreover, starved his son and denied him "a spoonefull of beere." All this would seem frivolous enough if we did not remember that these poor people were in the extremity of hunger, against which no dignity is proof. But Smith showed a nobler passion. He repelled an accusation of lying; he resented the scorn with which he had been treated by Wingfield, who said that though they were



Deposition of Wingfield.

equals here, in England Smith would not be a fit companion for his — Wingfield's — servant. Archer, who was now made recorder, and subsequently a member of the council, followed with other charges in writing, too slight to be remembered, though the accuser, says Wingfield, "glorieth much in his penn worke."

Kendall shot for mutiny.

Kendall was deposed from the council earlier than Wingfield, and seems to have belonged to neither party, or, perhaps, to each by turns. He was confined for a time with the ex-president on board the pinnace, and was subsequently tried for mutiny, and shot. In arrest of judgment the poor man objected that the new president's name was not Ratcliffe but Sicklemore, and the plea was allowed; but judgment, nevertheless, was pronounced by Martin. Afterward, according to the sequence of the narrative — though neither the date of Kendall's execution nor of this incident is given — Wingfield was summoned to appear before the council, which he refused to do on the ground that he was not legally deposed, but suggested, instead, a conference in the presence of ten of the most trustworthy gentlemen of the colony. This being granted, he proposed, inasmuch "as he had no joy" to live longer under the laws and government of the present rulers and "much misliking their triumvirate," to return to England and report to the London Council the sad condition of their charge in Virginia; not that he was anxious to leave the colony, for he was quite willing to remain if either Ratcliffe or Archer would undertake this errand; but if it were thought better that the enterprise should be altogether abandoned he would give a hundred pounds toward defraying the expenses of taking the whole company home. These propositions were all rejected; even the making them was considered a defiance of the council, and the fort opened fire upon the pinnace apparently to prevent Wingfield's departure. If he really intended to abandon his companions without regard to their wishes, this hostile measure answered its purpose.

Services of John Smith to the colony.

Meanwhile the distress of the colonists would have been more disastrous than it was but for the kindness of the Indians, who, when affairs were at the worst, brought them maize and other provisions. The energy of Smith was at the same time of the greatest service. Taking a few men with him in a boat he traded up and down the rivers gathering supplies. When the savages were insolent and refused to trade, he brought them to terms by force of arms. But returning from one of these excursions he found — according to the "General History" — that Wingfield and Kendall, then living in disgrace on board the pinnace, seeing all things at random in the absence of Smith, were attempting to regain their lost authority, or to take the pinnace and sail for England. This plot was

discovered to Smith on his unexpected return, "and much trouble he had," continues the account, "to prevent it, till with store of sakre and musket shot he forced them stay or sinke in the river, which action cost the life of Captaine Kendall." Wingfield's proposition, that either he, or Ratcliffe, or Archer should go to England, was construed into a mutiny, as we know from Wingfield's own representation, and both these relations undoubtedly refer to the same incident; but that Kendall's death was the result in any sense of that attack upon the pinnace cannot be true if Wingfield's statement be correct that he was previously tried and executed.

It is difficult to reconcile such discrepancies in any other way than to suppose a determination on the part of the writer in Smith's "History" to justify Smith and to magnify his services. That Wingfield and Kendall took advantage of his absence to carry out their treasonable purposes, and that it was only his opportune return, and his prompt and energetic action, ending in the death of one of the ringleaders in the mutiny, that averted a serious disaster, is a heroic view of affairs with Smith as the principal figure, greatly redounding to his credit. But in conflict with it is Wingfield's essentially probable and apparently truthful narrative of the struggle between him and the council, and between the council and others; of the criminations and recriminations, of the orders and disobedience, the conferences, the resistance and violent remedies which followed in turn, and in all of which many of the colonists, as was natural, were warmly enlisted. It is a representation of events differing from the history of the period hitherto accepted, and in it Smith's part seems neither so important nor so praiseworthy as it has usually been made to appear.

Dissatisfaction with the administration.

Whatever was the weakness of Wingfield's administration, Smith and his friends were as little satisfied with that of Ratcliffe and Martin. It was because "of the companies dislike of their president's weaknes, and their small love to Martin's never mending sicknes," that Smith found "all things at randome" on the occasion just referred to. According to the same authority, soon after bringing Wingfield to obedience and Kendall to punishment, he was called upon to deal with other offenders. Ratcliffe and Archer next proposed to abandon the colony to its fate, "which project also was curbed and suppressed by Smith." As the winter approached, however, tranquillity was restored, when, as the harvests were gathered, game became plentiful, and there was enough to eat: then no more of the "Tuftaffaty humorists desired to goe for England."[1]

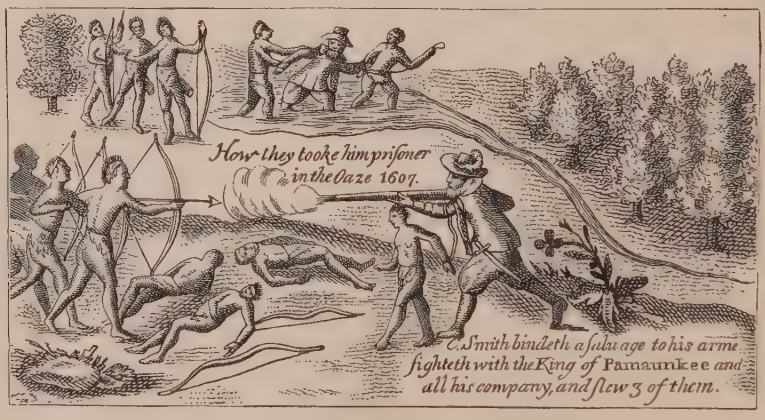
Smith had now leisure for further exploration into the interior. Wingfield says that he started on the 10th of December to go up the

[1] Smith's *General History*.

Chickahominy to trade for corn, and to find the head of that river. On its upper waters two of his men, who were left with a canoe, were slain by the Indians, Pamunkey's men, and Smith himself, who was on shore at some distance, was taken prisoner, his life being saved "by the means of his guide," who was an Indian. He was taken to several of the neighboring chiefs to see if he could be recognized as one of a party who, two or three years before, had kidnapped some Indians;[1] he was taken at last to the great Powhatan, who sent him back to Jamestown on the 8th of January. He had been absent just four weeks.

Smith is taken prisoner.

Smith's life was saved, says Wingfield, by means of his guide. The story as usually told is that Smith tied the Indian to himself with his garters, and held him as a shield against the arrows of his assailants. Making his way toward the boat, which he had left in charge of two of his men, he and the guide slipped together into


How they tooke him prisoner
in the Oaze 1607.
Smith bindeth a salvage to his arme
fighteth with the King of Pamaunkee and
all his company, and slew 3 of them.

From Smith's "General History." [Fac-simile.]

an "oasie creek," from which it was impossible to extricate themselves. Half dead with cold, he at length threw away his arms and surrendered, and was taken before Opechankanough, King of Pamunkey. He sought to propitiate the chief by presenting him with "a round Ivory double compass Dyall." The savages marvelled much at the playing of the needle which they could see, but, for the glass over it, could not touch. With this "globe like jewel," Smith explained to the king and his people the movements of the sun, moon,

[1] There is no record of any voyage to Virginia within two or three years previous to the settlement of Jamestown when any Indians were kidnapped, and if this refers to those taken by Weymouth and carried to England in 1605, it shows a more intimate relation between the tribes of New England and those of Virginia than has been supposed to exist.

and stars, the shape of the earth, the extent of land and sea, the difference in the races of men, and "many other suchlike matters," at which, it was hardly necessary to add, the savages "all stood as amazed with admiration." They nevertheless tied the lecturer to a tree, and were about to shoot him to death with arrows, when Opechankanough, who seemed to have a better appreciation than his followers had of the sciences of astronomy and cosmography, holding up the wonderful compass, stayed the execution. They then released the prisoner, fed him, and used him well.

So well, indeed, did they feed him, that he thought they meant to fatten him for a feast; and they received him otherwise with so much honor, that they dressed themselves in their brightest paints, the plumage of the most brilliant birds, the choicest rattle-snake tails, and "such toys,"—adding, perhaps, as Strachey says the Indians sometimes did, "a dead ratt tyed by the tail, and such like conundrums,"—and so attired danced before him and the king, "singing and yelling out with hellish notes and screeches." They promised him, moreover, life and liberty, land and women, if he would aid them by his advice in an attack upon Jamestown; but from this he dissuaded them by representations of the mines, great guns, and other engines with which such an attack would be repulsed. When he persuaded them to send a letter to the fort, and the messengers brought, as he promised they should, such things as he asked for, the savages were amazed anew, that either the paper itself spoke to those who received it, or that Smith had the power of divination.

This clothed and bearded white man was a strange spectacle to the Indians, and men, women, and children crowded to see him, as he was led from tribe to tribe. At length he was taken before the great king of all, Powhatan, at a place called Werowocomoco, which signifies king's house, on the north side of the York River, and only fourteen or fifteen miles from Jamestown. When Smith was led into his presence, the emperor received him in state, seated on a throne which was much like a bedstead, clothed in a robe of raccoon skins. On each side of him sat a young girl of sixteen or eighteen years, and beyond them a double row of men and women, their heads and shoulders painted red and adorned with feathers. A queen served the prisoner with water to wash his hands, and a bunch of feathers on which to dry them; a feast was spread before him as if he were an honored friend and welcome guest, for such was the Indian treatment of those who presently were to be led out to die.

Brought before Powhatan.

This ceremonious and hospitable reception was followed by a brief consultation between the king and his chief men. Two great stones

were then brought in, to which Smith was dragged, and his head laid upon them. The executioners stood ready to beat out his brains with their clubs, but at this critical moment, "Pocahontas, the King's dearest daughter, when no intreaty could prevaile, got his head in her arms, and laid her owne vpon his to saue

Pocahontas is said to save his life.

King Powhatan comands C.Smith to be slayne his
daughter Pokahontas beggs his life his thankfullneſs
and how he Subiected 39 of their kings reade ſ hiſtory

From Smith's "General History" [Fac-simile.]

him from death: whereat the Emperour was contented he should liue to make him hatchets, and her bells, beads, and copper."

The authority for this romantic story is Smith's "General History." With other things, it has come to be considered an established historical fact because that work was long accepted as the best, as it is the fullest, of the contemporary narratives of the adventures of the Jamestown colonists for the first two years. Obscurer authors were either not consulted or were unknown by those who gave currency to these relations. But Wing-

Discrepancies in the two accounts of his capture.

field, who records with such accuracy all the essential facts of Smith's capture, and his return to the fort by Powhatan, says nothing of Pocahontas; Strachey, to whom this young girl was evidently an object of interest, and who speaks in terms of praise of Smith's services and hazards on behalf of the colony, and of his great experience among the Indians, makes no allusion to this romance in the life of both; Hamor, who was also at one time secretary of the colony, and whose tract[1] is largely a biography of Pocahontas and of her interesting relations to the English, is silent on this first important service rendered by her to one of the principal men of the colony.

And even Smith differs with himself in different publications, as to the treatment he met with from Powhatan. In his first book, the "True Relation," published in 1608, he says that the emperor "kindly received me with good words, and great platters of sundry victuals; assuring me of his friendship, and my liberty in four days." After much kindly conversation between them, Powhatan "thus having, with all the kindness he could devise, sought to content me, he sent me home with four men — one that usually carried my gown and knapsack after me, two others loaded with bread, and one to accompany me." Such treatment is altogether inconsistent with a design upon his life, nor is there any hint of such an intention in the savage chief, or of the interference of his little daughter to avert it. It is only in the "General History," first published in 1624, that the narrative of Smith's captivity asserts that the prisoner was sentenced to death by Powhatan, and his life saved by Pocahontas.[2] Then we are told that he was sent back in a few days to Jamestown, not with four friendly guides only, who carried his clothing or were laden with provisions, but with twelve savages, with whom he did not feel that his life was safe till within the palisades and under the protecting guns of the fort. Meanwhile between the publication of the "True Relation" of 1608, and that of the "General History" of 1624, the princess had become famous as the "Lady Rebecca;" by her services to the colony; by her marriage with an Englishman, Rolfe; by her visit to England, presentation at court, and her baptism into the Christian Church; and by her death on the eve of her return to her own country.

Inconsistencies in Smith's story.

This Powhatan, who was called an emperor by the earlier writers, was the most powerful of all the Indian chiefs of Virginia, and became an important person in the history of the colony. Smith was the first to meet with him; the Pawatah who had enter-

The great chief Powhatan.

[1] *A True Discourse of the Present Estate of Virginia until 18th of June*, 1614. By Ralph Hamor, Jr.

[2] See comments on this subject by Charles Deane in his edition of Smith's *True Relation*.

tained Newport and his companions, some months before, at the falls of James River, being another and less powerful chief, perhaps a son of Powhatan. For Powhatan was a native of the country just above the falls of the James, and it was from it that he took his name. Among his own people he was known as Ottaniack, or as Mamanatowick, the latter meaning great king; but his true name, and that by which he was saluted by his subjects, was Wahunsenacawh.[1] He is described as a goodly old man, "well beaten with many cold and stormye winters," being somewhere about eighty years of age. He was tall in stature, stalwart and well shaped of limb, sad of countenance though his face was round and fat, and his thin gray hairs hung down upon his broad shoulders. As in his younger years he had been strong and able, so also had he been a cruel savage, "daring, vigilante, ambitious, subtile to enlarge his dominions," striking terror and awe into neighboring chiefs. Though in his old age he delighted in security and pleasure, and lived in peace with all about him, he was from the first watchful and jealous of these white-faced strangers who were penetrating his rivers, devouring his corn, and building houses within his dominions. With that Indian subtlety of which he was peculiarly a master, he sought their friendship, when that would best serve his purpose, but never letting an opportunity pass to cut them off when it could be done with little or no loss to himself and his people.[2]

POWHATAN
Held this state & fashion when Capt. Smith was deliuered to him prisoner
1607

From Smith's "General History." [Fac-simile.]

He had, it was said, many more than a hundred wives, of whom about a dozen, all young women, were special favorites. When in bed one sat at his head, and another at his feet; when at meat one was at his right hand, another at his left. Of his living children, when he first became known to the English, twenty were sons and twelve

[1] Strachey's *Historie of Travaile into Virginia*, p. 48.

[2] Strachey, pp. 49, 54.

were daughters, and among these last was one "whome he loved well, Pochahuntas, which may signifie little wanton; howbeyt she was rightly called Amonate at more ripe yeares," in accordance with an Indian custom in the naming of their children. She was well known at Jamestown at an early period. The Indian girls wore no clothing till the age of eleven or twelve years, nor were "they much ashamed thereof, and therefor," continues Strachey, "would Pochahuntas, a well-featured but wanton young girle, Powhatan's daughter, sometymes resorting to our fort, of the age then of eleven or twelve yeares, get the boys forth with her into the markett place, and make them wheele, falling on their hands, turning up their heeles upwards, whome she would followe and wheele so herself, naked as she was, all the fort over." As Strachey did not go to Virginia till 1610, and if he saw this young princess in that year, then eleven or twelve years of age, "turning cart-wheels" among the boys of Jamestown, she could have been only eight or nine years old at the time Smith was taken prisoner by her father. Elsewhere speaking of her as "using sometyme to our fort in tymes past," he adds, "nowe married to a private captaine, called Kocoum, some two yeares since."[1] Pocahontas.

Again, we hear that Smith, on his return, found the colony "all in combustion;" that some of the leaders were, as usual, engaged in that inexplicable preparation to run away with the pinnace, which never came to anything; and once more that Smith, for the third time, and, at "the hazard of his life, with sakre, falcon and musket shot, forced them to stay or sink."

It is remarkable with what ingratitude these repeated services, if they were rendered, were received by a people among whom there seems to have been little law but the law of the strongest; for on this very day of Smith's return, and while he was compelling obedience on board the pinnace with the guns of the fort, the council, through the influence of Archer, were trying him by the Levitical law, for the death of the two men who were killed, while under his command, by the savages. He was adjudged guilty, and to be put to death the next day; "but," says the "General History," "he quickly tooke such order with such Lawyers, that he layd them by the heeles till he sent some of them prisoners to England." Wingfield agrees that Smith was tried on the day of his return, and condemned to be hanged either that or the next day, but that his life was saved by the opportune arrival of Newport. Of an attack on the pinnace at the same time by Smith, he says nothing. In the Opportune return of Captain Newport.

[1] Major, the editor of Strachey's *Historie of Travaile into Virginia*, supposes it must have been written between 1612 and 1616.

"True Relation," Smith says that he was welcomed back with truest signs of joy, by all except Archer and two or three others, and that these laid "great blame and imputation" upon him for the loss of the two men, slain by the Indians. "In the midst of my miseries," he adds, "it pleased God to send Captaine Nuport the same night, ... and for a while those plots against me were deferred." There is no boastful assertion of laying his enemies by the heels, nor of his bringing mutineers to order on board the pinnace. The narrative simply and naturally recognizes his own troubles, and is thankful for the arrival of one more powerful than any of the factious leaders, to bring security and peace.

On every account, Newport's arrival was opportune. In less than nine months the colony had become reduced to about forty persons, and his ship brought to a starving and despairing people an addition of one hundred and twenty men, besides a stock of provisions, of implements of husbandry, and of seeds. About the time of his arrival a fire which nearly destroyed the fort, consumed the entire stock of stores procured from the Indians, reducing the colonists to complete dependence upon the supplies brought by Newport. Unfortunately, however, Newport and his crew remained for fourteen weeks at Jamestown, and helped in the consumption of these provisions. Near the fort a deposit of yellow mica was found, which was mistaken for gold. The colonists were quite ready to take the risk of starvation, that the ship might be laden with this useless dirt. That it was useless, some of the more judicious, and Smith among them, were convinced, for there could be no hope of productive industry till this dream of sudden wealth was dispelled. Happily it did not last long, for in the spring when the second vessel, which had sailed with Captain Newport from England but had been detained in the West Indies by bad weather, arrived, she was sent home with a cargo of cedar. Wingfield and Archer returned home in one of these vessels, and Martin in the other, leaving Smith the principal person of the colony, and without rivals.

Newport's visit to Powhatan.

Newport spent a portion of the time of his stay in a visit to Powhatan, whose friendship he evidently deemed of great importance to the colony. The emperor received him with great courtesy, seated, as when Smith was led into his presence not long before as a prisoner, upon his bedstead throne, and surrounded by his warriors and women. He had received from Smith — who had entertained him on that occasion with a number of remarkable stories, all lies, as to the motives which had led the English to that country — an exalted notion of the power of Newport. No doubt to prove that he was as generous as he was great, Newport per-

mitted Powhatan to name his own price in corn for the copper kettles and trinkets which he offered in exchange. The result was, that the confiding Englishman got much the worst of the bargain. But Smith, who much better understood the nature of the wily but simple savage, presently restored the balance of trade by displaying in the eyes of the king some blue beads, on which a high price was put, as precious ornaments worn only by royal personages. Corn fell to a few beads the bushel, and the visit was made on the whole a profitable one in provisions, and in the establishment, for the present, of friendly relations with the powerful chief.

Smith makes a map of the Chesapeake Bay.

Smith passed the summer of 1608 in two expeditions upon the waters of Virginia, making an extended survey of Chesapeake Bay and its tributary rivers, of which he drew a map of remarkable correctness. In the Potomac he was beset by a band of Indians, who, if their story could be believed, were instigated through Powhatan, by some persons in Jamestown, to cut off Smith and his party. A more dangerous mishap befell him in the same river, where he was stung by a fish he calls a stingray; he was thought to be so near death that a grave was dug for his burial on an island near by; but he recovered in time to eat of the fish that struck him. On the second expedition the party ventured as far as Sassafras River, not far below the mouth of the Susquehanna, where the Indians are said to have known little of Powhatan, except by name, but who held intercourse with the French of Canada at a much greater distance. These were remarkable voyages to be made in open boats, into an unknown country, constantly exposed to the inclemencies of weather, the possibility of an entire failure of the means of subsistence, and the attacks of hostile savages. But it is characteristic of the exaggeration which distinguishes the Smith narratives that he is said to have sailed a distance of about three thousand miles while absent from Jamestown only three months.

First women join the colony.

On the return from the last expedition early in September, Captain Smith was made president of the colony. Newport arrived soon after with a second reinforcement of men and supplies, and with him came the two first women of the colony, Mistress Forrest and her maid Ann Burras. The latter did not wait long for a husband, for her marriage to John Laydon is announced a few weeks later.

Coronation of Powhatan.

Newport came with orders from the London Council to bring home a lump of gold, to discover the passage to the South Sea, and to find the survivors of the Roanoke Colony. He brought with him also some "costly novelties," as a basin, a ewer, a bed and some clothes for Powhatan, with directions to bestow the

ceremony of a coronation upon that naked monarch. He found neither the lump of gold, the passage to the Pacific, nor any of the survivors of the Roanoke massacre; but he crowned the savage who had, perhaps, procured the deaths of those unhappy persons.

Powhatan, reminded of his royal state, declined to go to Jamestown to receive the presents when summoned thither by Smith as a special ambassador. "I also am a king," he said; and if the King of England had sent him gifts, they should be brought to him; he should not go to receive them. Newport went, and the gifts were accepted; but

Coronation of Powhatan.

the coronation was a more difficult matter. No persuasions could induce the chief to kneel, and it was only by bearing heavily upon his shoulders that he could be made to stoop so low as to admit of the assumption that his posture was the proper one for the placing of a crown upon his head. The firing of a pistol as a signal for a volley from the boats in honor of the event startled him into an attitude of defence with the suspicion that he was the victim of some treachery; but being presently reassured of the entire sincerity of these proceedings, he accepted them as an acknowledgment of his regal state, and gave his old moccasins, the deer-skin he used for a blanket, and seven or eight bushels of corn in the ear, to the representatives of his royal brother of England.

If Captain Newport committed any errors they were errors of judgment, or acts done in obedience to orders from the Council at home, who held him in deserved respect and confidence. It was, perhaps, because of that estimation that the jealousy of Smith was aroused against him. Newport is abused in the "General History," after the second visit, with almost as much vehemence and rancor as Wingfield and others were before him. Smith, no doubt, understood better than any of his companions, the character of the Indians; to him this coronation of Powhatan was an absurdity, believing their ends would be more easily gained with the chief by dealing with him as a wily but ignorant savage rather than as a powerful king. A display of strength wisely used, he thought, was more likely to establish peaceful relations with the Indians than deprecatory measures and a show of pretended respect, which the natives would only construe into an acknowledgment of weakness. But he was not content with merely following his own wiser conclusions, both with regard to the Indians and the management of his own people; he would see neither good intentions nor good results in the actions of others. Had he shown in his own acts something more of the spirit of conciliation, and had he been less severe to subordinates and less jealous of his companions, his services, undoubtedly great, would have done much more to promote the secure establishment and welfare of the colony.

Smith's criticism on Newport.

The chief merit of his administration was, that he kept the colony from starvation. It depended for food mainly upon the Indians, for the colonists were neither provident enough, nor industrious enough to protect the stores brought from England, from destruction by decay, or by the rats which came in the ships and had also founded a colony. In cunning and courage the Indians were no match for Smith. He could always persuade them to sell or constrain them to give him provisions, and there was need enough for all that he could gather. He attempted to compel the people to steady labor, but, except when Newport's vessels were to be loaded for the return voyage, without much success. They would all rather beg or buy of the Indians, than plant, or fish, or hunt, and in spite of the severe laws of the president, would abandon the tasks to which they were put. Then a large proportion of the colonists were considered, by right of their being "gentlemen," exempt from labor. Two of them, indeed, did go heartily to work in felling trees, and were so efficient that, it was said, forty like them would be worth a hundred common laborers. But their example does not seem to have been followed by others of their class, who may have been deterred partly by the severity of a regulation of the president's, that a record should be kept of every oath uttered by men at work, and for each oath a can of water

Merits of Smith's administration.

be poured down the sleeve of the offender when the day's work was over.

Indolence and hunger were not the only troubles. Jamestown was in an unwholesome region, and deaths from the malaria of the sur-

From Smith's "General History." [Fac-simile.]

rounding swamps were frequent. Among those who died was Captain Wynne, a member of the council. Scrivener, another of the council, Captain Waldo, the commander of the fort in Smith's absence, Anthony Gosnold, a brother of Bartholomew, with eight others, were drowned by the upsetting of a boat. The council was thus reduced

to Smith alone, and the colony, if not altogether dependent upon him, was, at least, under his sole direction. He was, if we may believe the narratives written in his interest, quite equal to this enlarged responsibility. The Indians were as children in his hands, whether in negotiation or conflict. One stalwart chief he seized by his long hair in the presence of his tribe drawn up in battle array, with a pistol at his breast compelled him to submission, and led him trembling with fear among his people who threw down their arms in dismay. On another occasion he closed in fight with the King of Paspahey, a giant in strength and stature, who took him up, and bore him to the river to drown him; but in the struggle in the stream, Smith — who was a small man — at length got such a hold upon the throat of the savage as to nearly strangle him, and led him off at last a prisoner to the fort.

His own people, the president ruled with a relentless will, punishing the idle and insubordinate, threatening to hang the mutinous, if they did not give over their attempts to abandon the colony. Two or three Dutchmen, nevertheless, revolted from his authority, fled to the Indians, and entered into a conspiracy with Powhatan for the destruction of Jamestown. But Smith knew their plans, defeated them, and brought the great chief himself into submission. In the course of these events he was aided by the little girl Pocahontas, who sometimes gave him timely information of attempts to be made upon his life, and often supplied the starving colonists with the needed supplies.

But the energy and services of Smith, whatever they really were, could only keep a feeble life in the colony. With the material of which it was composed, it was not possible to do more. The cost had been great, and the return almost nothing to the adventurers in England, and a new charter with larger powers and privileges was asked for. It was granted by James, and dated the 23d of May, 1609. The number of corporators was very large, and included the most exalted among the nobility, the highest among the clergy, the most distinguished among navigators, the wealthiest among the merchants in the kingdom, as well as all of the most influential guilds of London in their corporate capacity. The boundaries of the land it bestowed upon the company, were from two hundred miles north to the same distance south of Cape Comfort, including all the country between those extreme points, from the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean, and the islands within a hundred miles of both coasts. A council, to sit always in London, was nominated in the charter, future vacancies in which were to be filled by the corporators. The appointment of officers and enactment of laws for the colony were to be made by this body, and "for divers reasons and considera-

A new charter of the Virginia Company, 23d of May, 1609.

tions" this provision of the charter was to take immediate effect on the arrival in Virginia of a new governor. Smith's administration was clearly not approved of, which cannot be wondered at when we remember how many of the men whom he had quarrelled with, denounced, and superseded had returned to England.

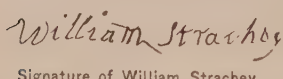
So extended were the interests engaged in the naming of the corporators under this new charter that the contributions were large to carry on the enterprise. A fleet of nine ships, carrying five hundred people, was dispatched the latter part of May, the lieutenant-general, Sir Thomas Gates, the admiral, Sir George Somers, and the vice-admiral, Captain Newport, taking passage together in one of them, the *Sea Adventure*. Lord De la Warre was appointed captain-general, but as he remained in England, Sir Thomas Gates was to assume supreme command on his arrival at Jamestown. Among the captains of the fleet were Ratcliffe, Martin, and Archer, whose return to the colony by order of the new Council Smith might well consider a reflection upon his administration, and an answer to the complaints and charges he had sent home. Among the vessels was the *Virginia*, the first American ship, built by the people who were sent out under George Popham by the Council of the Second or Northern Colony, two years before, to make a settlement at the mouth of the Sagadahoc — the Kennebec River in Maine.

Sailing of the fleet under Gates and Somers. 1609.

Signature of Sir Thomas Gates.

The fleet was dispersed by a storm soon after sailing Seven of them reached the Chesapeake in August, in a more or less shattered condition; of the two that were missing, one was a pinnace, which had foundered at sea, the other the admiral's ship, the *Sea Adventure*, on board which were Gates, Somers, Newport, and William Strachey. She also was supposed to be lost, for nothing was heard of her till the next spring.

Off the Bermuda group — "the still vexed Bermoothes" of Shakespeare — a storm had assailed the *Sea Adventure* and wrecked her on one of those islands. It was such a storm as Shakespeare describes in the first act of "The Tempest," and to Strachey's account of it, it is thought the dramatist was indebted for his inspiration.[1] Storm after storm, with fury added to fury, each more outrageous than that which went before, battered the



Signature of William Strachey.

[1] *A True Reportory of the Wracke, and redemption of Sir Thomas Gates; upon and from the Ilands of the Bermudas*, etc., etc. Written by William Strachey, Esquire. Purchas, vol. iv., lib. ix., chap. vi.

doomed ship, and made her miserable people, says Strachey, "looke one vpon the other with troubled hearts, and panting bosoms: our clamors dround in the windes, and the windes in thunder." There was "nothing heard that could give comfort, nothing seene that might incourage hope. Such was the tumult of the elements that the Sea swelled above the Clouds, and gave battell vnto Heaven. It could not be said to raine, the waters like whole Riuers did flood in the ayre. . . . . Windes and Seas were as mad as fury and rage could make them." The ship sprung a leak, or many leaks from every joint almost, "having spued out her Oakum," and this fresh calamity, the news of which, "imparting no lesse terrour than danger, ranne through the whole Ship with much fright and amazement," seemed "as a wound giuen to men that were before dead." Yet they fought bravely for their lives, passengers as well as seamen. "The common sort stripped naked, as men in Gallies, the easier both to hold out, and to shrinke from vnder the salt water, which continually leapt in among them, kept their eyes waking, and their thoughts and hands working, with tyred bodies, and wasted spirits, three dayes and foure nights destitute of outward comfort, and desperate of any deliuerance, testifying how mutually willing they were, yet by labour to keepe each other from drowning; albeit each one drowned while he laboured." The heavens looked so black upon them during all this time, that not a star was seen by night, nor the sun by day; but on the last night of their terrible

Strachey's account of the shipwreck.

Shipwreck of the "Sea Adventure"

struggle with the winds and waves, Sir George Somers saw, and called others to see, "an apparation of a little round light, like a faint Starre, trembling and streaming along with a sparkling blaze, halfe the height vpon the Maine Mast, and shooting sometimes from Shroud to Shroud, tempting to settle as it were vpon any of the foure Shrouds: and for three or four houres together, or rather more, halfe the night it kept with vs, running sometimes along the Maine yard to the very end, and then returning. . . . . but vpon a sodaine, towards the morning watch they lost of it, and knew not what way it made."

Shakespeare's "Tempest."

So the boatswain in Shakespeare's "Tempest" heard the howlings from within the ship, louder than the weather; so Miranda besought her wizard father to allay the war of the wild waters, when the sea mounted to the sky and dashed the fire out, as she saw the brave ship dashed all to pieces; so Ariel flamed amazement, burning in many places, on the topmast, the yards, the bowsprit, and then in a deep nook safely harbored the king's ship, as, on the morning of the fifth day, the *Sea Adventure* lay firmly fixed and quiet, between two rocks in still waters, under the lea of the island.

On these islands — henceforth known as the Somers Islands as well as the Bermudas, from Sir George Somers, and corrupted later into Summer Islands — there was abundance of food, especially of wild hogs, for the support of Gates and his one hundred and fifty companions, men, women, and children. There was no hardship in a winter in that lovely climate, and the people were for the most part contentedly employed in hunting and fishing, and in building two pinnaces in which to continue their voyage. There were deaths, and births, and even marriage among them; the wife of "one John Rolfe" gave birth to a daughter which was christened Bermuda, and a boy born to another couple was called Bermudas. Nor was crime wanting in private murders and public mutinies, for which there was due punishment; but, on the whole, the winter passed pleasantly, and in May they all embarked save two deserters and a few who were sent off earlier in the long-boat, and who, it was afterward supposed, reached Chesapeake Bay, but were murdered when they landed by some of Powhatan's people.

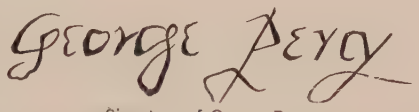
Distracted condition of the colony.

Meanwhile affairs at Jamestown were not prospering. In the absence of the captain-general, Sir Thomas Gates, Smith continued president, for there was no authority to supersede him. The colony was, as usual, in a distracted condition, hungry and dependent for food upon the Indians. Martin was sent to make a settlement at Nansemond; Captain West went to the falls of James River, and Ratcliffe to Point Comfort, for the same purpose. West bought of Powhatan, for a small quantity of copper, the country

he proposed to occupy — the region about Richmond — but the good-will of the Indians was secured neither by kindness nor by abstaining from bad treatment. The attempts to settle at these new points were unsuccessful; half the men were killed, and among them Captain Ratcliffe. While West was at the falls, Smith went to his assistance, and met with an accident which put an end to his career in Virginia. By an explosion of gunpowder in his boat, he was so burned and maimed that it was necessary he should go to England for surgical aid, and he sailed soon after with the returning fleet.[1]

George Percy succeeds to the presidency.

Percy succeeded him in the presidency, but he was capable neither of maintaining harmony among the leading men, nor even that degree of limited prosperity among the people, which existed under Smith. The late president had been so far able to compel the colonists to labor during the past summer, that the autumn brought them a considerable harvest; the swine and other animals had increased in numbers, and the people generally were in good health. Whatever may have been the severity of his rule, it produced good results, and was probably no harsher than was necessary among men described as a "lewd company, wherein were many unruly gallants packed thither by their friends to escape ill destinies," and as "men of such distempered bodies and infected minds, whom no examples daily before their eyes, either of goodnesse or punishment can deter from their habitual impieties, or terrify from a shameful death." Before the return of spring, improvidence, idleness, and debauchery had done their work. The store of provisions which Smith had gathered from the harvest and from the Indians, the domestic animals, which had been carefully preserved for their natural increase, were all speedily consumed; hunger, despair, and death followed, and the winter was recorded in the annals of the colony, as "the starving time." When Gates arrived in May, of the five hundred whom Smith had left at Jamestown six months before, only sixty were alive.



Signature of George Percy.

[1] It is said in the *Relation of Virginia*, by Henry Spellman, 1609 — recently recovered and published in London (1872) — that Captain Smith sold Spellman to Powhatan for this land on the James, and required West to settle upon it. But that Captain West, "having bestowed cost to begine a toune in another place misliked it." That thereupon unkindness arose between them; Captain Smith saying little at the time, but afterwards conspiring with Powhatan to kill Captain West. "Which plotte," adds Spellman, "tooke but smale effect, for in the meane time Capt. Smith was Aprehended and sent abord for England." This Spellman is well known to have been a captive for some years among the Indians.

John Redclyffe also wrote, October 4, 1609, to the Earl of Salisbury, that Smith was sent home to answer to some misdemeanors. *Sainsbury State Papers*, quoted in Neill's *History of the Virginia Company*.

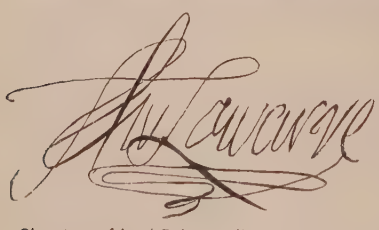
Landing of Gates, the governor-general. May, 1610.

When Gates landed, he entered the church and ordered the bell to be rung as a summons to the people, and as many as could of the sixty miserable survivors crawled out to welcome him. Service was first held in "zealous and sorrowful prayer," and then Percy delivered up to him the old patent, his own commission, and the seal of the council. Gates went out to look at the seat of his new government. It was a scene of desolation. The palisades were torn down; the ports stood wide open; the gates were broken from their hinges; the empty houses of the dead had been dismantled for fire-wood, — those who were alive being too weak or too indolent to go to the forest near by for fuel, or too much afraid to venture far from the Block House, not knowing when or where to look for the arrows or the tomahawks of Indians lurking in the woods.

The governor was satisfied in the course of a week, that the one wise thing to do was to abandon Jamestown with all possible speed, and get to some place where they might hope to be saved from starvation. From the Indians nothing could be looked for but the most determined hostility; the store of provisions brought from the Bermudas could be made to last only a few days longer, and it was determined, therefore, to sail for Newfoundland, where there would be English vessels from which assistance could be obtained. Accordingly, on the 7th of June, just a fortnight after the arrival of Gates, the whole company embarked on two vessels he found in port and the two built in Bermuda, the president himself being the last to go on board, that he might save the fort and houses from destruction, as some of the more desperate had determined to celebrate their departure by a conflagration.

Lord De la Warre's fleet arrives off Point Comfort. June, 1610.

It was fortunate that he took this precaution. As the ships lay at anchor the next day in the lower part of the river, waiting for the ebb tide, the governor's vessel was boarded by a boat from seaward. It was one sent in advance by Lord De la Warre, who had arrived at Point Comfort, where he had heard of Gates' decision, and hastened to send orders to intercept him.



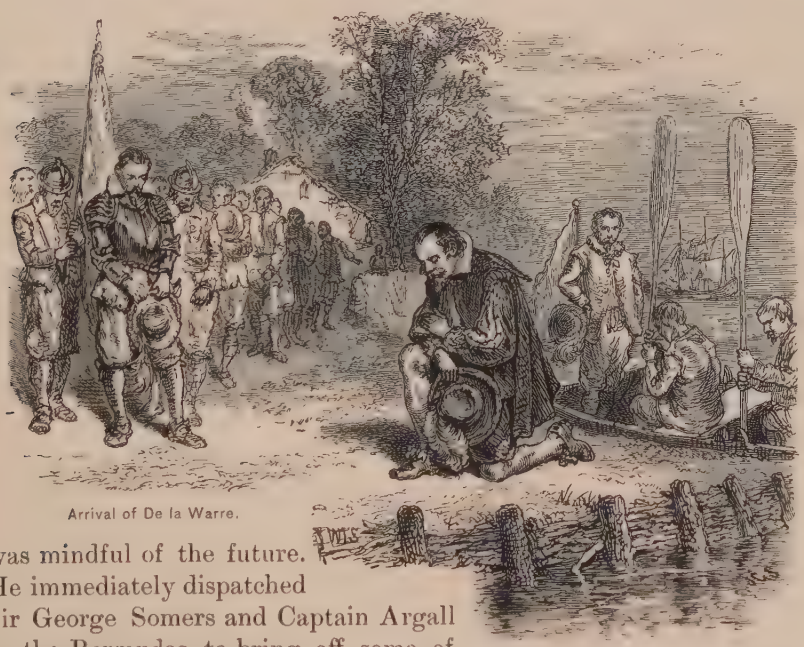
Signature of Lord Delaware (Tho La Warre).

The news was received gladly by Gates; the tide which had prevented the vessels getting out to sea was taken advantage of to return to Jamestown, and that night the colonists were back again under the shelter of their old quarters, which Gates had saved from destruction. Two days later De la Warre also brought his three ships to anchor opposite the fort and went ashore.

As he landed he fell upon his knees and engaged in silent prayer. A procession, dignified but ragged, ceremonies more imposing in intention than in fact, awaited him, as he arose; in prayer and in sermon, his coming was welcomed; his commission as captain-general was read, and with parchments and seal, Sir Thomas Gates surrendered into his hands the colony which he had governed a fortnight. Then in a timely speech, De la Warre rebuked the idleness and other shortcomings of the past, warning his hearers that he held the sword of justice in his hands, which would certainly be drawn if occasion called for it, but encouraging them also with assurances of the good store of provisions with which his ships were laden.

Energetic measures of De la Warre.

There was food enough on hand to last for a year, but De la Warre



Arrival of De la Warre.

was mindful of the future. He immediately dispatched Sir George Somers and Captain Argall to the Bermudas, to bring off some of the wild swine with which those islands abounded, to replace the stock which the colonists had eaten up the previous winter. Both these vessels were driven northward by stress of weather, and Argall returned to Virginia; Somers reached the Bermudas, but soon after died there, and his nephew, who succeeded to the command of his vessel, returned to England. In Virginia, De la Warre was more fortunate. Argall was successfully employed in trading with the natives for corn; two forts were built near the mouth of the James, and another at the falls; the Indians were brought into more peaceful, if not more friendly

relations, by force of arms, however, rather than by conciliatory measures; and something like order and industry was enforced among the colonists. On the whole, the administration of De la Warre was more successful than that of his predecessors; but it lasted only a year, when failing health compelled him to return to England, leaving Percy again governor.

New impulses to colonization.

Four years had passed away since Newport first sailed up the Powhatan and landed the first comers, and public enthusiasm in the "action," — as these attempts at colonization were called in the language of the time, as in ours we say "an enterprise," — needed new impulses. Zealous divines preached eloquent sermons in the pulpits of London, and the Council plied the public with pamphlets. Gold mines and the South Sea, were still occasionally held out as possible discoveries; but the true value of Virginia, the mildness of its climate, the fertility of its soil, the magnificence of its rivers, the value of its timber and other natural products, its fitness generally for the home of civilized men, were coming to be better understood, and the dream of a repetition of Spanish experience farther south faded into dimness. The Council had to contend with doubt and indifference, the natural result of the mistakes and disasters of these first four years. The return of De la Warre was depressing, — for much depended upon his success, — until he could publicly explain the details of the sickness that made it necessary; how ague seized him followed by dysentery, to that succeeding cramps, to them the gout, and to the gout scurvy, till one wonders that he escaped at all, and can better understand the malarial influences with which these first settlers contended, and which carried them off so rapidly.

But fortunately before his arrival two fresh expeditions had sailed for Virginia, one under Sir Thomas Gates, — whom De la Warre had sent home for assistance, — the other under Sir Thomas Dale. Both were amply provided with men, with supplies, and with domestic animals. The lessons of four years of experience had not been lost, and the colony began at last to achieve some degree of prosperity.

Sir Thomas Dale commands in Virginia. 1611.

Dale arrived in May, 1611. He was wise as well as energetic, and set himself to cure, by something better than threats and exhortations, the idleness of a people whom he found relapsing again into want and suffering, while they amused themselves with playing bowls in the streets of Jamestown. He gave to each man three acres of cleared ground to cultivate for his own support and took away from him the dependence upon the public store for food. The result justified his expectations, and three men did more work under the new rule than thirty did under the old. There was an incentive to labor in the appeal to self-interest, for he who

was idle was very likely to starve. Tracts of corn-land, surrounded by palisades and protected by a block-house, appeared in various places; a beginning was really made in the settlement of the country under the influence of steady industry.

Gates followed Dale in August, and superseded him for the time being, in the government of the colony, but seconded his wise efforts to bring about a reform in the habits of the people. A new settlement was made, and a town called Henrico in honor of Prince Henry, was built a few miles below the falls of the James, New settlements.

The Idle Colonists.

on the extreme end of what is now known as Farrar's Island; and a few months later, another town was begun at the mouth of the Appomattox, and named Bermuda City. Both sites were elevated and healthful; the clearing and inclosing of lands for plantations, the laying out of streets, the building of houses, gave employment to idle hands. Hope and energy were aroused in men who would gradually become good and self-sustaining citizens in the prospect of homes of their own, and in ceasing to be paupers dependent for subsistence upon public stores brought from England, and upon corn bought at the public expense or stolen from the Indians. The foundation of the future state was at last firmly laid in the idea of the welfare of each individual member of the community. Not that the change was immediate; it was not easy to alter a condition of things which had continued for several years, and

the old system of support from the public store was still adhered to with regard to new comers for a certain period after their arrival. It was, nevertheless, the beginning of a new state of affairs, and the beginning of anything like a hopeful prosperity.

Code of laws for the colony.

It was not easy, however, for the Council in London to look upon these emigrants as a body of Englishmen capable of being governed by the same laws and influenced by the same motives and habits to which they were accustomed at home. A code of pains and penalties for crime was sent out, under which they were to live, drawn not from the common law and statutes of England but taken from the martial laws of the Low Countries.[1] The penalty was death for blaspheming God; for speaking "impiously or maliciously" of the Holy Trinity, collectively or individually; for any word or act in derision or in despite of the Holy Scriptures; for traitorous words against the king; for murder, for adultery, for rape, whether of white or Indian; for perjury, or bearing false witness; for trading with the Indians without a license; for embezzlement of the public goods; for desertion of the colony, for treason or misprision of treason against it or its rulers; for ordinary theft; for robbing a garden, wilfully pulling up a flower, a root, or herb when set to weeding; for gathering grapes, or plucking ears of corn, whether belonging to a private person or the public. He who used profane swearing, taking the name of God in vain or by other oaths, had a bodkin thrust through his tongue for the second time offending, and the third time suffered death; the penalty for absence from public worship, or violating the Sabbath, was deprivation of a week's allowance, public whipping, and if three times repeated, death; slander of the councillors or other principal officers of the colony, evil speaking of the colony itself, or of books written on its behalf, were punished by whipping, and by the galleys for three years, and by death for the third offence; disobedience of the magistrates carried the same penalties, and he who unworthily demeaned himself to any minister or preacher was publicly whipped three times, and compelled to ask forgiveness of the congregation for three successive Sundays; to kill any domestic animal, any poultry, or even a dog, though they might be one's own, without permission, was punished as a capital crime in the principal, and he who assisted him was to lose his ears and be branded in the hand; those who failed to keep their houses neat and clean, whose bedsteads were not three feet from the ground, and who threw foul water into the streets, were subject to trial by court-martial; a tradesman who neglected his business was sent to the galleys for four years if he persisted in the offense; if he or any soldier failed to appear at his ap-

[1] Stith's *History of Virginia*, p. 122.

pointed work at beat of drum, morning and afternoon, or left his work before the hour appointed, he was laid "head and heels together" all night upon the guard, for the first offence, for the second whipped, for the third sent to the galleys; whoever failed to render to the minister an account of his faith, or refused to take advice from him touching matters of religion, was whipped daily till he repented of his obduracy; public "launderer or launderesses," bakers, cooks, and fishermen were kept to a faithful discharge of their duties by similar penalties, and the minister or preacher who neglected to read publicly on every Sabbath day the laws and ordinances, of which we give this brief abstract, was deprived for a week of his allowance from the public store. But this was only the civil code. To the martial law, the pains and penalties of which were much more severe, and the possible offences more minute and varied, the citizens were also amenable.

If there was want of good order and good government, it was not for lack of authority in the hand of the magistrates. The increasing prosperity of the colony, however, in the administration of affairs by Gates and by Dale, owed little to the severity of the laws. The allotments of lands, first made by Dale, were increased after the expiration by limitation of the system of a common support and a common interest in the colony. There gradually grew up along the James and some of its tributaries a settled, though scattered community of planters, dependent on their own industry for their support, free from the evil associations and habits engendered in the earlier days of Jamestown.

From gaining a subsistence it was an easy step to the accumulation of a surplus; before the expiration of the first decade of the colony, the London Council began the granting of patents of large tracts of land to individuals, and such tracts were also given to colonists for meritorious services. The planting of tobacco was soon found to yield a far more profitable harvest than the sowing of corn, so profitable, indeed, that it was necessary ere long to regulate by law the proportion of ground sowed for profit, and for food. From a fashion of the court, introduced by Raleigh, the use of tobacco had become so common in England, that the cheaper staple of Virginia found a market where there was no demand for the dearer product of the Spanish colonies. In 1614 a member of Parliament said in a speech in the House: "Many of the divines now smell of tobacco; and poor men spend 4*d.* of their day's wages at night in smoke."[1] The increasing consumption greatly alarmed the king for the morals of his subjects, who were deaf equally to his arguments and his remonstrances; but his fears for morality gave way to apprehensions

Culture and export of tobacco.

[1] Neill's *History of the Virginia Company.*

in later years of loss to the revenue. Taxes and restrictions upon sales which the charter did not warrant, impelled the planters to look for a market in Holland. But a prerogative of the crown was not to be sacrificed to the prosperity of the colony, and this first dispute between it and the king was only settled by a compromise which sent all Virginia tobacco to England for exportation, but gave a monopoly of the trade to the Company.

This settlement, however, of the various questions to which this important trade gave rise was not reached till after discussions and difficulties protracted for a period of years, during which the colony was gradually growing to wealth and power. At the outset the cultivation of tobacco was so lucrative that those who had no land planted in the streets of Jamestown, and those who had were necessarily restrained by law, from running the risk of starvation by planting it all in tobacco, and none in corn. This profitableness of the crop, as it was found to continue, made the larger tracts of land desirable, but the land was useless without laborers.

Supply of laborers for the colony. First slaves.

The future of Virginia — and with hers, that of all that portion of the country where one or two great staples could be produced at an enormous profit — was determined by these considerations. Men held to service for a term of years were brought over from England by ship-loads. These were often convicted felons, often paupers who sold themselves in the extremity of want, or were sold to be got rid of, and were often unfortunate wretches kidnapped without regard to their condition, and in defiance of the law. On each laborer brought into the colony there was a bounty in land, and to his owner he represented also a certain profit in tobacco. So far as these people themselves were concerned they were, from training and habit, the least desirable population of a new country, in which they were to be, after a term of service as slaves, the free citizens; but a worse result followed, for the circumstances that made their servitude profitable, made it also the forerunner of a system still more pernicious, and of the evils of which there was no possible mitigation. When, in 1619, a Dutch ship arrived at Jamestown with a cargo of negroes from the coast of Guinea, they were eagerly welcomed at good prices by the planters. For many years these two systems of slavery existed side by side, till the obvious truth became firmly established that it was more desirable to own a black man in fee simple than a white man for a limited period.

Before the colony, however, became the object of earnest attention as a source of wealth in the production of one great staple, the interest in it was kept alive by other events. A third charter was granted in March, 1611–12, which included the Bermudas within the territory

of the Company — sold soon after to another corporation; the privilege of establishing a lottery was also given. Before this was revoked three years afterward by Parliament, as unconstitutional and injurious to public morals, it had added nearly thirty thousand pounds to the treasury of the Council. In 1616, public curiosity was aroused by the appearance in London, of the Princess Pocahontas as the wife of Mr. John Rolfe, who was also distinguished as the first cultivator of tobacco in Virginia.[1]

Pocahontas.

Rolfe, it seems, was a widower,[2] who was one of the company of Sir Thomas Gates, and was the father of the child born in the Bermudas, at the time of the wreck of the *Sea Adventure*, and christened Bermuda. In an expedition up the Potomac, in search of corn, Captain Argall had engaged an Indian to entice Pocahontas on board his vessel, whom he took with him to Jamestown, and detained in the expectation of compelling Powhatan to exchange her for corn and for certain Englishmen and English arms, held by that chief. While held as a prisoner, under the care of Sir Thomas Dale, she became a Christian, and was received into the church under the baptismal name of the Lady Rebecca. Whether the acquaintance between Rolfe and the princess commenced at that time, is not certain; but they were married soon after. Dale was so much interested in this comely daughter of Powhatan that he proposed to the king to send him a younger sister, of whose attractions he had heard, proposing to make her, said the messenger, "his nearest companion, wife, and bed-fellow." The offer could only have been made to get possession of the girl; wife she could not be, as there was already a Lady Dale in England. The king may have seen through the design; at any rate he good-naturedly declined the proposed honor of surrendering his daughter to be the mistress of even a white governor.

Marriage of John Rolfe and Pocahontas.

[1] Harmor's *True Discourse of the Present State of Virginia.*

[2] Pocahontas was also a widow if Strachey's statement was correct that she had married a "private captain called Kocoum."

Dale took Rolfe and his wife to England, and with them went several other young Indians, men and women, and one Tamocomo, the husband of another of Powhatan's daughters. The young people were under the guardianship of the Council, and to be educated as Christians; but Tamocomo was an emissary of his father-in-law, under orders to gather information in regard to the English people. His observations may have been valuable, but he soon gave over an attempt

Presentation of Pocahontas at Court.

to take a census of the population by notches on a stick. The whole party excited the liveliest curiosity. The Lady Rebecca was received at court with great favor, though grave doubts were entertained, suggested it was supposed by James, who was never unmindful of the divine right of kings, whether Rolfe had not been guilty of treason in presuming to make an alliance with a royal family. The princess appeared at the theatres and other public places, everywhere attracting great attraction as the daughter of the Virginian emperor, and as one to whom the colonists had sometimes been indebted for

Pocahontas in England.

signal services; and everywhere exciting admiration for her personal graces, and the propriety and good sense with which she always conducted herself. She remained in England for nearly a year, and died as she was about to sail for her native country. Her only child, a son, is claimed as the ancestor of some of the most respectable families of Virginia.

Alliances by marriage between the whites and Indians were encouraged and were not infrequent, as it was hoped to establish by such connections more friendly relations with the savages. They had, no doubt, some influence, the marriage of Pocahontas especially leading to a treaty with Powhatan which he faithfully observed so long as he lived, and which was renewed after his death, in 1618, by his successor. Meanwhile Dale was succeeded in the government of the colony, first by George Yeardley, then by Captain Argall, and again by Yeardley. During Dale's administration, Argall, who was of an adventurous and unscrupulous disposition, had won notoriety, if not distinction, by the destruction of a little colony of French at Port Royal in the Bay of Fundy. As governor he was more diligent in the pursuit of his own interests, than in any care for the welfare of the colony. The complaints against him were so loud and bitter as to demand reparation at the hands of the Council in London, while he was also called to account for the neglect and ruin which had fallen upon those plantations which it was his duty to have worked on behalf of the Company. Lord De la Warre was sent out to displace him and correct these abuses, but died on the way, somewhere, it is supposed, near the mouth of the bay since known as the Delaware. Yeardley, who meanwhile had returned to England, was made captain-general and ordered to Virginia.

Argall's administration.

The appointment in 1619 of Sir George Yeardley — for he was now knighted — as president, was the beginning of a new era in the history of Virginia. Others had been as honest, energetic, and clear-sighted as he, and as earnest in their efforts on behalf of the "action." But he reaped the benefit of all that they had done and had, besides, the advantage, which they often wanted, of being sustained by a wise conduct of affairs in England. Sir Thomas Smith, who from the beginning had been the treasurer of the company in London with almost plenary powers, retired from office this same year, and his place was supplied by Sir Edwin Sandys. Smith had been accused of mismanagement, and his accounts were in some disorder, but his reputation at the time evidently suffered no serious injury, as on his retiring, a grant of two thousand acres of land in Virginia was made him by the London Council. He had had many obstacles to encounter in the raising and

Sir George Yeardley appointed governor, and Sir Edwin Sandys treasurer.

disbursements of means to found a distant colony in an unknown region, and had done, perhaps, all that could be done in the first twelve years. The earlier difficulties were overcome when affairs came into the hands of Sandys and Yeardley, and to achieve success was a much easier task.

When Yeardley arrived in Virginia the colony numbered about six hundred persons. They had become discouraged and discontented under the arbitrary and dishonest rule of Argall, were suffering from a scarcity of food, having neglected the cultivation of maize, that they might raise the more tobacco and acquire the means to return to England. To induce and even to compel them to raise more to eat and less to sell, was the governor's first object, and he observed his own laws by planting corn on the Company's lands, and writing the treasurer in London that he must not expect remittances in tobacco for at least a year. To restore confidence among the colonists and to assure them of a guaranty for the future, he gave to them the power of self-government, to a certain extent, by calling upon them to send representatives from each of the towns, hundreds, or plantations to meet with the governor and council and decide upon all matters relating to the colony. The governor was to have a veto upon their legislation, and no laws were valid till approved by the Company at home. With this power of government came the sense of possession and permanency, undoubtedly exercising a strong influence over the minds of the colonists. Sir Edwin Sandys proposed to create a more complicated form of government, but this germ of the future commonwealth, in a house of representative burgesses, was left for a time to a natural growth. The first legislative assembly met in the church at Jamestown, on the 30th of July, 1619, and consisted of twenty-two representatives and the governor and council. One of the acts passed at this meeting was for the punishment of drunkenness.

Progress of the colony.

In this first year of Yeardley's administration, the loss by death to the colony was three hundred. By the special order of the king, its number was increased by the transportation of one hundred felons gathered from the jails of England. These misfortunes were offset by the wisdom of Sandys. Ten thousand acres of land were set apart at Henrico, for the foundation of a university, where both Indians and whites were to be educated, and within two years a hundred men were settled upon these lands, to cultivate them on half shares. A measure of more immediate benefit, was the transportation, with their own consent, of a hundred "maids, young and uncorrupt," as wives for young men, who, from being only temporary settlers, would thus be made, by domestic ties, permanent inhabitants and good citizens. The young women met with the heartiest welcome, and none

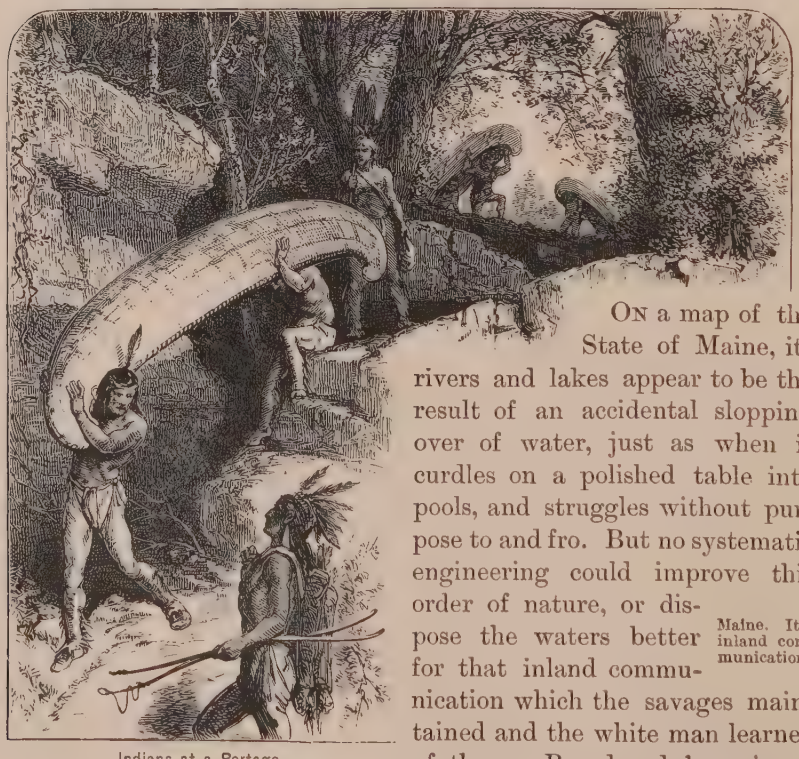
remained long without a husband, though the price of a wife was the cost of her transportation, payable in tobacco, except to those who were tenants of the Company's lands. Many poor children, both boys and girls, were sent out as apprentices. The system was sometimes taken advantage of by private persons, and young women and children kidnapped and sold as slaves to the planters; but the purpose of the Council was benevolent and its results beneficial to the colony. Provision was made for the religious instruction of the people; the principal seats of the colony were more securely fortified; a lasting peace with the Indians was thought to be secured by treaties. Within a twelvemonth eight ships were sent out to the colony by the treasurer, Sir Edwin Sandys, and four more by private adventurers, carrying an aggregate of twelve hundred and sixty-one persons, to be about equally divided between the plantations of the Company and those belonging to individuals. The new English nation had at length taken firm root on the shores of America.

Signature of James I.

CHAPTER XII.

COLONIZATION UNDER THE NORTHERN COMPANY.

The Sea-coast of Maine. — The Early Fishermen. — French Traders. — Pontgravé and Poutrincourt. — George Weymouth's Voyage. — Colony of Chief Justice Popham. — Samuel Champlain in New York. — Settlement on Mt. Desert. — Argall's Destruction of the French Colony. — John Smith in New England. — Expeditions of Ferdinando Gorges. — Second Charter of the Plymouth Company. — Nova Scotia given to Sir William Alexander. — Grant of the Plymouth Company to Gorges. — First Towns in New Hampshire and Maine. — The Breaking up of the Plymouth Company. — Character of Gorges.



Indians at a Portage.

On a map of the State of Maine, its rivers and lakes appear to be the result of an accidental slopping over of water, just as when it curdles on a polished table into pools, and struggles without purpose to and fro. But no systematic engineering could improve this order of nature, or dispose the waters better for that inland communication which the savages maintained and the white man learned of them. Broad and deep rivers, fed by lakes that are strung upon rivulets, with branches to explore and drain every nook of the land, were highways which the birch

Maine. Its inland communication

canoe was expressly framed to travel; it was no burden when the voyager came to carrying-places around falls and rapids. The Kennebec was called the shortest route to the great river of the North, the St. Lawrence, which could also be reached by the Penobscot, though in a more difficult and tortuous way. By water portages and a few day's marches, the Indian could strike the Chaudiere and drop down to the neighborhood of Quebec, or visit the ancient town of Hochelaga, which gave the St. Lawrence its first name.

Its sea-coast.

No less remarkable is the coast, which hangs like a tattered fringe to seaward, broken into numerous coves and inlets with their long protecting line of islands and picturesque bluffs wooded with the birch and pine. The tide runs up deep bays and fills the quiet reaches between the mainland and the outer sea, inviting crafts of every tonnage, from a shallop to a ship, to lie in shelter or to slip along to harbors. Here the early navigators moored in safety under the lee of islands, and explored in their boats the intricate waters of the coast, to fill their casks, to exchange trinkets for peltry with the natives, or to pitch upon a spot for permanent occupancy. They tell how the contrasts of foliage, the singing of birds, the stretches of green meadow, and all the scents of summer mixed with the tonic air, delighted them as they rowed along the streams or penetrated into the woods. Rosier, who accompanied Capt. George Weymouth in 1605 upon his voyage of discovery, and was the chronicler of what they saw, writes with great enthusiasm of the "excellent depth of water for ships of any burthen," of the good holding ground, of the planted peas and barley which grew half an inch a day, of the gallant coves with sandy beaches where ships might be careened, secure from all winds, and the "plane plots" of thirty and forty acres of clear grass, "the goodness and beauty whereof I cannot by relation sufficiently demonstrate." It is easy to conceive the surprise and pleasure of a ship's crew let loose upon this balmy and picturesque coast in some month of summer, as Weymouth's were in early June, after a tedious voyage made in cramped quarters, shared in later times with horses, goats, and cows for the use of colonists. These men tasted the first rapture which a virgin land, whose charms had never been once suspected, could bestow. There grew, close to launching places, spars of various woods, and trees for building pinnaces and vessels; brooks of sweet water came trickling down in all directions, fringed with grass or berries of the wood, the soil invited tillage, the woods were stocked with game, colonies of beavers were established near to falls, and the sea swarmed with fish of many kinds — salmon, haddock, pollock, and cod. The first attempts at colonizing, upon Newfoundland and "the Maine," turned upon the value of this fishery, and

were stimulated by it. There is no doubt that many gangs of fishermen wintered upon the northeastern coast, and upon islands off the coast of Maine, many years before there was thought of chartering a colony. So the fisherman pursued and worked a vein of wealth wherever the cod ran along the shores of the New World; and the mute fish piloted History to the scenes of her most speaking achievements. She stepped from the deck of a fishing smack, and began the work of founding a republic by tending the rude stages where the fish were dried.

Cod fisheries on coast of Maine.

Norumbega, the name by which Maine was earliest known in England, although its boundaries were vague and shifting, is first designated in an account of French voyages in Ramusio's collection of travels. Norumbega was derived by European pronunciation from an Indian word belonging to the tribes between the Kennebec and Penobscot. It was applied by them to an aboriginal kingdom whose seat of power was in a half-mythical town near Penobscot Bay, and upon the eastern side of it. But the early geographers sometimes applied the name to the whole region between Cape Sable and Cape Cod, and occasionally even as far south as Florida. It properly belonged, however, only to that region near the Penobscot whose people referred to a mysterious site of aboriginal rule in the interior. At a later period, this great lord of the Penobscot country was called the Bashaba; but although a good many names of local sagamores of distinction are mentioned in the early annals, nobody ever had an interview with the veritable Bashaba, nor entered the traditional city of Norumbega. It is probable that the term *bashaba* merely indicated the sagamore who happened at different times to enjoy the ascendency among the Penobscot tribes.

Early explorations of Maine.

It is said that an English ship, sent out in 1527, sailed along the coasts of Arambec, a corruption plainly of Norumbega, and that her men frequently went on shore, to explore these unknown lands.[1]

Among other voyagers to the coast of Maine, at this period, was André Thevet, the French traveller and cosmographer, who had been a member of Villegagnon's Huguenot colony in South America. He relates that in 1536 he visited the Grand River (Penobscot), and gives a circumstantial narrative of his intercourse with the natives. The behavior of his Indians was so effusively affectionate, that one is disposed, at first, to question his truthfulness. But, in fact, the Abnakis and Micmacs, the aboriginal inhabitants of Maine, were

[1] Hakluyt, iii. 129. Biddle (*Memoir of Sebastian Cabot*), believes the English voyage referred to, to be identical with that of John Rut, in the same year (mentioned in Purchas, vol. iii. p. 809), and Kohl (*Maine Hist. Coll.*, vol. i., Second Series), seems to share his opinion, and says: "This voyage was the first instance in which Englishmen are certainly known to have put their foot on these shores."

more amiable, and indulged in more social habits than were known among other Indians of New England. Their temper was not uniform, however; at the least hint they would fly to suspicions, and take up arms. But there is abundant evidence that they were disposed to welcome the English, until the hostile policy of the French began to exert its influence.

Aborigines of Maine.

The Abnakis, who inhabited the territory from the Penobscot, north to Canada, and through New Hampshire, loved to collect in permanent villages, of which there were five, two in Canada, and one on each river, the Kennebec, the Androscoggin, and the Saco. These are described by French missionaries as having been enclosed by stout and high palisades. The wigwams were built of bended poles, and covered with bark. The dress of the natives was "ornamented with a great variety of rings, necklaces, bracelets, belts, etc., made out of shells and stones, worked with great skill. They practised also agriculture. Their fields of *skamgnar* (corn) were very luxuriant. As soon as the snows had disappeared, they prepared the land with great care, and at the commencement of June they planted the corn, by making holes with the fingers, or with a stick, and having dropped eight or nine grains of corn, they covered them with earth. Their harvest was at the end of August."[1]

They were very brave, tenacious of purpose, faithful to engagements, uncompromising in war, hospitable, "and their attachment to the family was," says one of their historians, "such as we do not read of in other tribes of the Algic people."

The French knew how to attach these Indians permanently to themselves, and keep them firmly hostile to the English. They soon came under the influence of the French missionaries, and of the soldiers and traders, who showed the tact and adaptability which distinguish that nation. Even in giving names to places, a significant difference between the French and English policy showed itself. The French flattered the Indians by trying to pronounce all their local names, and by perpetuating them. The Englishman made English words migrate and settle upon the new sites, ignoring the native nomenclature. He loved thus to recall his Portsmouth, Rye, Appledore, his York, Falmouth, and Portland. Either the place of his birth, or the port from which he started, provided names for the new places. The French studied in every way to appropriate the habits of the Indians, to hunt, travel, eat, sleep, and dress in the native fashion. They were apt learners of the different dialects; the lists of words and the dictionaries compiled by their missionaries can be relied upon. And these devoted men drew savage admiration by their constancy,

[1] *Collections of Maine Hist. Soc.*, vi. 218–19.

calmness in perils, assiduous efforts to teach and civilize, and their skill in healing, as well as by the impressive solemnity of those novel services of religion, with cross, cup, bell, and candle, under the groined arches of the primitive cathedral. But the English possessed over the French one great advantage; and that has since been styled "manifest destiny." For the current of history undermines and carries away the adroitest policies and the nicest arts of accommodation.

French claim to Nouvelle France.

The French claimed the region which included Maine, under the title of Nouvelle France, although from the time of Jacques Cartier and De la Roque, until nearly into the beginning of the seventeenth century, they made no definite attempt to settle there. In the last decade of the sixteenth century, a new interest was awakened, especially in Brittany and Normandy, whose fishers continued in constant intercourse with the new-found lands. In 1598, the Marquis de la Roche obtained a patent from Henry IV., and made a futile attempt at settlement. He landed a colony of wretches drawn from the galleys and the prisons of France, on the barren shores of Sable Island, and left them to drag out a miserable existence, subsisting on some cattle which had bred from a number left there by the ships of the Baron de Leri, eighty years before.

Expedition of Pontgravé and Champlain. 1559.

The year following, Pontgravé, a merchant of St. Malo, who had been for furs as far as Tadoussac on the St. Lawrence, formed the design of establishing a fur-trading port in Canada. He enlisted with him De Chauvin, an experienced sea officer, who had sufficient influence at court to obtain a commission similar to that granted De la Roche. Chauvin went on two voyages, but whatever results they might have produced were checked by his sudden death, as he prepared to go upon a third. In 1603 Pontgravé went himself on a voyage, taking with him Samuel de Champlain, an officer of repute in the French navy, a man in good favor at court, and an ardent Catholic.

Samuel de Champlain.

Together with Pontgravé, Champlain explored the St. Lawrence, and carried back to France maps and observations made upon the banks of that noble river. In the following year, another and more important

expedition was undertaken, which came very near establishing a permanent French colony within the present limits of Maine. This new expedition was led by Pierre du Guast, Sieur de Monts, the governor of Pons in the province of Saintonge. He had been on one of the voyages of Pontgravé, and on the death of Du Chaste, the governor of Dieppe, who had succeeded to Chauvin's commission for discovery and colonization in America, De Monts obtained it.

Signature of Champlain.

De Monts was a Huguenot, but he had rendered such important services to Henry IV. during the troubles of the League, that the king, though he changed his faith, did not lose confidence in his servant. Eager for maritime adventure and discovery, De Monts procured an edict which created him lieutenant-general of Acadia, as the country was called from the 40th to the 46th degree of north latitude.[1] Free exercise of his own religion was permitted to him, in return for which he engaged to have the savages converted to Catholicism. A company was formed by merchants of Rouen and Rochelle, to whom the king granted by letters-patent the exclusive trade in furs and fish between the 40th, and 54th, degrees of north latitude.

Acadia granted to De Monts. 1604.

De Monts sailed from Havre de Grace on the 7th of March, 1604. He took with him his friend Jean de Biencourt, the Baron de Poutrincourt, and Champlain, whose experience in previous voyages he thought would be of service in this new enterprise. Poutrincourt wished to find a place to which he might transfer his family, and forget the turbulent politics of Europe in the permanent occupancy of a land unvexed by parties and religious strife.

De Monts reached in about two months a harbor on the eastern side of Nova Scotia, where he found a vessel engaged in fishing and an illicit fur-trade. It was commanded by a Captain Rossignol, whose only consolation for the confiscation of his cargo was the transference of his name to the harbor. The place is now called Liverpool, and Rosignol's name is perpetuated in a lake not far distant, the largest in Nova

[1] The word is usually supposed to be derived from the French or Latin, but comes, says one authority, from the Indian word Aquoddie, a pollock. It was corrupted by the French into Acadie, Acadia, Cadia, Cadie. The original is preserved in the name of Passamaquoddy Bay, which is derived from *Pos* (great), *aguam* (water), *aquoddie* (pollock); meaning great water for pollock. *Historical Magazine*, vol. i., p. 84. Another authority (see *Collections of Maine Historical Society*, vol. i., p. 27, note) says that the *Acadi* is a pure Micmac word meaning *place*, and was used by the Indians in combination with some other word, as *Suga-bun-acadi*, the place of ground nuts, and *Passam-acadi* (Passamaquoddy), the place of fish.

Scotia. The present Port Mouton, on the next bay, is probably the Port au Mouton of De Monts, — which he so named because he there lost a sheep overboard, — and where he spent a month on shore while Champlain explored southward for a place that would better suit them for a permanent settlement.

Champlain doubled Cape Sable and returned to show the expedition the way to the Bay of Fundy. This De Monts named Baye Francaise; the harbor now known as Annapolis, Champlain called Port Royal. After sailing up Minas Bay, they crossed the Bay of Fundy, entered Passamaquody Bay, and on a little island which they named St. Croix, in the river now known as the St. Croix, the Passamaquody, or the Schoodic, they determined to settle. It was an unfortunate choice; timber was scarce; the water had to be brought from the main land; before the winter was over they were reduced to salt meat and snow water, and the scurvy broke out among them. The island is now known as Neutral Island, and is on the border line between Maine and New Brunswick.

First colony in the State of Maine.

Champlain, always restless and bent on new discoveries, sailed during the winter as far south as Cape Cod, which Gosnold had already visited and named. The Frenchman called it Cap Blanc, from the white sands of its long beaches; he narrowly escaped shipwreck somewhere along that dangerous coast, at a place he named Cape Mallebarre, perhaps Gosnold's Point Care, the extremity of Isle Nawset. In the spring he again sailed southward with De Monts, who was determined to find a better spot than St. Croix on which to plant his colony. They entered the mouths of those noble rivers of Maine, the Penobscot, the Kennebec, the Casco, the Saco; visited Mount Desert, sailed up Portland Harbor, which De Monts named Marchin, from the Indian chief with whom they had some trade. There was many a pleasant spot in the deep bays they penetrated where they could have sat down contented to fish and trade and thrive, far away from the turmoils and contentions of the Old World which Poutrincourt hoped to escape. But the natives showed none of the kindly traits which Thevet had described; they menaced and repulsed the strangers, who returned to St. Croix.

Champlain explores southward.

De Monts visits the coast of Maine.

The condition of the colony was more miserable than ever, and hardly any change could be for the worse. The next move was to a harbor in Acadia, on the other side of the Bay of Fundy, to which Champlain had given, the year before, the name of Port Royal, now Annapolis. Here for several years the colony maintained a feeble existence.

Removal of the colony to Port Royal.

But the English were not idle while the French were thus busy in

attempts to gain a foothold in the new country. Foremost among those who saw the importance of colonization were the earls of Arundel and Southampton; the former, one of those steadfast friends of Sir Walter Raleigh who did not desert him even when led to the scaffold; the other, that friend and patron of Shakespeare who gave him £1,000 and was distinguished for the dedication the poet made to him of his earliest poems. These two noblemen united in sending out a ship under George Weymouth, who was instructed to explore that part of North Virginia to be known a few years later as New England.

Voyage of George Weymouth. 1605.

Weymouth sailed in the *Archangel*, March 5, 1605. On May 17 he

The Mouth of the Kennebec.

came to anchor near the island of Monhegan, twelve miles southeast of Pemaquid, an Indian word signifying "that runs into the water." The cape jutting southward forms the most eastern headland of Lincoln County. The delight of Weymouth and his sailors was unbounded at beholding the beauty of this island where they first landed. Gooseberries, strawberries, wild peas, and rosebushes grew to its very verge, and rills of sweet water trickled through cleft rocks, and ran into the salt sea. With delicious draughts from these rivulets the men eagerly cooled their sea-parched mouths, while they refreshed their eyes with the spring greenness of the landscape; from the sea they took a store of cod, a welcome change from their sea-rations, which gave them a foretaste of the great plenty of fish they found there afterwards.

The authorities differ as to the next movement of Weymouth. One theory takes him up the Penobscot to the neighborhood of Belfast;

Places visited by Weymouth.

a second, toward the islands outside of Boothbay Harbor, and into the Sagadahoc; and a third, up St. George's River, which is just west of Penobscot Bay, and runs up toward the Camden Hills. He saw mountains far inland; these are claimed by some to have been the White Mountains, and by others the Camden Hills, because he tried to reach them and came so near that his men thought themselves "to have been within a league of them."[1] It hardly seems possible that they could have made such an estimate respecting the White Mountains, which can be seen in clear weather from several points off the coast over low land. On the whole, the evidence seems to be in favor of their landing at Pemaquid, and visiting the region between the St. George and the Kennebec River.

Dealings with the Indians.

If they were delighted with the little island where they had first touched land, they were no less enchanted with the mainland. The narrative praises the richness of the soil and the number of native products found there, from the good clay for brick-making to the finest and tallest trees they had ever seen; the very shells on the beach yielded pearls, and the bark of the trees oozed gum which smelled like frankincense. As usual, the Indians received them at first with hospitality, gave them good bargains in peltries, feasted them in their best fashion, and offered them tobacco. But the savages soon showed mistrust of the whites, and the whites suspected treachery among the savages. The hostile feeling growing out of these suspicions decided Weymouth to keep no faith with the natives. Five of them, who trusted him sufficiently to come on board his vessel, he detained and took with him to England. Arriving at the port of Plymouth he gave three of them to Sir Ferdinando Gorges, who was the governor of the fort there, a leading member of the Plymouth Council and warmly interested in all things concerning America. The other two captives he sent up to London to Sir John Popham. The kidnapped Indians were the objects of curious wonder. Such gaping crowds followed them in the city streets as Shakespeare alluded to, when in "The Tempest" he made Trinculo long to have Caliban on exhibition in England: "Not a holiday fool there but would give a piece of silver; there would this monster make a man; any strange beast there makes a man; when they will not give a doit to relieve a lame beggar, they will lay out ten to see a dead Indian."

Sir John Popham, the chief justice, and Sir Ferdinando Gorges, to whose care these Indians were given, had both been largely instrumental in getting from the king the patent for the North Virginia Company, and their zeal received a new impulse from the informa-

[1] James Rosier's Narration of the Expedition, in Purchas.

tion gained from these captive natives. A ship was soon despatched under Captain Henry Chalong to make further discoveries, and two of the Indians were sent back in her. But she unfortunately was captured by the Spaniards. Another vessel was sent soon after with Thomas Hanham and Martin Pring as master and captain, who took with them the Indian, Nahanada, to his tribe at Pemaquid. And these expeditions were followed up by another, which but for a series of untoward events, would have made the

Expeditions under Popham and Gorges.

Indians in London.

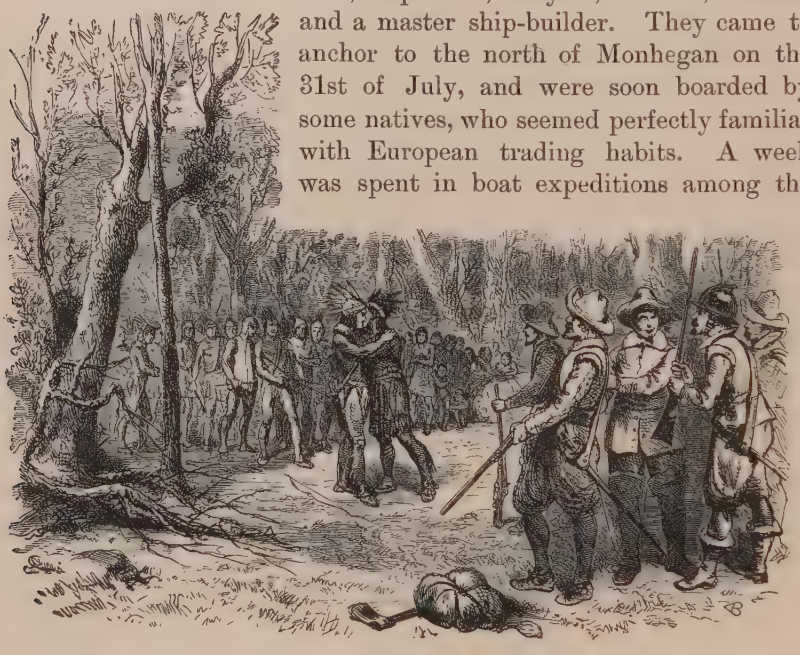
permanent settlement of New England only a few months behind that of Virginia.

On May 31, 1607, *The Gift of God*, of which Sir George Popham, the brother of the chief justice, was captain, and *The Mary and John*, commanded by Raleigh Gilbert, a younger son of Sir Humphrey Gilbert, set sail from Plymouth. One hundred and twenty persons were on board, many of them well adapted for the founding of a colony. There is no evidence of the truth of the assertion sometimes made, that the chief justice depleted the prisons of England to furnish forth this company; in fact, his powers could not stretch to that extent, though James I., a few years later, gave to persons who had been prosecuted for grave crimes the alternative of a colony or a prison.

The Popham Colony. 1607.

Arrival of the colony.

On board one of the ships was Skitwarroes,[1] one of the five Indians captured by Weymouth, to serve as a guide and interpreter. The chaplain of the expedition was Richard Seymour, a gentleman of the highest culture, who is supposed to have been a kinsman of Sir Edward Seymour, Lord Protector in the reign of Edward VI. He lived in the neighborhood, and was probably related to the families of Raleigh, Gilbert, Gorges, and Popham, all of whom were allied by intermarriage. Among the colonists were various artisans, carpenters, sawyers, laborers, a smith, and a master ship-builder. They came to anchor to the north of Monhegan on the 31st of July, and were soon boarded by some natives, who seemed perfectly familiar with European trading habits. A week was spent in boat expeditions among the



Meeting of Nahanada and Skitwarroes.

islands, and on the evening of the 5th of August they found on one of these a cross, which Weymouth had set up two years before. Captain Gilbert sent a boat up the river to the mainland, piloted by the Indian Skitwarroes, to a village of the natives situated in Pemaquid. At the first appearance of the boat the Indians took to their arms; but when their chief recognized Skitwarroes, and saw that those with him were Englishmen, he commanded his party to lay aside their bows and arrows, kissed and embraced the strangers, and entertained them for hours with a kindly and cheerful welcome. The chief who met them in this friendly way was Nahanada,[1] who had been returned to his home the year before by Captain Hanham.

[1] The original accounts differ from each other, and in themselves, in the spelling of these Indian names.

On August 9, which was Sunday, they landed upon an island to which they gave the name of St. George, where the service of the Church of England was read and a sermon preached by the chaplain, many natives attending with great sobriety of demeanor. On August 15, the *Gift of God* entered the Sagadahoc, which was the name of the broad channel below the junction of the Androscoggin and Kennebec; its Indian meaning is "the end of it," as if it had been named by natives exploring from above. The Sheepscot River comes down to the east, directly north of George's Island.[1] On August 17th, they sailed up the Sagadahoc in the pinnace and long boat, and noticed all its advantages of islands and fresh water streams; and on the next day they made choice of a peninsula upon the western side which the Indians called, after a native chief, *Sabino*.[2] All landed here on the 19th, another sermon was preached, the president's commission was read, and the first act of the first English colony of New England was complete. A fort was built, mounting twelve guns, to defend the little town of forty or fifty houses which quickly sprung up. The master shipwright of the expedition, Thomas Digby, had the timber cut down, shaped, and left to season during the autumn, for building a small vessel of thirty tons, which when done was called the *Virginia*. This was the first vessel built by Englishmen in American waters; and the first use she was put to was to take back to England, before the winter was over, nearly two thirds of the colonists, thus early discouraged by the rigor of the climate.

The settlement

First ship built in Maine.

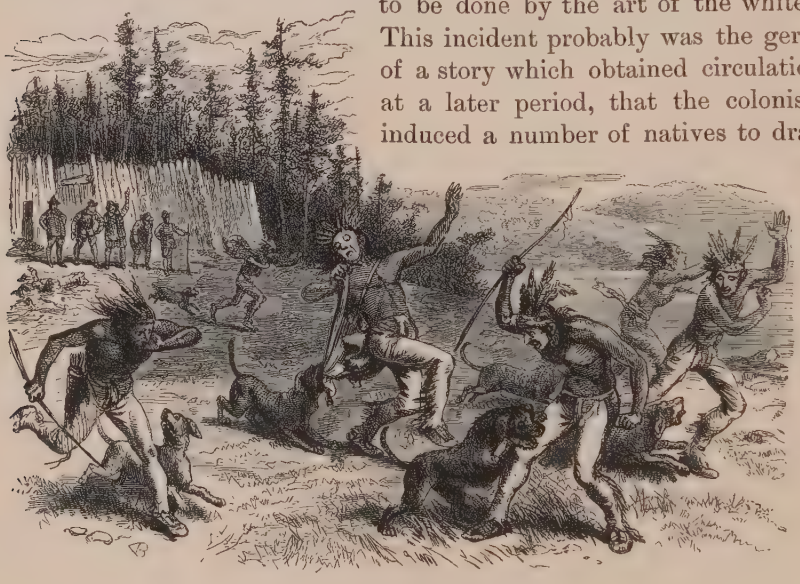
The Indians did not relish this cool annexation of their favorite peninsula, in which they were not consulted, not even asked to sell, still less to accept an equivalent. But it was characteristic of the Anglo-Saxon method. They soon began to be troublesome: they intruded within the enclosures, and some of the more reckless colonists set the dogs upon them, and used their sticks too freely. Captain Gilbert went exploring up the river, and came into the district of a chief less disposed than Nahanada was to keep the peace with these intruders. They endeavored to get possession of Gilbert and his crew, and he ran the gauntlet of menaces all the way.

[1] Its Indian name was *Sipsa-couta*, "flocking of birds." We surmise that the English language gained the word *coot* from this river; just as skunk is a fragrant legacy from the native *sagankou*. Moose is derived from *moussouk*, muskrat, properly musquash, from *mouskouessou*, and the *honk*, or cry of the goose, from *sehunk*. So our favorite Americanism, *scoot*, came from the native word *schoot*, "to go with a rush;" and when, in later times, a new kind of vessel was launched at Newburyport, a bystander, using the same native word, cried, "How she schoons!" and schooner she was from that day.

[2] Perhaps *Sebenoa* Anglicized. This peninsula was a favorite resort of the natives, and numerous relics of stone axes, hammers, arrow-heads, and chippings of stone-work, indicate that it was a place for the manufacture of savage weapons.

On the 5th of February, Popham, who was the president of the colony, died, and Captain Gilbert succeeded to the office. The ship *Mary and John* had been sent back to London in the preceding December, to procure supplies. It returned to find the colony in a deplorable condition. The winter had been of exceptional severity; fighting had broken out between the men and the natives; the storehouse with all its contents had been burned; the natives were in possession of the fort for awhile, and the explosion of a barrel of gunpowder, through their own carelessness, they believed to be done by the art of the whites. This incident probably was the germ of a story which obtained circulation at a later period, that the colonists induced a number of natives to drag

Misfortunes of the colony.



Setting Dogs on the Indians.

along one of the guns by the ropes, running with them in front of the muzzle, and that when they were well in line with it the gun was discharged. But when the Indians were recounting to the Jesuits the injuries which they had sustained from the English, this incredible incident was not mentioned. If it had been, the Jesuit missionaries would not have failed to record it.

In the spring came the news of the death, first, of Chief Justice Popham, then of Sir John Gilbert, the elder brother of the new governor. The last compelled the return of Raleigh Gilbert to England, for he was his brother's heir. The loss of two governors, of the principal mover and proprietor of the colony, within so short a time, and the desertion of so many of their companions were discouragements so serious that the remaining forty-five determined to return home with Gilbert.

Breaking-up of the Popham Colony.

LAKE CHAMPLAIN.

Sir Francis Popham, the son of the chief justice, continued for years to send expeditions to the coast of Maine, at his private cost; but no permanent settlement was made, though the crews of these vessels may have wintered sometimes at Monhegan, and sometimes at Pemaquid. The Northern Virginia Company was inactive, content, apparently, to watch and wait for the results of the efforts of the sister company farther south. The French, on the other hand, though the tenacious preference of the English for the Atlantic coast may have served to turn their attention to the bays and rivers farther east and north, persisted in the attempt to gain possession of the land. In 1608, Champlain penetrated in a new direction within the territory of the present United States.

On the 3d of July, 1608, he reached Stadacona — Quebec — and began, the next day, to build a fort near the spot where Jacques Cartier had passed, nearly three quarters of a century before, the winter of 1535–36. Champlain's adventurous spirit did not permit him to remain long at rest, and in the intervals of his frequent voyages to and from France, he was busy with new discoveries, making charts of sea-coasts and river-courses, taking minute notes of climate and the natural products of the country, and writing narratives of all that befell him on land and sea. When in the spring his fort at Stadacona was finished, the little colony well established, their garden-plots laid out and carefully planted, he had time to think of new adventures. With a few companions he sailed up the great river, visiting its islands, entering the mouths of its tributary streams, giving them names by which many of them are known to this day. At the mouth of the Iroquois, now the Richelieu, he met by appointment a party of natives on the war-path against their enemies, the Iroquois. The river, he learned, came from a beautiful lake, which his shallop could reach without difficulty. The latter statement he soon found was not true, the Indians deceiving him that they might lure him on to take part in their expected battle. Disappointed but not discouraged, he persuaded two of his men to go on with him, and sent the rest back to Quebec with the vessel.

Champlain founds Quebec. 1608.

They made the somewhat perilous passage safely, without losing a single canoe, landing where the falls were highest and carrying their frail boats on their backs, till they came to smoother water. It was early in July when they entered the lake dotted with many beautiful islands and surrounded with noble trees, many of them, Champlain observed, like those of his native France, on which hung vines as luxuriant as he had ever seen anywhere. Coasting the lake he saw to the east some lofty mountain peaks, still snow-covered under the July sun. In the secluded valleys

Discovery of Lake Champlain. 1609.

among these mountains lived the fierce Iroquois, who had fertile plains rich in corn and other natural products. After a sail about the lake Champlain gave it his own name, — the only instance, he records, in which he had thus arrogated to himself the honor of his discoveries.

Several days passed before their foes, the Iroquois, made their appearance. It was in the dusk of the evening when they came to the banks of the lake, and all night the two parties taunted and defied each other for the fight which was to take place when the next day's sun should rise. But the party of savages who counted on the assistance of Champlain and his companions, kept their white allies carefully concealed. Next day they formed in ranks and approached to within about two hundred feet of the Iroquois, who awaited them firmly. At that point they opened their ranks to give passage to Champlain, who advanced to the front and discharged his harquebus, wounding two of the enemy, who, astonished at such an appearance and its effect, fled in fright and disorder to the woods, pursued by the delighted victors.

Fight of the Indians.

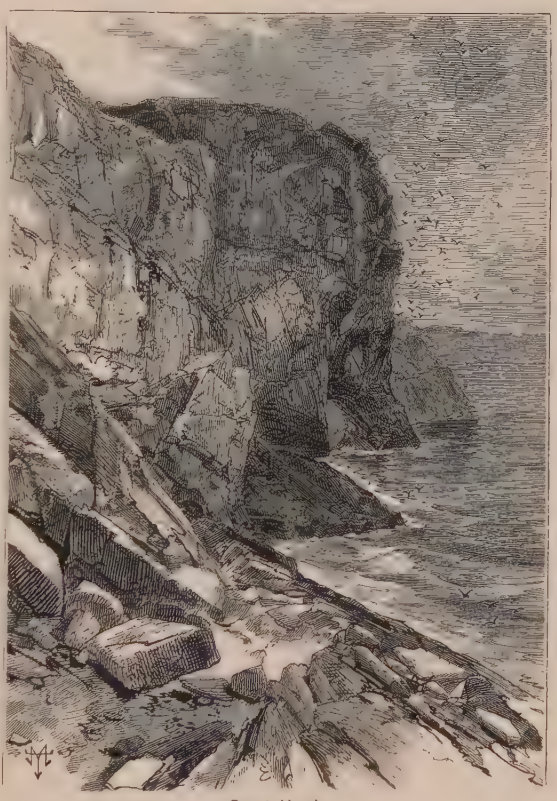
After this battle Champlain returned to Quebec, where he continued governor until its surrender to the English admiral Kertk in 1629. He was reinstated in the office when it again fell into the hands of the French, and from that time continued to command there till his death in 1635.

Meanwhile a second attempt was made by the French to obtain a settlement on the coast of Maine. In the autumn of 1605, De Monts sailed for France, promising to send out supplies to the Port Royal Colony. But during his absence prejudice had been aroused against him as a Huguenot. His exclusive privilege of fishing the king had revoked, and the merchants did not care to invest in a venture which promised small returns. After many difficulties, however, he procured an outfit, and set sail on May 13, 1606, not arriving at Port Royal till July 27, but just in time to prevent the worn-out settlers from returning to France. Still desiring to find a more southerly place for his colony, he despatched Poutrincourt on the old route along the New England coast, and returned to France. Off Cape Cod Poutrincourt's vessel was stranded upon a shoal, and three of his men were killed by the natives, who manifested great hostility. The weather also proving unfavorable he put back, and reached Port Royal about the middle of November. Champlain and the other gentlemen received him with great joy, and a butt of the best Burgundy "made their caps spin round."

Further attempts of De Monts.

In the midst of their spring planting a vessel arrived with the unwelcome news that no more men nor supplies could be furnished, and that the colony must be disbanded. Port Royal was left uninhabited

till 1610, when Poutrincourt returned at the instance of the king to make the new settlement a central station for the conversion of the Indians, — a work which made some Jesuit missionaries prominent in the history of the New World. His son followed in 1611, with Fathers Pierre Biard, and Enemond Masse. Madame la Marquise de Guercheville, a pious Catholic, to whom De Monts had ceded his title to Acadia, and to whom afterwards the French king granted the whole territory now covered by the United States, was the chief patroness of these voyages. Desiring to make another settlement, she despatched a vessel in 1613, with two more Jesuits, Father Quentin and Gilbert du Thet, and forty-eight men under La Saussaye, who intended to reach a place called Kadesquit (Bangor) on the Penobscot. This spot had been selected by Father Biard on a trip which he made from Port Royal to the Penobscot. They reached Port Royal on May 16, and taking Fathers Biard and Masse on board sailed for their destination.



Great Head.

But such a fog enveloped them off Menans (Grand Manan) that they had to lie to for two days; when the weather cleared up they saw the island which Champlain named Monts Deserts, and which the Indians called Pemetig, which means "at the head," from its commanding position. The lifting fog disclosed Great Head, rising sheer from the ocean to buttress the forests of Green and Newport mountains. On their right was the broad sheet of water, since called Frenchman's Bay, extending far into the land. Into this they gladly sailed, and dropping anchor inside of Porcupine

Mount Desert.

Island, effected a landing not far from the bar which gives its name to a little harbor. There the broad flank of Green Mount, with Newport just alongside to make a deep and still ravine, greeted the eyes which sea-spray and the fog had filled. Eagle Lake lay buried in the forest in front of them, and the wooded slopes stretched along to the right as far as they could see. The islands with bronzed cliffs to seaward, and bases honeycombed by the tide, wore sharp crests of fir and pine. The American coast does not supply another combination so striking as this, of mountains with their feet in deep ocean on every side, lifting two thousand feet of greenery to vie with the green of waves; of inland recesses where brooks run past brown rocks, and birds sing woodland songs as if their nests swung in a country remote

Bar Harbor.

from sea-breezes. Delicate ferns fill the moist places of the wood, and the sea-anemones open in the little caverns where the tide leaves a pool for them. Nature has scattered the needled pines, of shape so perfect, from those of an inch high to the finished tree, artfully distributed in the open spaces. The Frenchmen hailed this picturesque conclusion to their voyage, and named the place and harbor St. Sauveur.

Several Indian villages were on the island. A smoke rose as a signal that the men were observed; they signalled with another smoke, and the natives came to see them. Father Biard had met some of them on the Penobscot, and now inquired the way to Kadesquit. They answered that their place was better, and so wholesome that sick natives in the neighboring parts were brought thither to be cured. But when Father Biard could not be persuaded, they belied

their own sanitary praises, and begged the good father to come and see their sagamore, Asticon, who was very sick, and like to die without the sacrament. This wily stroke prevailed: they took him round to the eastern shore of a bay, which is now called Somes's Sound, from a Gloucester man who settled there in 1760. Great shell heaps still indicate the site of Asticon's village. He only had an attack of rheumatism; so the father asked the natives to show him the place which they esteemed to be so much better than Kadesquit. They took him around the head of the Sound, to a grassy slope of twenty or thirty acres, with a stream on each side, running down to the tide. The bay was as still as a lake; "the black soil fat and fertile, the pretty hill abutting softly on the sea, and bathed on its sides by two streams, the little islands which break the force of waves and wind."[1]

Somes's Sound.

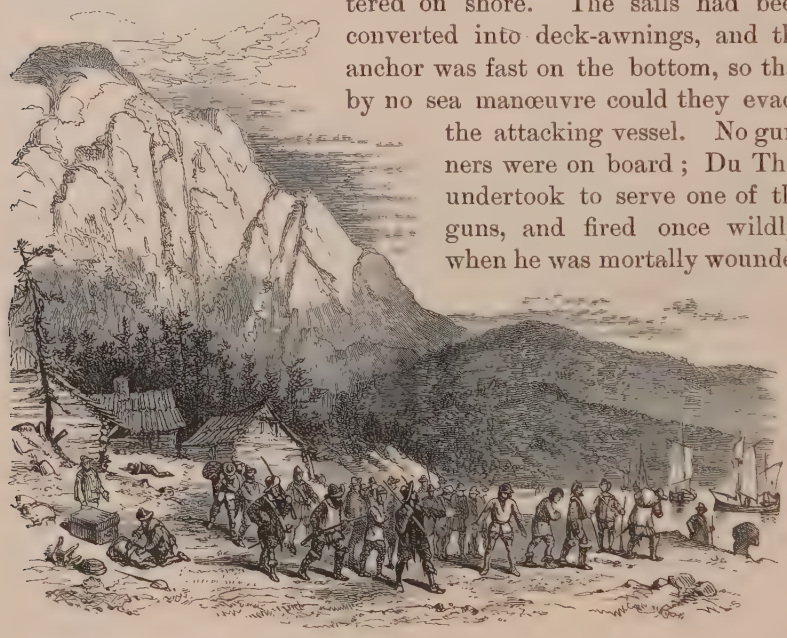
These islands are the Great and Little Cranberry, and Lancaster's. The cliffs rise to a great height, and the water at their base is deep enough for any ship to ride a cable's length from the shore. No wonder that Father Biard thought no more of Kadesquit. They planted the cross, threw up a slight entrenchment, and La Saussaye began to plant, for the time was early in June.

Argall's attack on the French.

But, unfortunately, the English in Virginia were used to cruise along the coast as far as Pemaquid annually to catch fish. This year Samuel Argall sailed on such a fishing voyage, some accounts adding that he was sent by Dale, the governor, to drive the French out of Acadia. Champlain says he had fourteen pieces of artillery. When he reached Pemaquid, the savages, not intending

[1] Father Biard's *Relation*.

any harm, as the French and English were then at peace, gave him to understand that Frenchmen had arrived at Mount Desert. They attributed the excitement of Argall and his men to a pleased anticipation of meeting the French, and procuring some needed stores. So an Indian volunteered to guide Argall to the French vessel. He, without a challenge, summons, or word of explanation, bore directly down, "swift as an arrow," says Biard, upon the French vessel, on the plea that it was in waters covered by the patent of the Virginia Company, and opened fire. Only ten men were on board the vessel, the rest being scattered on shore. The sails had been converted into deck-awnings, and the anchor was fast on the bottom, so that by no sea manœuvre could they evade the attacking vessel. No gunners were on board; Du Thet undertook to serve one of the guns, and fired once wildly, when he was mortally wounded



Argall's Attack on the French.

by a musket shot. The vessel surrendered, the Englishmen landed and began to search the tents. Argall, finding La Saussaye's desk, broke it open and took out his royal commission, then locked the desk, and when he returned coolly asked him for his papers. Of course they were missing; then Argall, pretending that he was an impostor, with no title to fish, trade, or settle, gave his soldiers license to plunder, which they did thoroughly in a couple of days. After the death of Du Thet, who lingered for a day, the other Jesuits remonstrated with Argall, and declared that they were on a genuine mission, approved by their king. "Well," said he, "it is a great pity that you have lost your papers."

La Saussaye, Father Masse, and a dozen men were turned loose in

a boat to find their way to Port Royal. Near the coast they were met by two fishing vessels which carried them to France. Father Biard and the rest of the company were carried to Virginia; and as Argall began by representing that they had sailed without a commission, they were lodged in jail, where they were so badly treated, and threatened with death, that Argall became frightened, and told Sir Thomas Dale, the Governor, that he had taken La Saussaye's commission; they were then released.

Argall's conduct was approved at Jamestown. The governor sent him back, with his own vessel and the French prize, to destroy all the settlements in Acadia. He landed again at Somes's Sound, cut down the French cross, set up another with the English arms, and obliterated every trace of the settlement. Then sailing to the island of St. Croix, he burned all the vacated buildings there and carried off a stock of salt. His next point was Port Royal, where Biencourt, Poutrincourt's son, who was incapable of making any effective resistance, tried to buy Argall off by proposing to divide the trade with him. But Argall executed his commission. He "destroyed the fort and all monuments and marks of French power at Port Royal. He even caused the names of De Monts and other captains, and the *fleurs-de-lys*, to be effaced with pick and chisel from a massive stone on which they had been engraved."[1] In one of his vessels were the three Jesuits who had been taken to Virginia. On their return, the vessel in which they sailed became separated from Argall's in a storm, and driven to the Azores, whence they found their way to England, and then to France. Thus not a Frenchman was left upon the coast of Maine, nor a single cross to signify priority of possession.

Destruction of French settlements.

After this expedition of Argall and his ruthless work of destruction at Mount Desert, the next English navigator of any note who visited Maine was Captain John Smith, who in 1614 came thither with two ships fitted out by some London merchants. As usual, a search after rich mines was announced as one of the chief objects of the adventure, but it easily and naturally turned to a fishing and fur-trading voyage. Several ships were drying and preparing their fish upon the coasts when Smith arrived among them, and his own sailors, expert in this sort of work, readily took in a cargo. "Is it not pretty sport," writes Smith, in his narrative of the voyage, "to pull up two pence, six pence, and twelve pence as fast as you can haul and veere a line."

John Smith in New England. 1614.

Smith did not spend all his time in trading and fishing, but leaving most of his crew thus employed, he cruised along shore in a little boat, drawing a map as he went from isle to isle, from harbor to harbor,

[1] Beamish's *History of Nova Scotia*, vol. i., p. 58.

marking all soundings, rocks, and landmarks. This map he took home, and submitted to the prince, — afterwards Charles I., — who gave to the country, at Smith's suggestion, the name of New England.

Indians kidnapped by Captain Hunt.

Smith had sailed with two ships, and on his return left one behind to finish lading. They took a good cargo of fish, but not satisfied with that, the ship-master, Thomas Hunt, seized twenty-seven[1] of the savages, it is supposed in Plymouth Bay, and carried them captive to Spain, whither he went to dispose of his cargo. There he sold his fish at an excellent profit, and sold also his Indian prisoners as slaves. Through the benevolent efforts

Cod-fishing.

of a brotherhood of Spanish friars, some of the savages were rescued and sent to London, and thence to their native country.

Smith's plea for cod-fishery.

Smith's characteristic enthusiasm was greatly excited by the value of the fishery on the coast he had visited. He commended that staple to the consideration of English merchants, and argued that fish, although it might seem a "mean and base commodity," had yet made the fortunes of so thriving a state as Holland. He also made an able plea for colonization in New England, declaring that those who undertook the matter could, with sense, discretion, and perseverance, get rich. "For I am not so simple," he says, "as to think any other motive than wealth will ever erect a commonwealth, or draw company from their ease and humors at home, to stay in New

[1] Accounts differ as to the number of the kidnapped Indians, but Smith's *Description of New England* says twenty-seven.

England, to effect my purposes." And he therefore urged earnestly the great commercial value of fur and fish, so abundant there. In a letter written to Lord Bacon, in 1618, to commend the fisheries to his care, he says that he had made a fishing voyage two years previous with only forty-five men,[1] and had cleared £1,500 in less than three months on a cargo of dried fish and beaver skins. This would be a good catch even for a fisherman of the present day, for a pound sterling in Lord Bacon's time had more value than twenty-five dollars of our money of the present day, so that John Smith's three months' venture brought in an amount nearly equal to $40,000.

He made an attempt to go again to New England in 1615, but was driven back to port by storms; on starting out a second time he was captured by French pirates, and only reached England after much delay and ill fortune. His energy in fighting against adverse circumstances seems for the first time to have deserted him, for we hear no more of any attempt at new adventures, though he never lost his interest in the New World. In the same year of this second attempt of Smith's, Richard Hawkins, who was made president of the Plymouth Company, sailed to the coast of New England, but found so serious a war raging among the savages that he left those parts, going south to Virginia, and afterwards to Spain, where he sold his cargo, and thence returned to England.

Voyage of Richard Hawkins. 1615.

Finding himself not seconded by any other of the Company, Gorges sent out, at his own expense, Richard Vines to make a settlement. This heroic man spent the winter of 1616 and 1617 in Saco Bay, at a place called Winter Harbor. A pestilence which depopulated all the Indian tribes between the Penobscots and the Narragansetts had broken out. Vines, who was a physician, had no thought of deserting his post, though his vessels offered an easy escape; he tended the Indians with assiduous kindness, and afterwards, when he ventured into the interior, the savage gratitude preceded him, and he was everywhere received with hospitality and reverence. Through all the raging of this disease among the Indians, he and his men often lying in the cabins with sick and dying, not one of them, it is narrated, ever felt so much as a headache, but retained uninterrupted health.

Richard Vines.

Vines was absorbed in trade, discovery, and the cultivation of friendly relations with the Indians. The dismal winter, which devastated so many native wigwams, was used by him to make the whole coast better known to the English.

Work of Vines in the New World.

[1] This was very likely the voyage of 1614, as the date of the letter probably referred to its publication, and there is no record of any voyage accomplished by Smith after 1614. This was a very profitable cargo, as he says Hunt sold his fish "at forty reals a quintal, each hundred weighing two and a half quintals."

He had no fear of the savages, for he ventured in a canoe up the valley of the Saco River to its source, that trickles through that narrow gap, or Crawford's Notch, the sad gate by which so many white people were subsequently taken into Canadian captivity. He was the first to describe the White Mountains, if not the first to reach them. To him also belongs the honor of restraining traders from debauching the Indians with rum. Thus he favored a kind of Maine Law before Maine existed. The English might have traced to rum the gradual deterioration of the native temper of the Abnakis, from which they were the first to suffer in the frontier raids; it exasperated courage to ferocity, and embittered every practice of savage warfare. Rum never made the Indian good-natured. He became something appalling, a concentration of the cruel and mocking rage of many men, as soon as liquor filled his veins.

Richard Vines at Crawford Notch.

The post of Gorges, as governor of Plymouth, seems to have been especially favorable to catch all the news, and receive all the wonders which the line of returning ships brought to England from her possessions in the New World. The governor had begun by questioning the first Indian captives whom Weymouth had brought him, about the country from whence they came, and he seems to have regarded them as most useful allies in discovery. Thus it happened again that some of the natives who were kidnapped were sent to him to dispose of, either to be retained in his keeping or returned on the ships that he fitted out for America. One of these Indians, named Epenow, a savage of "goodly and brave aspect," who

The Indian captives of Gorges.

had been exhibited in London as a curiosity, came into Gorges' hands, and was sent by him as guide and interpreter in an expedition sent in 1614, fitted out by himself and the Earl of Southampton.

But the wily Epenow was restless in captivity. He quietly bided his time, and no sooner was he in his native land than he planned with his savage kinsfolk, who came out in their canoes to visit the ship, to make his escape. Though strictly watched, and clad in long coats, to be easily laid hold of if he should attempt to escape, he suddenly leaped off the ship, one day, when standing between two men who were acting as his guards, and once in the water easily reached the shore.

Epenow, — his escape from the English

Another of these savages, named Tisquantum, or Squanto, one of those whom Thomas Hunt had sold in Spain, was shipped to Newfoundland, where Captain John Mason was governor of an English plantation. Here, in 1618, Squanto met with a Captain Dermer, who had sailed with Smith in one of his voyages. Dermer wrote to Gorges that if he would send him a commission in New England, he would go there from Newfoundland, taking Squanto with him. Gorges responded by sending out Captain Rocroft, who had before been in Virginia.

Squanto.

Rocroft was ordered to go to New England only, but he had barely reached the coast when he overhauled a bark, commanded by a Frenchman, from Dieppe, and enriching himself with what he found on board, sailed for Virginia. Here he fell in with some boon companions, quarrelled with them, and was killed. His vessel, left to drift without a captain, was lost, and although some of the cargo was saved, no part of this venture ever came back to Gorges.

Thomas Rocroft in Virginia. 1619.

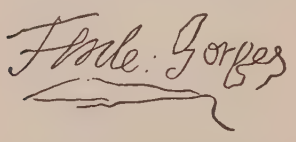
In the mean time, Dermer, disappointed in his hopes of getting a ship in Newfoundland, returned to Plymouth to confer with the governor and get his commission. Gorges hurried him back in a ship of his own which happened to be in port. Dermer left his ship at the island of Monhegan, and in an open pinnace explored the coast in 1619 from Maine to Virginia. At Martha's Vineyard he met Epenow, who told the story of his escape with much merriment. Thence Dermer sailed through Long Island Sound, — the first Englishman who discovered that inland passage, — lost an anchor in the rapids of Hell Gate ; acquired, as he believed, certain knowledge from the Indians of a passage to the South Sea ; and went out to sea again through the Narrows. He may have thought the Hudson river to be the channel which the Indians assured him they knew. If so, when he returned the next season in search of it, he was, very likely, better instructed by the Dutch whom he found on

Captain Dermer fitted out by Gorges. 1619.

Manhattan Island. He seems, at any rate, to have said nothing more about the South Sea, to have gone again to Virginia, and to have died there soon after.

Charter of the Plymouth Company. 1620.

In the mean time the Northern Company, of which Gorges was the most active member, had never been satisfied with their rights under the charter which connected them with the South Virginia Company, and in 1620 urged their claims to a new patent so strongly that it was granted them by the king. This defined their territory as that land from the 40th to the 48th degree of latitude. Against this charter the Virginia Company loudly remonstrated, because, according to Gorges's account, "they were debarred the intermeddling within our limits who had formerly excluded us from having to do with theirs."[1] The dispute was referred to a committee of Parliament, before whom Gorges appeared three times to argue the rights of the Plymouth Company, and, on the third hearing, being called to state the case, he made a speech so sensible and so eloquent, urging the value of the fishing trade, which, even while they were disputing on boundaries, might be monopolized by French or Hollanders, that most who heard him were satisfied with his representation, and in spite of the strong influence held by the Virginia Company, the king could not be induced to revoke his patent.



Signature of Ferdinando Gorges.

Grant to Sir William Alexander. 1621.

Their charter being thus confirmed, the Plymouth Company felt themselves on a sure basis, and more than ever Gorges was inclined to redouble his attempts at settlement in the new lands. The company in 1621 made a grant to one of the Scotch favorites of James I., Sir William Alexander, afterwards made Earl of Stirling, a man of some literary fame both as a dramatist and a writer of sonnets. This grant was called Nova Scotia, and extended from Cape Sable to the St. Lawrence, including Cape Breton, and all the islands within six leagues. It will be seen that this grant encroached on the French dominion of Acadia, which still stretched its indefinite boundaries about that region. The French then and thenceforth, until the final settlement between France and England, claimed, and largely maintained their claim, to all the territory east of the Penobscot and north to the St. Lawrence; the English held their right to all west of the Kennebec. The land lying between was disputed territory, which neither was fully able to hold. Alexander's design was to people all his territory with his own countrymen, who should present a firm barrier of Scotch Presby-

[1] Gorges's Narrations, *Maine Hist. Coll.*, vol. ii.

terianism to the Catholicism which the French settlers had brought thither.

But the territory, including all the sea-coast of Maine, New Hampshire, and Massachusetts, between the lands of Alexander and the little Pilgrim colony just fastened on that rocky shore at Plymouth, was still unoccupied. Ships, laden with fish, furs, and timber, constantly plied between England and its namesake in the New World. In one year fifty ships came into English ports from these parts with profitable cargoes of these homely exports, and the value of their American possession began to be clearly recognized by the Company, even though no mines like those of Mexico and Peru were found there. Early in 1622, Gorges for the first time got a special grant for himself from the Company of which he was so indefatigable a member. He joined with him John Mason, also a member of Plymouth Company, who had been, says Gorges, governor of a plantation in Newfoundland, and was a man of action and experience. This grant the two owners named Laconia; it embraced the region between the Merrimack and Kennebec, stretching back to Canada and the great lakes. The year their grant was confirmed, 1623, they sent over a ship-load of settlers, half fishermen and half planters, with all necessary tools and provisions, to make a permanent settlement. They sailed in the spring, and debarked at the mouth of the Piscataqua. There they divided into two parties. One of these stopped at a pleasant place, which was named "Strawberry Bank," where the white blossoms of the wild strawberry spreading over the land gave promise of fruitful farms, and the close proximity of the sea made it easy for the fishermen at any time to take to their boats. There they built a rude house for general occupation, and went to work at once to furnish means for curing the fish, which was to be their staple product, by erecting salt-works. This was the site of the old town of Portsmouth, New Hampshire. The other party went up the river a few miles, and began the plantation of Dover. These two towns were the first decided fruits of Gorges's work of colonization.

The Laconia Grant. 1623.

Settlement of New Hampshire. 1623.

Almost simultaneously with the beginning of these settlements another enterprise was begun by the Plymouth Company. There was as yet no general government instituted in its territories, and it was therefore decided to appoint a governor-general over their whole domain, who should go in person to America, and establish such laws and government as should be in conformity to those of England. Robert Gorges, a son of Ferdinando, was thus appointed in 1623, and a large grant of land on Massachusetts Bay, of three hundred square miles, was given him by

Governor-general of the Plymouth Company.

the Company of Plymouth. He had for his assistants Captain West and Captain Christopher Levett, both of whom had been in New England, and also the governor of the New Plymouth Colony already established on lands near his own grant. Gorges went first to New Plymouth to confer with its governor, and was hospitably received. The wife of Robert Gorges was a daughter of the Earl of Lincoln, who felt so much interest in Puritan emigration, and Gorges, probably, had no special hostility to the religious sentiments of the New Plymouth colony, and held most amicable relations with the Pilgrim fathers. But he did not like the country, and only remained there till the spring of 1624, when he took ship and went up the coast to the mouth of the Piscataqua, where he was to meet Captain Levett. He soon after went back to England and never

Robert Gorges.

View at the Mouth of the Piscataqua.

returned to America. His brother, John Gorges, succeeded him in his rights there, and in his turn made over this grant to William Brereton, who established several families in the lands originally given to Robert Gorges.

Captain Levett, now one of the assistants of the newly appointed governor-general, had shortly followed his chief from England, and met him at the mouth of the Piscataqua. Here Mr. David Thompson, one of the planters who had settled in Portsmouth the year before, already had a successful plantation; both Gorges and Levett were his guests. Captain Levett made an interesting exploration of Maine in the region of the Sagadahoc, looking for a place for permanent settlement. He had the true spirit of an adventurer, and relates cheerfully, that after sleeping night after night on

Levett's voyages. 1623.

the wet ground, he was filled with content at getting dried grass for his bed; and recounts with much merriment the story of the beggar, who said if he were rich he would have every day a breast of mutton with a pudding in it, and sleep up to his neck in dry straw.

Levett finally built a house at a place he called York, somewhere near the present site of that town, in Maine, and then returned to England, where he printed an account of all that he had seen and done, and specially commended to the attention of merchants the rich products of the country and sea-coasts, in timber, furs, and codfish, ending with the wholesome advice that no man go to the country unless he was willing to work. He declares that a man with a family who were unfit to labor would do better to stay at home with them; but he that could work and had not too many hostages to fortune in the shape of wife and children, if he went out properly equipped with tools, and enough provisions to last till he was prosperously established, was certain to get rich in New England.

In all these attempts no permanent plantation which could fairly be called a settlement had been made on the coast of Maine. Although a large part of the Laconia grant was within the present limits of that State, yet the first expedition sent by Mason and Gorges had established itself on the other side of the river, which was to form the boundary of New Hampshire. As Levett explored the coast, although he found many fishing stations, and mentions several large tracts that had been granted to English owners, he speaks of no settlements west of the Piscataqua after he left the hospitality of Mr. Thompson's plantation. There were some scattered beginnings on Monhegan Island, and several fishing stages for the cure of the fish, some of which afterward formed the nucleus of a town; and it is not unlikely that solitary plantations may have been begun, of which we have no record, along that coast which furnished resting places and harbors for so many fishing vessels, and from whence so much tall timber had already been carried away. In 1625, two wealthy merchants of Bristol, Robert Aldworth and Giles Eldridge, bought Monhegan Island, and sent over an agent to settle there; a year later they bought the point of Pemaquid, which had already been sold by Samoset, the friend of the New Plymouth colonists, to an English purchaser, and there they established a flourishing colony, which in 1630 numbered eighty-four families.

Settlements in limits of Maine.

In this same year 1630, the Plymouth Council gave Richard Vines and John Oldham, each a tract of land on the Saco River, four miles broad on the sea, and extending eight miles up into the land. Oldham had been six years in the country, and Vines's coming must certainly date thirteen or fourteen

Settlements of Oldham and Vines, on the Saco.

years earlier.[1] These two men founded the towns of Biddeford and Saco, on their tract, which faced each other on opposite sides of the river. These were the most decided beginnings of settlements in Maine. No such well-defined towns were built in this as in the other colonies, and to this want of centralization and concentration Maine owed in part its relation afterwards as a dependency of Massachusetts. Its scattered settlements were unable to preserve for it a separate existence when its stronger neighbor prepared to include it in her more powerful organization.

Gorges and Mason divide their grant.

In 1629, when the settlements in Laconia on the Piscataqua were six years old, Mason and Gorges divided their grants into two parts, the former taking all west of the Piscataqua, and naming it New Hampshire, — Mason being then governor of the County of Hampshire, England, — and the latter all east of that stream, to the River Sagadahoc, the eastern boundary of Laconia. Gorges named his part of the territory New Somersetshire, from the county which had been his early home. For this new tract, now solely his, he sent his nephew William Gorges and others, "with craftsmen, for the building of houses, and erecting of saw-mills," also cattle, laborers, and servants, and the foundation of a plantation was laid. This was the town of York, on which a planter named Edward Godfrey was the first settler. On this, Gorges had set aside an inheritance for his grandson Ferdinando, of 12,000 acres, and it seems to have been his favorite point for the establishment of a proprietary interest for his family in New England.

The Plymouth Company resign their patent. 1635.

But already bitter complaints were made in England, that discontented spirits full of disaffection to the king, and hostile to the government of the established church, were settling on the grants made by the Plymouth Company. Gorges, in New England, was looked upon with jealousy and dislike by many of the Puritans, because of his large territorial claims in their vicinity, as well as on account of his opinions as a loyalist and member of the English Church; on the other hand he was attacked in England as an upholder and author of the reputed license of laws and opinions among the new colonies in Massachusetts. He seems to have been deeply hurt at this, after his long and arduous work in forwarding the plantation of English colonies in New England, and he "therefore was moved to desire the rest of the lords, that were the principal actors in this business, that we should resign our grand patent to the king, and pass particular patents to ourselves, of such parts of the

[1] There is a doubt about the exact time of Vines's first coming. Prince, in his *Chronology*, says it was the winter of 1616–17, but Gorges, in his narrative, puts it after the attempt at settlement by the Popham Colony, and just before one of the voyages of 1614.

country about the sea-coast as might be sufficient to our own uses, and such of our private friends as had affections to works of that nature." [1] This was done in 1635, and the lands of the Company, lying between the forty-eighth and thirty-sixth degree of latitude, were parcelled out among its members.[2]

The territory of Gorges.

This new division confirmed the right of Gorges to the tract lying between the Piscataqua and the Kennebec, with a sea-coast of sixty miles, and an extent of one hundred and twenty miles inland. And now for the first time, he called this his province of Maine,[3] and he drew up for it a code of laws, dividing the land first into counties, subdividing these into hundreds, and again into parishes or tithings, as fast as population flowed in to fill up the vacant places. He offered also to transport planters to his domain, promising to assign them a certain portion of land at the low rate of two or three shillings for a hundred acres, and if any would found a town or city, he would endow it with such liberties and immunties as they would have in England. Others of poorer condition, who would go as laborers, should have as much land as they could till, at the rent of four or six pence an acre, according to the situation.

The laws and government were a return to Saxon simplicity, the lord proprietary retaining ownership of the soil. In 1637, the king gave Gorges a commission as governor of New England, to compensate him for his strenuous efforts in colonization, and the many losses he had suffered in these endeavors. He made preparations to go to Maine, to assume the duties of this office, and see a country in which he had so great an interest, but some accident prevented his departure, and he never came to America. Three years later, he sent

[1] Gorges's "Brief Narration," *Maine Hist. Coll.*, vol. ii, part 2, pp. 5, 7.

[2] The divisions were: (1.) Between the St. Croix and Pemaquid, to William Alexander. (2.) From Pemaquid to Sagadahoc, in part to the Marquis of Hamilton. (3.) Between the Kennebec and Androscoggin; and (4.) From Sagadahoc to Piscataqua, to Sir F. Gorges. (5.) From Piscataqua to the Naumkeag, to Mason. (6.) From the Naumkeag round the sea-coast, by Cape Cod to Narragansett, to the Marquis of Hamilton. (7.) From Narragansett to the half-way bound, between that and the Connecticut River, and fifty miles up into the country, to Lord Edward Gorges. (8.) From this midway point to the Connecticut River, to Earl of Carlisle. (9 and 10.) From the Connecticut to the Hudson, to Duke of Lennox. (11 and 12.) From the Hudson to the limits of the Plymouth Company's territory, to Lord Mulgrave. — See Hubbard's *Hist. N. E.*, *Mass. Hist. Coll.*, Series 2, vol. v., p. 228. Williamson's *Hist. Maine*, vol. i., p. 256. Gorges's "Brief Narration," *Maine Hist. Coll.*, vol. ii., p. 54.

[3] Sullivan in *Hist. of Maine*, and others, say that the territory was called the Province of Maine, in compliment to Queen Henrietta, who had that province in France for dowry. But Folsom, "Discourse on Maine," *Maine Hist. Coll.*, vol. ii., p. 38, says that that province in France did not belong to Henrietta. Maine, like all the rest of the coast, was known as the "Maine," the mainland, and it is not unlikely that the word so much used by the early fishers on the coast, may thus have been permanently given to this part of it.

over his kinsman Thomas Gorges, who came first to Boston, and after a courteous reception by the governor there, went to take up his abode at Agamenticus.

The services and character of Gorges.

To Ferdinando Gorges more credit is due than has been always acknowledged, for his persistent efforts to settle New England, and for his unswerving belief in the value of such a colony to the mother country. In the conflict of patents and titles between him and the Virginia Company, and between him and the colonists of Massachusetts Bay, his real and essential services as the friend of colonization have been in some degree lost sight of. As a staunch adherent to the Established Church, he undoubtedly wished that those who should find homes in the lands under his jurisdiction in the New World should be of the faith of that Church in which he believed. But the jealousy with which, for this reason, he was regarded, seems to have had no sufficient ground; for no sectarian narrowness prevented his being the earnest friend of the Puritans of New Plymouth, and always desirous of their success and welfare. If, indeed, the fear of him as a zealous Churchman was quite sincere, it was, at least, no doubt increased by a covetous jealousy of him as a patentee. As so often happens, the contemporary estimate of his character, taking its form from the convictions and interests of those who made it, has survived, and is often accepted as just by those who do not in the least sympathize with the partial and narrow views which led to that judgment. Losing sight of these, or taking them at their real value as the result of local and temporary influences, the true place of Gorges is found among those Englishmen whose far-sighted wisdom, zeal, and energies were devoted earnestly and unselfishly to the permanent settlement of his countrymen upon this continent. He builded, perhaps, better than he knew; but, so far as he did know, he built with no narrow purpose.

CHAPTER XIII.

DUTCH EXPEDITIONS TO NORTH AMERICA. — SETTLEMENT OF NEW AMSTERDAM.

COMMERCIAL ENTERPRISE AND PROSPERITY OF THE DUTCH. — THEIR INTEREST IN A SHORT ROUTE TO INDIA. — EARLY NORTHEAST VOYAGES. — HENRY HUDSON EMPLOYED BY EAST INDIA COMPANY. — HIS FIRST VOYAGE TO AMERICA. — ENTRANCE INTO NEW YORK BAY AND DISCOVERY OF THE HUDSON RIVER. — HIS RETURN TO ENGLAND. — VOYAGE TO HUDSON'S BAY. — THE DUTCH ESTABLISH TRADING-POSTS AT MANHATTAN ISLAND. — DUTCH WEST INDIA COMPANY CHARTERED. — EMIGRATION OF WALLOONS. — SETTLEMENTS ON SITES OF ALBANY AND NEW YORK CITY.

ALONG the whole Atlantic coast of North America, there were, in the early years of the seventeenth century, only three feeble European colonies established, — that of the Spanish at St. Augustine, of the English on the James River, and of the French in Acadia on the shores of the Bay of Fundy. Yet more than a hundred years had passed away since it was claimed that Cabot had run along this coast for a thousand miles in an English ship; and that only a few years later Verrazano for the French, and Gomez for the Spanish, had visited and named some of the most distinctive of its rivers, bays, and capes. Of all the states of Europe, Spain alone had increased in wealth and power from the discovery of the New World. Into her coffers, both public and private, gold had poured in such enormous quantities from the ravishment of Mexico and Peru, as to affect the relative value of everything that was bought and sold among civilized people; but otherwise no other nation shared in this sudden wealth except as their ships could spoil the Spaniards on the high seas. The Emperor Charles V. stamped upon his gold coin the device of the Pillars of Hercules and the legend *Plus Ultra;* but other powers saw as yet little reason to boast that there was much for them beyond the western boundary of Europe.

That Spain had gained so much and other nations seemingly so little, was owing partly to the poverty in gold and silver of the northern regions; partly to the failure to find the northwest passage to the South Sea; and partly to the absorbing interest of great political and religious complications which agitated all Europe during much of the sixteenth century. But there were secondary results of American

discovery in the growth of commerce and navigation, the closer relations, whether hostile or friendly, between nations, the significance of which was to be developed in the coming years of another era. These, as they led the way in a certain degree to juster views of the importance of the New World to the Old, so also, they brought another power into competition with the other maritime states of Europe for a share in the acquisition of a hemisphere.

When Charles V. resigned his Spanish possessions to his son, with certain outlying kingdoms in Europe and that great and vague *Plus Ultra*, a portion of them included a country small in extent, but already of extraordinary wealth and energy, — a country of which the

Medal. Time of Charles V.

The Netherland Provinces.

favorite phrase of historians has always been that it had "wrested its territory from the sea." This was the region occupied by the seventeen provinces of the Netherlands. Its people had been busy for centuries in redeeming foot after foot of swamp, and marsh, and submerged land, and surrounding the fertile territory thus gained with dikes and defences against the ocean; in developing an agriculture which was amazing considering the resources at command; in establishing trades which even at this time produced the highest results of any in Europe; and in training, as such means inevitably must, a race of prosperous, vigorous, and intelligent citizens. It is easy to admit, without being carried away by any enthusiastic admiration, that the material advancement of the country at the time of Charles's abdication denoted the highest degree of prosperity. The emperor is said, and probably without exaggeration, to have derived two of the five millions of gold which formed his annual revenue, from these little provinces alone.[1] They had become leaders in the commerce of the world, and had gained much of the trade that had been a great source of wealth to the southern nations of Europe; they had shown themselves powerful in war as well as in

[1] Suriano MS., quoted by Motley, *Rise of the Dutch Republic*, chap. i.

peace; and their political institutions, in all those things where they themselves controlled them, were liberal and enlightened not only for the time, but might have been held so in a much later period.

Policy of Spain toward the Netherlands.

It was dangerous to attempt to oppress or repress provinces like these; but Charles and Philip were among the most short-sighted of their class of rulers. Charles had treated the Netherlands with cruelty of every kind; he had extorted from them enormous sums for schemes of personal ambition, besides constantly drawing from them a revenue utterly disproportionate to their place among his possessions; he had interfered with their political liberties and charters in every possible way; repressed every attempt to make their institutions as liberal as the intelligence of their citizens required; issued edicts disposing of their people as if they had been born serfs; and finally had established the Inquisition, where Protestantism was rapidly becoming the prevalent faith. But it was reserved for Philip to attempt to carry out his father's policy with a still more terrible thoroughness, and with a bigotry which even Charles did not bring into the work. He established a still more elaborate tyranny in the provinces; sent them governors each one of whom was worse than his predecessor; and finally, by setting over them the brutal Alva, he roused the Netherlands into open war.

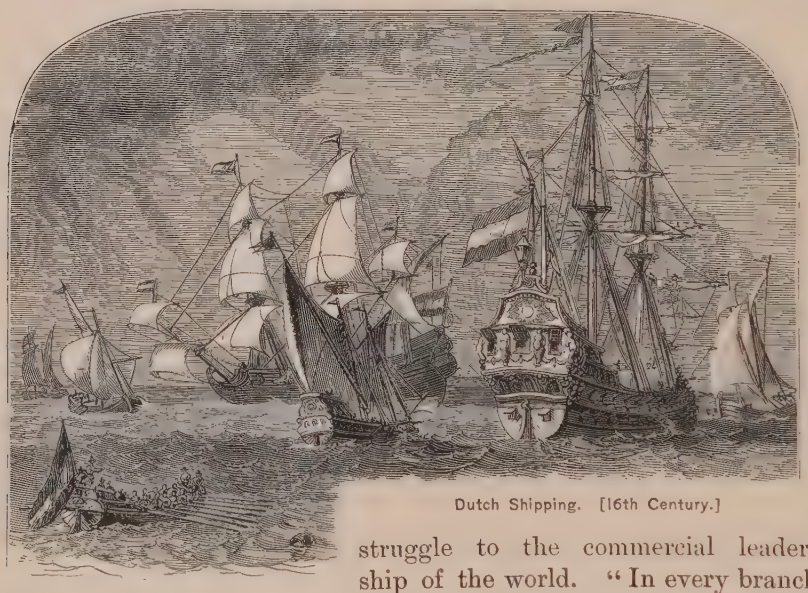
War of the United Netherlands.

This war continued through the century, and soon assumed its true character — that of a war of independence. What was already the wealthiest and strongest of the regions subject to Spain, became through it one of the first of the self-sustained nations of Europe. Bound together by the Union of Utrecht in 1579, and declaring their entire independence in the memorable declaration issued at the Hague on the 26th of July, 1581, the seven provinces of Gelderland and Zutphen, Holland, Zealand, Utrecht, Friesland, Overyssel, and Groningen, states which had, at length, determined to throw off all foreign rule, established the Republic of the United Netherlands, and carried on the conflict against Spain not as a rebellion, but as an independent power. It was apparently as unequal a struggle as any recorded in history; but the heroic pertinacity with which it was continued was greater than the inequality of the combatants. The little republic steadily gained ground through all discouragements. The murder of William of Orange, the great leader of his people, only "hardened their stomachs," as Walsingham wrote, "to hold out as long as they should have any means of defence." This spirit brought about its inevitable results. Spain was slowly but very surely taught the strength of it; and more than forty years after the time when Philip had sent Alva into his provinces, the independence of the United Netherlands was acknowledged in a treaty which estab-

lished a twelve years' truce, conceded virtual freedom of worship, and practically granted to the Dutch great material advantages which had long been in dispute. The seven provinces which had maintained the long and unequal war, took their place as a united independent republic.

The new nation had not, however, won its independent existence only by an ordinary struggle with arms; it had used means which were perhaps as important to the world at large as the ends which they gained. It had defeated Spain almost literally by virtue of its wonderful commercial prosperity. Provinces that had been, fifty years before, a most thriving and important source of the riches of the state, had attained during the

Commercial prosperity of the Dutch.



Dutch Shipping. [16th Century.]

struggle to the commercial leadership of the world. "In every branch of human industry," says Motley, "these republicans took the lead. . . . . But the foundation of the national wealth, the source of the apparently fabulous power by which the republic had at last overthrown her gigantic antagonist, was the ocean." [1] He cites authorities to show that at this time the United Netherlands had nearly one hundred thousand sailors in her service, and possessed three thousand ships in her commercial and war fleets.

While its commerce in Europe was of very great importance, the real golden prize which the new nation in the long conflict had almost completely taken away from Spain, was the India trade. So humiliating and disastrous was this loss to the Spaniards,

The East India trade.

[1] Motley, the *United Netherlands*, vol. iv., pp. 552, 553.

that when by the treaty they were compelled practically to concede the right of Eastern commerce to the Dutch, they did so in a secret article, and in language that vainly sought to conceal the fact by ingenious circumlocution. For twenty years this trade had so increased, and capital had flowed into it in such abundance, that it had returned threefold to its owners. In 1602, seven years before the truce, the Dutch East India Company, the first of great trading-monopolies, was formed by the consolidation of several small corporations, its charter granting it sole permission to trade for twenty-one years to the east of the Cape of Good Hope, and to sail through the Straits of Magellan; four years afterward it declared a dividend of seventy-five per cent. The establishment of a similar company for trade to the West Indies had been suggested some time before this, and small associations for that purpose had even been formed; but a renewed attempt in 1607 was put aside, for the time at least, by the States General.[1]

With such interests as they had at stake in the East, it would have been extraordinary if the government and merchants of the Netherlands had not been drawn sooner or later into the search for the supposed short passage to India. They had not been idle in the matter; and their first efforts, like all others, had been confidently directed to the Arctic Seas. They had carefully watched the English expeditions in both hemispheres; but Linschoten, perhaps their chief practical geographer, the study of whose life had been paths of ocean navigation, and Plantius, another learned scholar of the time, and many more, were firm believers in the theory that the long-sought way lay to the northeast, through ice-bound regions, about which the common people held as many wild superstitions as ever the ancients had held about the ultimate bounds of their narrower world.[2]

The short passage to India.

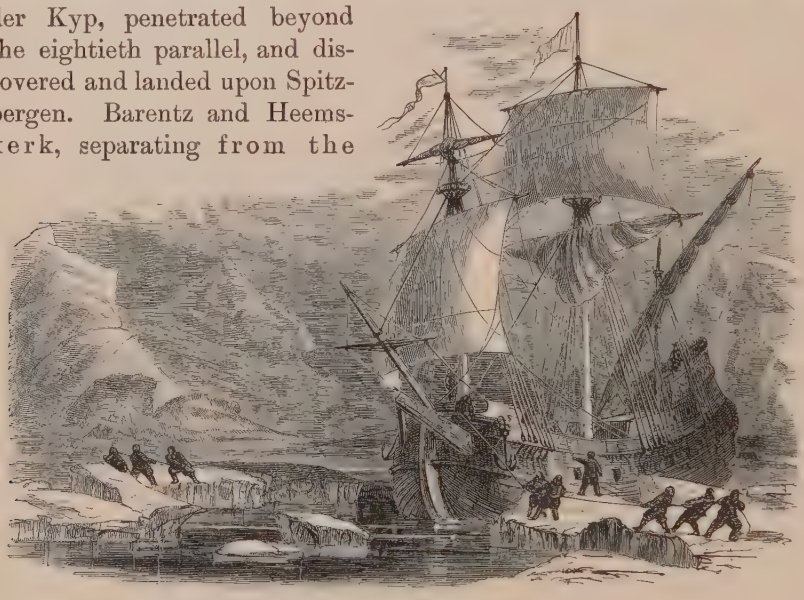
In June, 1594, Willem Barentz, a pilot of Amsterdam, with four vessels provided by the provincial and several city governments, — the whole expedition being advised and furthered by the geographers just named, and by others, — sailed for the Arctic region to the northeast. Barentz, separated from the

Northeast voyages by the Dutch.

[1] In 1591, according to the Dutch historians, William Usselincx of Antwerp had suggested such a company. In 1597 Leyen of Enckhuysen and Peterszoon of Amsterdam, two merchants, had formed small societies for West India trade. In 1607, the consideration of renewed proposals of Usselincx was postponed by the States, lest the granting of another large charter should prejudice the approaching negotiations with Spain. Compare Motley, *United Netherlands*, vol. iv., pp. 298, 299, 300. Brodhead's *History of the State of New York*, vol. i., pp. 21, 22, Dutch authorities cited.

[2] Many of these fantastic notions of the north are detailed by Motley, *United Netherlands*, vol. iii., pp. 553, 554, where they are repeated from several Dutch sources. Some believed a region to exist there where perpetual summer reigned, and a cultured and happy race lived in great comfort and order; others peopled the Arctic lands with races of savages, half men and half beasts, and with various terrible monsters.

rest, reached and explored Nova Zembla; while the others sailed into the straits called the Waigats. They all returned before the winter. Linschoten, the geographer, who had accompanied one of the ships, was still sanguine that the northeast passage to India was possible; the hopes of the rest were somewhat dampened. Nevertheless the enterprise was tried a second and a third time: the second expedition, in the summer and autumn of 1595, proceeded by way of the Waigats, but was an utter failure, returning without result of any kind; while the third, in 1596, under Barentz, Heemskerk, and Van der Kyp, penetrated beyond the eightieth parallel, and discovered and landed upon Spitzbergen. Barentz and Heemskerk, separating from the



Barentz at Nova Zembla.

other vessel, rounded Nova Zembla, and became imprisoned by the ice near Ice Havenga Bay, to which Barentz had given the name. They were kept here, enduring the greatest suffering, until the next year; and it was in endeavoring to escape from their imprisonment, that Barentz finally yielded to the rigor of the climate and to privation, dying in his boat in June, 1597. His companions finally effected their return; but with this last failure much of the enthusiasm about a northeastern passage died away.

These attempts show how fully prepared the Netherlanders had become, when their independence was finally acknowledged, and their commercial prosperity had reached so great a height, to turn their attention to a new region of the earth. The old pathways to India were all their own; they had thus far found the way effectually barred to the northeast; and, commercially at least, they might

naturally look for new worlds to conquer. The English voyages to the west had been followed, as were all English undertakings, with watchful and jealous eyes; but the old delusion was still powerful: it was only India upon which minds were fixed; and we shall see how it was only the action of one navigator that turned Dutch enterprise toward the west at all.

Among the persons in intimate relations with the Muscovy Company of England, of which Sebastian Cabot was the governor, and which had sent the expedition of Willoughby in search of a northeast passage to India, was an experienced navigator, Henry Hudson. It is quite likely that he was the lineal descendant of one of the founders of that corporation,[1] and may, for that reason, have been held in high esteem and trust by its members, and employed on other important voyages before he went upon those by which he is best known. He was probably a native, as he was a citizen, of London; he was a friend of Captain John Smith, and intimate with other adventurous navigators of the time; and no doubt from training and associations, the aim of his life, as it was that of so many of his contemporaries, was the discovery of a passage to the East, either by a northeastern or northwestern passage.

Henry Hudson's voyages to the northeast. 1607.

The last expedition, under the direction of the Muscovy Company, was commanded by Hudson. Sailing from Gravesend on the first of May, 1607, he was instructed to proceed directly across the pole. He steered northwest, and along the Greenland coast to about the eightieth parallel, but could penetrate no farther because of the ice, along the unbroken barrier of which he sailed to the eastward, to the region of Spitzbergen. But he could nowhere find an opening in the almost solid wall; and late in the same year he returned to England after a practically fruitless voyage. In the early part of the next season he made another attempt, this time to the northeast; but the ice again stopped him near Nova Zembla, and he made his way back with another report of ill success.

Hudson invited to the Netherlands.

The Muscovy Company now abandoned for the time all further effort. But the report of these two voyages had excited wide attention; it was of just the nature to stimulate the enterprise of the Dutch rivals of the English traders; and the navigator, who had proved himself, even in his failures, to be skilful, brave, and of great energy and perseverance, had barely returned from his second expedition when he received a new commission. The Dutch East India Company's directors sent for him to come to Amsterdam.

[1] See *Historical Inquiry concerning Henry Hudson, his Relations and Early Life, his Connection with the Muscovy Company*, etc. By John Meredith Read.

The directors resident at Amsterdam decided that before positively engaging Hudson they must wait for the meeting of the Company's Council of Seventeen, in the following year. But the repeated explorations undertaken by the Muscovy Company had aroused others beside the East India Company. As soon as this delay was announced, Hudson was approached by a former officer of the corporation, who had now, however, left it and become a keen opponent of its plans, — one Le Maire, a French merchant in the Dutch city, — who at once sought to secure him for the service of France, and was aided in this design by President Jeannin, French ambassador at the Hague.[1] This attempt was all that was needed to spur the East India directors into immediate decisive action, and they signed a contract with him on January 8, 1609. This paper specified that the directors should furnish a small vessel to Hudson, with the needed outfit, in which he was to sail as soon as the favorable season opened in April. He was to have a sum equivalent to about three hundred and twenty dollars of our gold for his expenses, and the support of his family during his absence; and, should he not return, his widow was to receive eighty dollars as an indemnity for his loss. Should he find a practicable passage, he was to receive a suitable reward, — the clause promising this being only generally expressed.[2]

His contract with the East India Company.

The old theory of the passage was rigidly adhered to, both in the contract and in Hudson's detailed instructions. He was to search for a passage "around by the North side of Nova Zembla," and he was "to think of discovering no other routes or passages, except the route around by the north and northeast above Nova Zembla."[3]

Armed with memoranda of sailing instructions which had been made by Barentz on his first voyage, and with an ancient document by a Greenland navigator,[4] Hudson made himself master of the whole

[1] *Négociation du Pres. Jeannin*, cited by Read, *Hist. Ing.*, p. 140, and by Henry C. Murphy, *Hudson in Holland*.

[2] Mr. Henry C. Murphy, the most successful of inquirers into the history of Hudson's voyage and matters connected with it, discovered a copy of this contract between Hudson and the Chamber of Amsterdam, in the royal archives at the Hague. It is given, with the full details of these negotiations, etc., in his *Henry Hudson in Holland*.

[3] Murphy's *Hudson*, p. 39, seq.

[4] This singular document had, in the translation used by Hudson, the following title: "*A Treatise of* IVER BOTY, *a* Gronlander, *translated out of the* Norsh *Language into High* Dutch *in the yeere* 1560. *And after, out of High* Dutch, *into Low* Dutch, *by* WILLIAM BARENTSON *of* Amsterdam, *who was chiefe Pilot aforesaid.* The *same Copie in High* Dutch *is in the hands of* IODOCVS HONDIVS, *which I have seene. And this was translated out of Low* Dutch *by* Master WILLIAM STERE, *Marchant, in the yeere* 1608, *for the use of one* HENRIE HUDSON. WILLIAM BARENTSON'S *Booke is in the hands of Master* PETER PLANTIVS, *who lent the same to me.*" The treatise contains a variety of quaint sailing directions and information concerning the northern seas as known to Norse voyagers in the time before Columbus; and

plan he was to carry out; yet there are indications that even before his departure probabilities in a very different direction had occurred to him. In his long consultations with Plantius, the geographer, and others, rude maps of regions far to the west were studied, and discussions took place, in which the fixed belief of Plantius as to a northeastern route appears to have been called in question by Hudson.[1]

Departure of Hudson. April 4, 1609.

On Saturday, the fourth of April, 1609, Hudson sailed from Amsterdam in a yacht or Vlie-boat[2] named the *Half Moon*, with a crew of Dutch and English sailors, numbering, according to different authorities, sixteen, eighteen, or twenty men, the smallest number probably being the true one. The vessel was of eighty tons burden — forty lasts by Dutch measurement — and had been most carefully equipped. By noon of Monday she was off the Texel, and the voyage was fairly begun. She steered away to the north, making up the Norway coast toward the North Cape, in literal accordance with instructions to Hudson, and soon gained the regions with which his previous explorations had made him more or less familiar.[3] On the fifth of May he passed the northern extremity of the main land, and sailed directly toward Nova Zembla; but the sea was filled with ice as it had been before, and he was not long in finding his progress as effectually barred in this direction as it had been in preceding voyages. His crew were discontented and insubordinate; it is said that some of them, used only to warmer climates, were unable to bear the cold of these high latitudes; and besides, they were of two nationalities, and seem to have quarrelled continually.

The obstacles thus put in Hudson's way to the northeast, seemingly

it further gives an account, conceded by northern antiquaries to be substantially correct, of the Icelandic colonies in Greenland. It has an interest of its own apart from its connection with these voyages; for its antiquity is undoubtedly very great, and it throws no little light on the state of Greenland in the days of its settled condition. The Treatise of Boty (or Bardsem, as he is generally called), has been published with an introduction and notes, by the Rev. B. F. De Costa, under the title of *Sailing Directions of Henry Hudson*, etc.

[1] Van Meteren, *Historie der Nederlanden*, quoted by Read, *Historical Inquiry*, p. 155, says that Hudson showed Plantius a letter and maps of his friend Captain John Smith, in which the latter explained that there was a sea leading into the Western Ocean north of the English colony.

[2] From the river Vlie, where such boats were used. The name passed into the English fly-boat.

[3] Of this voyage we have several accounts, differing in no essential particular, but supplementing each other in many ways. John de Laet, who published the *Nieuwe Werelt* in 1625, made use in writing it of Hudson's own journal, which unfortunately has not been preserved. Van Meteren's *Historie der Nederlanden*, published in 1614, contains materials which came to its author at first hand. But the most minute record of the voyage is that made by Robert Juet, Hudson's former mate, who acted on this expedition as a captain's clerk, or kind of purser, and kept a precise and probably exceedingly accurate diary of every matter of interest during the whole duration of the exploration. His account appears in full in Purchas, vol. iii.

impassable bars to further discovery, confirmed his doubts of the impossibility of a northeastern passage, and led him to take a most important step. In direct violation of his instructions, he offered his crew a choice between two courses. One was to sail westward, and, making the American coast, to search for a passage where Captain John Smith had indicated the probability of one, somewhere north of the English colony; and the other was to keep nearer the latitude they were in, and sailing directly to the west, to try again at Davis's Straits. The first proposal was adopted, and on May 14, nine days after rounding the North Cape, the *Half Moon* was put about, and headed west by south. In two weeks she was taking fresh water at the Faroe Islands, and in six she lay safely off the banks of Newfoundland, the little vessel much the worse for her encounters with those northern seas.

He changes his course.

Hudson avoided a fleet of fishermen which lay off the bank; and at once made his way farther south and west. On July 12 he sighted the coast of the continent, and six days later anchored in one of the large bays on the coast of what is now the State of Maine — almost without doubt Penobscot Bay — where his crew were set to work upon repairs to the vessel. A new foremast was brought from shore to replace the one the vessel had lost at sea, and she was put into thorough order. But Hudson's stay here was cut short by an incident which, with many other things in this expedition, shows the lawless and buccaneering spirit of his crew. As the *Half Moon* lay in the bay, two shallops filled with Indians approached her, their crews looking for peaceful trade with the strangers, and such friendly intercourse as the French had everywhere encouraged. But Hudson's men met them in another temper. Manning a boat, they captured and carried off one shallop; and then, in pure wantonness, they armed two skiffs of their own with pieces which deserved their name of "murderers," and attacked and plundered the Indian village on the shore. The outrage fully warranted a quick revenge; and Hudson feared it, — for on the same afternoon the ship was dropped down to the entrance of the bay, and on the next day (July 26), she was again under sail to the southwest.

Visit to the coast of Maine.

Though within a week she went aground on what are now known as St. George's Shoals, it was ten days before her crew sighted land again; this time at the north end of the headland of Cape Cod, which Hudson, before he knew it to be Gosnold's Cape, promptly named "New Holland." Some of the men landed here, for they fancied they heard people calling from the shore, and that the voices sounded like those of "Christians;" but they came back after seeing none but savages, and the yacht again bore away to sea, passing

Nantucket and Martha's Vineyard, and once more making a straight course to the southwest.

When Hudson made land again he was close by the entrance of Chesapeake Bay. Just within it he might have found his countrymen on the banks of the James, and have consulted his friend Smith about that "sea leading into the western ocean," of which the Virginian captain had written in the letter shown to Plantius. Perhaps because they were his countrymen, while he was in foreign service, he made no attempt to reach them, but sailed away to the northward, following the trend of the coast, until he

On the coast of Delaware.

Hudson's Attack on the Indian Village.

came to the capes of the great bay which a few years later was named the Delaware. He tried to enter it, but unsuccessfully, for the *Half Moon* drew too much water for its shallow bars; so the vessel again took up her northward course, and passed along a coast that looked like "broken islands" — the now familiar sand-banks of New Jersey — until, in the evening of the second of September, the high hills of Navesinck were made to the northward, and the vessel came to anchor near a shore that was "a pleasant land to see."

The night was fair, with little wind; as morning came a thick mist settled about them, and hid the pleasant coast from the explorers;

but when it had lifted, toward noon of the 3d of September, and they had made their way along the long, curving sand-spit that extended just beyond the hills near which they had lain, they saw before them what they thought were three great rivers. The northernmost seemed to them the broadest, but they could not enter it because of the bar across its mouth; and coming back to the deeper one — the passage through which Verrazano's boats, it is supposed, had passed nearly a century before into the "most beautiful bay" — the *Half Moon* floated slowly past the sandy cape, and cast anchor, at nightfall, just within its shelter.

Enters the lower harbor of New York.

The Approach to the Narrows.

When the next morning dawned, the whole broad bay lay in view; and the explorers, little dreaming how their judgment was to be confirmed in centuries to come, decided, as they shifted their anchorage to the greater security of the "Horseshoe" further inside Sandy Hook, that it was "a very good harbour." Across it, to the north, they could see an island with low hills, beside which another great river ran out from the land; on the east the coast trended away in a long ridge; and on the west a vast curve of low, wooded shore extended from where the *Half Moon* lay to the mouth of a third river, barely in sight in the northwest. The wondering Indians crowded the beach near by; and though their own traditions represent them as alarmed and troubled at the strangers' coming, they put off in their canoes to the vessel, and seemed to the crew to welcome them with delight.

The boats, while the vessel lay at anchor, were busy in the exploration of the bay. On the 4th, a boat's crew put out to fish; and, according to an Indian tradition, landed on the long beach of Congu, or Coney Island, the first Europeans who trod the shore of the great New Netherland harbor. On the 6th, another crew rowed across the broad expanse between the vessel and the more distant island; and passing through the "river" which we now call the Narrows, explored the strait on the west side of the harbor, running between the island and the main, the "Kills" of later times. But as they came back through these, past shores which were "as pleasant with grass and flowers, and goodly trees, as ever they had seen," they were set upon by two canoe-crews of Indians, who shot a flight of arrows at them, and then made off under cover of the darkness of an approaching stormy night, leaving an Englishman, John Colman, dead in the boat, and two others wounded.

The *Half Moon's* boat attacked by Indians.

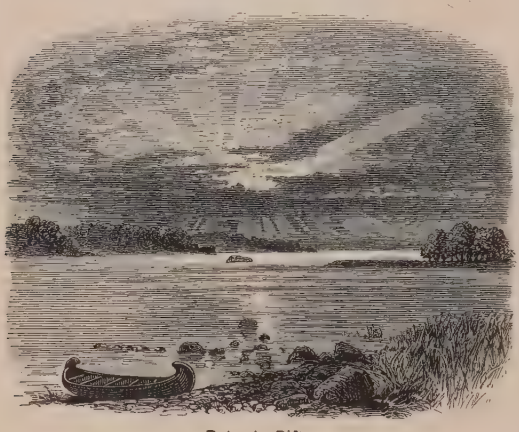
Losing their way in the night and storm, the diminished crew only regained the vessel late in the morning of the next day. At noon they buried the dead man in the sand on the beach, and gave to Sandy Hook, in memory of him, the name of Colman's Point, — a title it did not long retain. The yacht was put in a condition of defence, for no one knew whether the attack upon the boat was not the prelude to general hostilities; but though the Indians, during the next few days, made some demonstrations that were interpreted by the crew as hostile, nothing more serious happened. Two Indian captives were kept on the vessel, the men putting red coats upon them and holding them as hostages; but there was no attack.

The *Half Moon* had spent a week in the lower bay, her crew thus exploring the shores and trading with the people, when Hudson, after several times changing his anchorage, and drawing nearer the mouth of the Narrows, decided to push on into the great river.

On the twelfth of September, an afternoon when it was very "faire and hot" along the shores of the wooded islands that lay on either side of the broad passage, his little vessel floated up with the floodtide, through the quiet strait which her discovery was to make a thoroughfare for the world. The hills of Staten Island were covered with "great and tall oaks," and "very sweet smells came from them;" and the high terminal ridge of Long Island was wooded to the water's edge. The channel probably seemed broader than we see it, for its surface and shores were unbroken, and the inner bay that lay before the explorers widened more gradually from the strait than now. At the mouth of the Kills lay projecting rocks, the present name of which is a corruption of the old title "Robyn's

The Kills of Staten Island.

Rift,"[1] that marked them as the favorite haunt of seals. The mainland on the west was bordered by a broad marsh, as now; but everywhere else the shore was covered with trees, even at the northern limit of the view, where a few little islands dotted the surface near a rounded point, beside which opened still further reaches of the great river. The stranger sailed across the great and beautiful bay, going up slowly with the tide and anchoring at night; the people crowded about her in canoes, and brought corn and tobacco, "making show of love."



Robyn's Rift.

As the yacht entered the broad mouth of the river that stretched away to the north in long still reaches over which "no Christian" had ever sailed before, it is not strange that her crew were amazed at the strong current, and began its exploration with intense curiosity as to where so vast a stream might lead them. Their progress was slow. They floated with a light wind past the long shore of Manhattan Island, then more wild and rugged than any of the scenery that lay about it, its stony hills scantily wooded, and its rough beach broken by rocky inlets. Beyond it the eastern bank grew higher, and gentle in its slope; but on the other side of the stream the rocky palisades began, overlooking the lonely river and towering above the solitary ship as though they shut out some still stranger region of the silent country into which the discoverers were following an unknown way.

Sail up the Hudson River.

When the river broadened into the great bays above — the "Tappaan Zee" and "Haverstroo" of later New Netherland topography — the voyagers sailed more fearlessly and rapidly; the long cape or hook was passed which later Dutch sailors called Verdrietig (tedious), because it remained so long in sight; but with the quickly narrowing current beyond, the land suddenly grew high and mountainous in what seemed the very path of the vessel, and the scenery about her became darker and wilder. As she passed, just before nightfall, through the narrow gap in the mountains that had seemed to stand unbroken in her way, the lonely

The *Half-Moon* at the Highlands.

[1] Robyn's Rift — *i. e.* Seal Reef — now called Robin's Reef.

ship came into the heavy shadow of the great Donderberg, and into the stillness which always lies, even now, over the long, dark reach between the Hudson Highlands. As it grew dark, the explorers anchored near where the high promontory of West Point extends into the stream, the densely wooded mountains about it making an amphitheatre through which the river runs in the deep shadows of its sides. They were in the midst of an unbroken wilderness such as they had never seen before; and the little yacht, anchored at night, with her lights marking the one gleam of life in the silent expanse of river and forest, might well have seemed to her crew to be strangely lost and isolated in the darkness and stillness of a region unknown to civilized men.

Verdrietig Hoeck.

The morning following this first night in the Highlands was misty and still; and while the fog hid the river from view Hudson's two Indian hostages slipped out of a port and swam quietly away; but when the weather cleared, and the *Half Moon* got under way, they were seen on the shore, calling to the crew "in scorn." The yacht passed on with a fair wind among the hills; all day, indeed, she had mountains in sight; and at night anchored where the higher Catskills lie a little back from the river side. Here the crew found "very loving people, and very old men;" and lay for a day at anchor, filling their casks with water, and bartering with the Indians for their corn, pompions (pumpkins), and tobacco.

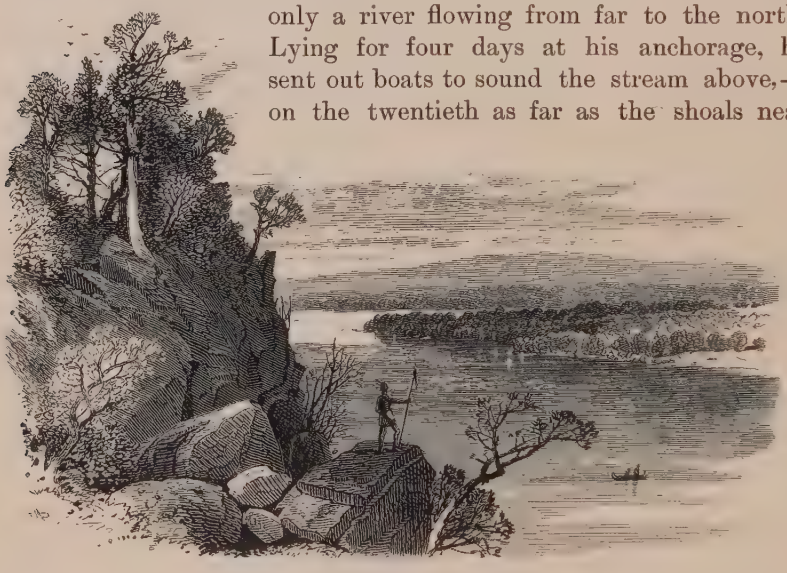
At this point the river navigation changed, the stream growing shallower and more difficult, so that in the run of the next few days the vessel sometimes grounded, but without injury, upon the soft, "ozie" shoals. The scenery changed as the banks grew lower, and fertile plains bordered the stream. On the eighteenth Hudson himself went ashore, near where the town that bears his name now stands; and visited an old chief who seemed to be a governor of the country,

and who showed him how great store of maize and other provision lay in his village, and how the young men of his tribe could "make good cheer" for their guest, killing game and feasting him royally. When the captain insisted upon returning to his ship toward the close of the day, they fancied it was from fear, and to show him that he had no cause for it, they took their arrows, broke them in pieces and threw them into the fire. But he refused to stay longer and returned on board the yacht.

Hudson entertained by the natives.

With the run of the next day the vessel reached the limit of her voyage. She lay near the present site of Albany; the water was fresh, the stream constantly growing shallower and narrower. If, when he entered it, Hudson had entertained a notion that this might be a passage to the South Sea, he must now have been persuaded that it was only a river flowing from far to the north. Lying for four days at his anchorage, he sent out boats to sound the stream above,— on the twentieth as far as the shoals near

End of the river navigation.



Limit of Hudson's Voyage.

where Troy stands, and on the twenty-second to a little distance beyond Waterford, a place where the village of Half-Moon still commemorates the farthest point of his exploration. Both boats returned with the same report, — a narrowing shallow river, flowing between low banks, over shoals impassable for the yacht; and dwindling as they passed up it, so that there seemed to be no hope of greater depth beyond.[1]

[1] The precise point reached by Hudson has always been a matter of some dispute, for a very little study shows that the measurements of "leagues" given in Juet's Journal are not to be relied upon. De Laet says Hudson reached lat. 43°, which would be about twenty-five miles above Albany, and fifteen above Waterford. *A Collection of Dutch East India Voyages*, a work cited by Moulton in Yates' and Moulton's *History of New York*, vol. i., part

The captain, who had not been idle while his boats were thus engaged, now put his vessel about, and prepared for the return to the river's mouth. While he lay in the stream, his men putting the spars in order, or trading as before with the always friendly natives for otter skins and fruits, he had entertained the chief men of the country at a feast, the story of which lingered for two hundred years in their traditions.[1]

It was here, where Hudson gave the chiefs "much wine and *aqua vitæ*," that the northern Indians first saw a drunken man; and "they did not know how to take it," thinking him bewitched, and bringing charms ("stripes of beads"), to save him from the strangers' arts. But when the old chief promptly recovered on the next day, after "sleeping all night quietly," and professed himself much delighted with the experience, they held the whites in high honor, and made Hudson "an oration;" and as the *Half Moon* sailed away down the river, between the pleasant banks of the reach below, they followed with friendly farewells, and hearty regrets at their guests' departure.

A drunken Indian.

For two days of her downward voyage, the yacht made such slow progress as the troublesome navigation and frequent shoals permitted; but on the third, a stiff gale blew from the south, and for two days more she lay at anchor, while the crew brought wood, nuts, and fruit from the shore. They were but a few miles from the place where they "had first found loving people"; and canoes came up from the friendly village, bringing the old chief who had so amazed his companions at the revel a few days before,

Return down the river.

1, p. 248, note, says he went to 42° 40′, but gives no indication as to whether it means that the *Half Moon* reached this point, or only the boat. Lambrechtsen (*Beschryving*, etc., quoted by Moulton and others) agrees with De Laet. Mr. George Folsom, in editing Juet's Journal (extracts) in the *N. Y. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, vol. i., says: "the boat probably reached Castle Island (now called Patroon's Island, just below Albany);" and he does not believe the ship approached Albany at all. Brodhead (*Hist. State N. Y.*, vol. i., p. 31) thinks the boat went "probably to some distance above Waterford," on the 22d. In the text, we have adopted, after a careful comparison, the theory of Yates and Moulton. Their account nearly agrees with De Laet, who had Hudson's journal before him, with Lambrechtsen, and with Juet's descriptions.

[1] A tradition of the first coming of the whites, in which this scene had special prominence, existed among the Iroquois or Six Nations, nearly two centuries afterward. A similar tradition current among the Delawares (especially the Mohican branch) was carefully recorded about 1760 by the Reverend John Heckewelder, a Moravian missionary among the Pennsylvania Indians. In 1801 he gave his account of it to Dr. Miller, who placed the MS. in the library of the New York Historical Society. This paper, which purports to give the tradition verbatim as it came from the lips of "aged and respected Delawares, Monseys, and Mahicanni," is quoted at length by Brodhead, in note A of his appendix to *Hist. State of N. Y.*, vol. i.; also by Yates and Moulton, i. 1, p. 252. See also Dr. Miller's address in *N. Y. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, vol. i., p. 35; and pp. 71, 73; *Hist. and Lit. Transactions of the Am. Philo. Soc.*, vol. i. (Philadelphia, 1819). Singularly enough it places the scene of the revel on Manhattan Island.

and who again received Hudson's hospitality, though it is not recorded that he repeated his experience of *aqua vitæ*. He brought a friend with him, and women, who behaved themselves with modesty; and as he went away he made signs that the crew should come to his village, to be feasted in their turn. But with the next morning a fair wind came; and leaving the old man "very sorrowful," the *Half Moon* sailed away down the stream, only delaying awhile in the bay now overlooked by Newburg, before she again made her way among the points and eddy winds of the Highlands.

The old man's regrets at his white friends' departure would probably have been less keen, if he could have foreseen that before many days were over, they were to commit an act of very foolish and wanton cruelty against some of his fellow-Indians. As the vessel anchored at the mouth of Haverstraw Bay, at noon of the first of October, the day of her passage through the kills, the "people of the mountains" came flocking aboard her as before. But among them, wondering at the ship and weapons, was one savage of thievish propensities, who took the opportunity to climb by the rudder into a cabin window, and steal therefrom "a pillow, and two shirts, and two bandeleers."[1] As he was making off with this trifling booty, he was seen by the mate, who forthwith shot him in the breast and killed him; and then, all the rough brutality of the crew being aroused, the boats were manned, a general pursuit began, and another Indian, who tried to seize one of the boats as he swam, shared the fate of his fellow.

A thievish Indian.

This was the first interruption of the harmony between the Indians and whites since the death of Colman; but it was to be followed by more serious trouble. The next day, as the yacht reached Manhattan, one of the two savages who had been prisoners on her and escaped, appeared with many followers, approaching with evidently hostile intent. When they were not suffered to come alongside, they called to their aid two canoes filled with armed men, who ran under the stern of the vessel and shot a flight of arrows at her, but without doing harm. The crew replied by a half dozen musket-shots, two or three of which took effect, and drove the savages to shore. But more than a hundred now gathered near the upper end of Manhattan Island, where, when scattered by shot from a falcon on the yacht, some of them manned still another canoe, and were only driven off after severe execution had been done among them. The *Half Moon* withdrew across the river, and anchored under the high bank at Hoboken, passing a stormy night and day under its shelter, but receiving no further attack. She had again reached the mouth

Affray with the savages.

[1] A bandeleer, meaning a short sword or cutlass.

of the great river which she had been the first vessel to ascend; her disorderly crew were little inclined for any fresh adventures; and disputes, which continued even after she set sail, had begun, as to her next destination. As she again weighed anchor and sailed across the upper bay, whose shores may have begun already to show the bright colors of autumn foliage, officers and crew wrangled over their plans for the future. The Dutch mate desired to winter in Newfoundland, and explore Davis' Straits during the next spring; the crew "threatened savagely" if they were not taken back to Europe; and Hudson feared their violence, and wished besides to carry the news of his discoveries at once to Holland. It was not until the yacht had passed through the Kills on her outward route, and had dropped below Sandy Hook, that a compromise was at last effected. It was decided to make first of all for the British Islands, and two days later they were well out at sea upon an eastern course. The voyage was prosperous; and on the seventh of November the ship lay safely in Dartmouth Harbor, her turbulent sailors contented for the time, and her master sending his report to the Amsterdam directors of the Dutch East India Company.

Hudson's return. November, 1609.

Hudson had of course intended to go in person to his employers, as soon as he should reach a European port; but he was not permitted to do so. In spite of the frequency with which, at that period, men entered foreign service, the obligations of nationality were arbitrarily enforced when any advantage was to be gained thereby; and the English government saw that they had let a man of too great ability enter the employ of their energetic neighbors. When the news of the *Half Moon's* arrival was received in London an order was issued forbidding her captain to leave the country, and reminding him and the Englishmen on his vessel that they owed their services to their own nation. Hudson entered again the employ of the Muscovy Company, to whose efforts his success seems to have given new energy; and in the spring of 1610 he sailed on his last and fatal voyage to the northwest, to be abandoned by his brutal crew among the ice-fields of the great and desolate bay which bears his name and was the last of his discoveries. The *Half Moon* was detained for months at Dartmouth, and was only permitted to return to Amsterdam in July of the year of her captain's departure.

His detention in England.

Hudson's discovery was received in the Netherlands in a way characteristic of the people. It had opened to the government of the States General a broad and fertile territory, untouched before by any European nation, and undoubtedly their own by right of first occupation; yet this seems to have been only a secondary consideration in their minds. Territorial increase seemed

Indifference of the Dutch to their American discoveries.

at first sight a comparatively unimportant matter; the first thought of government and people was the commercial value of the new region. For several years the States did little in the matter but to give official information about the situation of the new river and the course necessary to reach it, formal inquiries on these subjects having reached them from the cities of Amsterdam, Rotterdam, Enckhuysen, and Hoorn. They did not in set terms affirm their right to the discovered territory, extend its boundaries indefinitely, as England, France, and Spain had done in similar cases, or make grants to encourage colonization — an idea which does not seem even to have occurred to them until very much later. This was not the course of the government alone; the East India Company itself did nothing farther with regard to the west. The short passage to Cathay was still the absorbing scheme with its directors; another unsuccessful expedition was soon to be sent to the northeast, urged by the indefatigable Plantius. The discovery of the "Great River of the Mountains" by Hudson did not seem to them a compensation for his failure to find a Northeast passage.

Beginning of the fur trade.

While these stood aloof, however, private enterprise, as so often before in Holland, stepped in to seize the advantages of the new region. No sooner had the *Half Moon* come back to Amsterdam, than a few shrewd merchants of the city, who saw the advantage of buying costly furs for trifles from ignorant and friendly savages, engaged a part of her crew to guide a vessel of their own to the great bay and river, and bring her back laden with good peltries. The venture was highly successful; and a trade quickly sprang up, that constantly attracted new vessels and fresh competition, and grew quietly but steadily till it held a high place in Netherland commerce, and furnished a new channel for the private capital now set free from the dangers and disturbances of the long Spanish war.

Dutch trading boats in the Hudson.

Thus the three years following the return of Hudson's expedition saw the lonely "River of the Mountains" traversed by the little round-prowed vessels of the Dutch, with their crews of eager traders, making their slow way up or down the stream from one Indian village to another; or lying at anchor in the sheltered bays, while canoes laden with skins thronged about them, and the savages flocked aboard for the beads and knives and hatchets which they took in payment. Manhattan Island, though only a fort and one or two small buildings had been erected upon it — perhaps not even these till 1613 — had become the chief station for the collection of the peltries and their shipment to home ports; and an unsuccessful attempt even had been made to keep European goats and rabbits there

for the traders' use.[1] The river began to be called Mauritius, after the Stadtholder Maurice of Orange. Not only its waters, but the bays of the present New Jersey, and the coast as far south as Delaware Bay, were embraced in the territory of the Dutch fur-trade; and the energetic Netherland seamen began to push out right and left from their new station, and to add fresh discoveries to their scanty knowledge of the neighboring shores.

Foremost in these enterprises were Hendrick Christaensen, Adriaen Block, and Cornelis Jacobsen May, three Dutch captains, who, by the end of the four years following Hudson's voyage, had grown most familiar with the new region, and had engaged their ships most successfully in its trade. Christaensen, who by that time had made ten voyages to the river, built the first great trading post upon it, in 1614, — Fort Nassau, on Castle Island, close by Albany, — and was appointed its commander. Block spent the winter of 1613–14 on Manhattan Island, in building a yacht of sixteen tons, the *Onrust* (*Restless*), to take the place of his ship, the *Tiger*, which had accidentally been burned. In the spring he sailed eastward, passing through the rapids of Hell-Gate in the East River, explored Long Island Sound from end to end, discovered and entered the Quonehtacut, or Connecticut River, and made his way up the New England coast as far as what he called Pye Bay, — now the bay of Nahant, — which he called "the limit of New Netherland." He visited the shores of Narragansett Bay, and saw within it that "Roode" or "Red" island from which the modern State of Rhode Island derives its name.

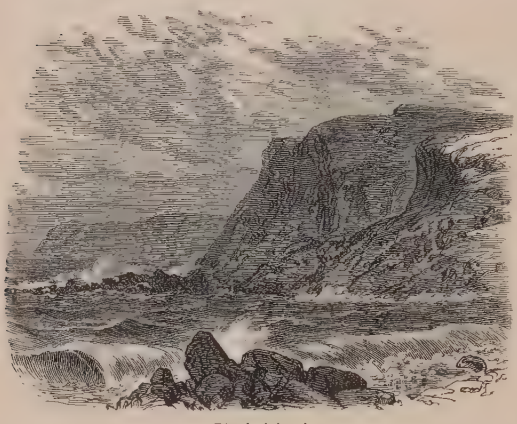
First trading post built.

Exploring voyage of Adriaen Block.

Nanant

[1] Wassenaar's *Historische Verhael*, vol. ix., p. 44, quoted by Brodhead, vol. i., p. 47. Captain Argall is said, on doubtful authority, to have visited Manhattan Island, on his return from Port Royal, and to have found four or five houses there.

Martha's Vineyard and Nantucket the Dutch named Texel and Vieland; the waters surrounding them the Zuyder Zee; the island which still bears Block's name, northeast of Montauk Point, they called "Visscher's Hoeck." Meeting Hendrick Christaensen's ship, the *Fortune*, which had been sent to Cape Cod Bay perhaps to take him on board, Block transferred the *Restless* to another skipper, Cornelis Hendricksen, and sailed in the other vessel to Holland, adding his report to the list of explorations which revealed the extent and wealth of the new country.



Block Island.

May had seen "Visscher's Hoeck" even before Block, and had visited the coast of Martha's Vineyard. But his name is perpetuated farther south, in the Cape May of Southern New Jersey; though New York bay was for many years called, in his honor, Port May.

It was now four years since Henry Hudson's crew had returned to Amsterdam, and the trade with the Mauritius River had aroused so brisk a competition as to alarm the few merchants who had been the first to engage in it. With the spirit of an age when the right of monopoly was firmly believed in and looked upon as the protection of commerce, they had already urged upon the States General the passage of an ordinance to protect them from those who were interfering with a traffic which, as they believed, belonged only to them. They had succeeded so far as to secure (March 20, 1614) a decree in general terms, by which any discoverers of "new passages, havens, lands, or places," should have "the exclusive right of navigating to the same for four voyages," provided they reported their discoveries within fourteen days after their return to Holland. But the passage of this act was only a preliminary step. With Block's return in September they began to press for a special charter; and provided with a carefully-drawn "figurative map" of the new country, they appeared before the assembly of the States, detailed to that body the merits of their work, the great risk, expense, and effort to which they had been put, and asked to be protected. Under the conditions of the ordinance of March, with the terms of which they had complied, and which had, indeed, been the spur of Block and

the rest in their discoveries, there could be no hesitation; and their charter was granted on the 11th of October, — a charter in which the name "New Netherland" was first officially applied to the American region "between New France and Virginia, being the seacoasts between 40° and 45°." The New Netherland Company were given the monopoly of the trade for three years from January 1, 1615, and no other Dutch citizens were to be permitted to "frequent or navigate" those "newly-discovered lands, havens, or places," "on penalty of the confiscation of the vessel and cargo, besides a fine of fifty thousand Netherlands ducats."

New Netherland Charter granted to the Dutch traders. 1614.

The prescribed three years passed quietly and prosperously away, every trading voyage of the company bringing in enormous profits to the Amsterdam proprietors; while in the great region now laid open to their enterprise, new explorations were undertaken and new resources opened. It was a development of trade, rather than of the country, however; for the New Netherland Company had no interest in the future of a territory in which they held so short-lived a title; they had no motive to colonize it or test its agricultural capacities; their aim was naturally to get from it all the gain they could in the little time given them, and leave to others the uncertain experiments which might come after. If this system had its evils, it had also its benefits. It led to constant search for new trading grounds, and thus brought about a more thorough knowledge of the geography of the neighboring region than settled colonists might have gained in many years. It kept up constant communication with Europe, so important to a distant settlement. Best of all, it established friendly relations with the Indians wherever the traders met them; and these, though often one-sided, were founded on mutual interest, and differed entirely from the enmity and fear which were usually the immediate result of any intercourse, however brief, between Europeans and Indians.

Aims and accomplishment of the Netherland Company.

Even the murder of Hendrick Christaensen, by one of two Indians whom he had long before taken on a voyage to Holland, but had restored safely to their homes, did not change the friendly attitude of the whites, though they promptly punished the murderer. Just before Christaensen's death he had finished the trading-house and defences at Fort Nassau, and in the directorship of this he was succeeded by Jacob Eelkens, who had been a clerk in Amsterdam, and who, though wanting the adventurous spirit of his predecessor, was an excellent commercial agent. As the three years of the company's monopoly went on, he sent constantly increasing stores of furs down the great river to Manhattan; his scouts made long ex-

The Company's directors in New Netherlands.

peditions into the vast forests to the westward, to barter with new tribes, and find new kinds of skins; and unknown regions were roughly mapped out for the guidance of future traders.

Dutch made prisoners by the Indians.

In one of these expeditions, a party of three scouts, who had penetrated farther into the interior than any before them, seem to have reached the upper waters of the Delaware, and to have descended the stream to the mouth of the Schuylkill. Here they were seized by the Indian tribes of that neighborhood, and held as prisoners, though without suffering any harm at the hands of

Upper Waters of the Delaware.

their captors. Their situation gave rise, in turn, to new explorations, which it would have seemed natural to undertake long before, but which had been neglected. For when the traders at Manhattan heard of the detention of three of their fellows, and studied out the probable position of those who had taken them, they at once despatched Cornelis Hendricksen in the yacht *Restless* along the coast to the southward, that he might go up the rivers from the great bay into which they were supposed to flow, and ransom the prisoners.

They explore Delaware River.

Hendricksen thoroughly explored the shores of Delaware Bay and river, and brought back, besides the three scouts, the most glowing acounts of the river banks covered with grape-vines and abounding in game; and of the trade for seal-skins, which he had opened with the natives. His explorations completed the survey of the whole coast that nominally belonged to New Neth-

erland; for he had been as far south as the cape he named Hinlopen, or Inloopen, either after a worthy Amsterdam merchant, or, as some contend, because it seemed to vanish as the ship drew near. The Amsterdam directors even founded, upon the discovery of these new "havens, lands, and places," a claim for a new special charter; but the States General feared to encroach upon the boundaries of Virginia, and refused the petition, though Hendricksen had been sent home to aid it by plans and arguments.

In the early summer of 1617, Jacob Eelkens removed the Company's trading-post from Castle Island, where it was exposed to disastrous freshets every spring, to the west bank of the river at the mouth of the little stream called Tawasentha by the natives; and here, a little later, he concluded the first formal treaty of friendship with the Indians. But besides these two events, nothing noteworthy marked the last year and a half of the prosperous New Netherland monopoly; on the first of January, 1618, its charter expired by its own limitation, and all petitions for a renewal were refused. Those who had held privileges under it, still continued for several years to enjoy their advantages almost without much trouble from competition; but before the law their exclusive rights had ended. A more powerful company than they had ever proposed was soon to succeed to all their privileges, and to add to them the functions of the founders and virtual rulers of a new state, where the Amsterdam merchants had only sought the immediate profits of a trade.

Expiration of the first New Netherland charter 1618.

Trading Scouts.

The greatness of the new country's resources had made itself felt in Holland; and the need of some more comprehensive and direct action, such as other nations were taking in regard to their American territories, was now appreciated. In the characteristic spirit of the Netherlands, this action took a commercial direction almost as a matter of course. The requests of small bodies of merchants were refused, it is true; the owners of a new ship (which, under May's command, had gone as far south as Chesapeake Bay), fared as ill, when they petitioned for a charter, as the Netherland Company had before them.

But it was on commercial grounds, nevertheless, that the American possessions were to be dealt with; and whatever power and riches they were to bring to the state were to come by the hands of a great trading corporation.

West India Company incorporated. 1621.

In 1621, the year in which the twelve years' truce with Spain expired, the great West India Company, so often suggested before, and so long debated and postponed, was chartered by the States General of the Netherlands, with powers scarcely less than those of its fellow monopoly in the East. Its patent, with that assumption of authority which belonged to the great monopolies of the time, forbade any and all inhabitants of the United Netherlands, for twenty-two years after the first of July, 1621, to sail to the coasts of Africa between the tropic of Cancer and the Cape of Good Hope, or to those of America between the banks of Newfoundland and the Straits of Magellan except in the service of the West India Company. In the Dutch territory in America its power was practically absolute. It could make treaties, appoint governing officers from the highest to the lowest; build and garrison forts; administer justice; exercise, in fact, all the functions of a government, and was only responsible to the States General for its acts as shown through its own reports. Its central board of nineteen delegates, drawn from its five chambers of directors in Amsterdam, Middleburg, Dordrecht, North Holland, Friesland and Groningen, together with a representative of the States General, sat at their council-board at home, and ruled a territory immeasurably greater than their little state built upon the marshes; a small army of officials and a considerable merchant fleet carried out their orders; thirty-two vessels of war and eighteen armed yachts were at their service in case they needed defence.[1]

The Company takes possession of its domains. 1622.

It was to the Amsterdam chamber of this powerful corporation, that the affairs of all the region of New Netherland were given in charge; and, by the authority of their patent, the West India Company formally "took possession" of the country in the spring of 1622. The enterprise of private traders had not been discontinued in the mean time; for the fur trade had been so vigorously prosecuted along the coasts to the south and east of Manhattan, and even in the bays near which the new English colony of Plymouth had been founded, that Sir Dudley Carleton, King James's Ambassador at The Hague, had entered a protest against the encroachment. But this remonstrance went through a process which would now be called "stifled in committee"; for it

[1] Sixteen war vessels and four yachts provided by the States General under the terms of the charter; sixteen vessels, and fourteen yachts by themselves. For the charter in full see O'Callaghan, vol. i., Appendix A.

was referred first to one branch of the Netherland government and then to another, each professing ignorance of any actual Dutch establishment in America, until at last the subject was fairly forgotten. At all events, it was not permitted to interfere with the West India Company's plans; these went steadily on, and now took such shape as for the first time promised the new territory a permanent population, and began to change it from being the resort of transient traders to the site of settled and lasting colonies.

In the spring of 1623, when the Company had at last completed all their arrangements, closed their subscription books, and fully organized their official staff, that clause of their charter which prescribed that "they must advance the peopling of those fruitful and unsettled parts," received its first practical attention. Early in March the ship *New Netherland* sailed from Holland, and carried as her passengers, not only many of the company's officers and servants, but also the first colonists, in the true meaning of the word, who were to make their homes in the new country, and be the earliest tillers of its soil. Like the first settlers of New England, these "Walloons" had been driven from their homes by religious persecution, but it had been of a fiercer and more relentless kind than any that the English Puritans had been made to feel. Their name, in which the root of the old Dutch "Waalsche" and the German "Welschen" appears, indicated their French origin; but they had lived for generations in those southern Netherland provinces which had not joined the great revolt against Spain, and whose population was chiefly Roman Catholic. In Hainault and Luxembourg, Namur and Limburg, they had formed a class sharply distinct from the mass of the people. Speaking French that was even then quaint and old in its forms, and professing the reformed religion, they were a marked race, out of place among the Flemish subjects of Philip; and the savage persecution of the Spaniards had been exercised against them with a force that was driving great numbers of them into the freer Netherlands. Here they generally settled, seeking, by industry and their remarkable skill as mechanics, to replace the property they had lost; but many of them longed for a country they could call their own, and the sense of permanence and security which that alone could give.

Emigration of the Walloons. 1623.

It was a company of these thrifty people who now ventured to the New World. They had already applied through Sir Dudley Carleton to King James and the Virginia Company for permission to emigrate to Virginia; but only unsatisfactory conditions were offered them. The West India directors, hearing of their application, wisely seized upon the opportunity, and made them tempting offers,

which they accepted. Thus they sailed on the *New Netherland*, under the command of the Company's first regularly appointed director, the old Captain Cornelis Jacobsen May; and, the ship passing up the Mauritius or North river as far as where the fort had been on Castle Island, they were landed there on the west bank, and set to work with all the industry of men whose welfare depended on their own hands. When the yacht *Mackarel*, which had been sent out the year before to take possession, returned to Holland, she reported that the colonists' corn was "nearly as high as a man"; and around the large and strong "Fort Orange," which they had thrown up on their first arrival, a village of huts of bark was already clustered, where the sturdy Walloon families were living, and already carrying on a brisk traffic with the Indians, whom they described as "quiet as lambs."[1]

They settle on the site of Albany.

First Settlement at Albany.

Not all the Walloons, however, and by no means all of the *New Netherland's* passengers, established themselves at Fort Orange. About eighteen families settled there; but several others had, on the way, been sent from Manhattan to the South (Delaware) River, and still others to the mouth of the Connecticut or Fresh River, and to the western end of Long Island at Waal-bogt, or Walloon's Bay — now known by the English corruption, Wallabout. Eight men, too, were left at Manhattan Island, to form a trading establishment for the Company. On the South River, the settlers built a fort, which was finished a year after their arrival; and from its site, northward and eastward, all along the coast to Narragansett Bay, the Dutch now traded peacefully, their settlements growing in prosperity and their traffic in profits; so that Adriaen Joris, who had come out as second in command of the *New Netherland*, was able to report, when he returned home in December, 1624, that everything was going on favorably wherever the colonists had founded their homes.

The post on Manhattan Island.

[1] D. D. Barnard (Address before Albany Institute, 1839), says the site of the settlement is now occupied by the business part of Albany. At the time of the address the "Fort Orange Hotel," an old mansion-house, afterward destroyed by fire in 1847, stood on the ground once occupied by the fort. Compare Brodhead, vol. i., p. 152, note.

Three governors in turn administered the affairs of the growing colony during this early period of quiet prosperity: May, as has been said, during 1624; William Verhult in 1625; and Peter Minuit after the fourth of May, 1626. But it was only with the arrival of the last that the different settlements were properly united under a single government. It was Minuit who first made Manhattan politically what in spite of neglect it had long been naturally, the chief place of New Netherland. Acquiring a firmer title than that of discovery, by buying the whole island from the Indians for "the value of sixty guilders," [1] he established himself there with his "Schout" or high sheriff, his "Opper Koopman" or secretary and commissary, and his council of five members, and began to rule with a wisely directed energy.

First governors of New Netherland.

His plans with regard to Manhattan were soon aided, though at the temporary cost of the other settlement at Fort Orange, by an act of the greatest folly on the part of Krieckebeeck, a commissioner who now commanded at the latter place, Eelkens having long before been superseded for misconduct toward the Indians, and Barentsen, his successor in the fur trade, only acting as second in actual control of the fort. Krieckebeeck allowed himself to be persuaded by the Mohican Indians to act as their allies against the Mohawks; and going out with them upon the war-path, was killed, with several of his people, in a sudden attack made by the enemy. Any farther bad results of his action were, it is true, prevented by his deputy, Barentsen, who was a favorite with the Indians everywhere; but nevertheless Minuit thought it best to withdraw the colonists from Fort Orange to Manhattan, leaving only a small garrison. About the same time, the settlers on the South River left it and joined the main colony; so that from this time all the chief interests of New Netherland were permanently centred in that spot.

Removal of the colony to Manhattan.

In material improvements the island had for several years little to boast of. Rude dwellings of wood and bark, clustered along the bank of the North River near the southern extremity of the land, furnished temporary homes for the colonists. A thatched stone building, more lasting and pretentious, formed the Company's business quarters; while on the point itself a large quadrangular stone fort, Fort Amsterdam, was begun, within whose shelter permanent houses were to be built later.

Building of Fort Amsterdam.

But these beginnings, though rude, were vigorously pushed forward by the busy settlers; while from the headquarters thus at last established where nature seemed to have made a perfect site, the West India Company's yachts carried their rich cargoes back to Holland, or

[1] About twenty-four dollars, gold.

followed their fast increasing trade along the coast to the south, or to the east as far as Buzzard's Bay. A friendly letter was written to the English colony at Plymouth; and the New Netherland government made its first essay in diplomacy in sending its secretary as a formal ambassador to the Puritan Governor Bradford, with whom he exchanged congratulations, though the New Englander stood somewhat stiffly upon his rights under the patent of King James, and argued, though courteously, that the Dutch had no right to the land which they occupied. Later, the matter even threatened to take the form of a more serious dispute; but the powers at home were still too closely allied to have their colonies at war, and instead of conflict, trade was promoted between Manhattan and Plym-

Increase of New Netherland trade.

Earliest Picture of New Amsterdam.

outh, whereby the latter obtained "linen and stuffs" and excellent wampum, which was used again in buying from the Indians.

In 1628 the Island of Manhattan had a population of two hundred and seventy colonists. The profits of the West India Company's fur trade had more than doubled since the establishment of the settlement; but the agriculture of the new region was not yet far enough advanced to support the people unaided, and supplies were still sent out from Holland by every vessel. Mills were built, and there were manufactories of brick and lime, so that the completion of Fort Amsterdam, with its stone facing, was greatly hastened, and better houses began to appear about it; but the great trouble in the way of the colony's further advance seemed to be a lack of organized labor. Private effort had done its utmost when it provided shelter and food enough to eke out the stores the Company furnished; and for a little time there seemed danger that the

Manhattan in 1628.

New Netherland experiment would come to an end for want of a class with large interests, apart from trade, in the soil itself, and the systematized and disciplined labor that such a class would be sure to foster. Though not a violent or sudden one, it was nevertheless in some sense a crisis in the colony's affairs; and it was met by the vigilant directors with a measure of relief which was perhaps illiberal and certainly short-sighted, but which at first appeared to attain its end, while it was far from inconsistent with the spirit of the time in which it was adopted.

CHAPTER XIV.

THE FATHERS OF NEW ENGLAND.

THE PURITANS UNDER JAMES I. — SOCIAL CONDITION OF THE ENGLISH AT THE BEGINNING OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY. — THE SEPARATISTS OF NORTH NOTTINGHAMSHIRE. — BREWSTER AND THE EPISCOPAL RESIDENCE AT SCROOBY. — PERSECUTION OF THE PURITANS. — THEIR ATTEMPTS TO ESCAPE FROM ENGLAND. — LONG EXILE IN HOLLAND. — MOTIVES FOR A PROPOSED REMOVAL TO AMERICA. — PETITION TO KING JAMES. — NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE DUTCH. — EMBARKATION OF THE PILGRIMS AT DELFT-HAVEN. — FINAL DEPARTURE OF THE "MAY FLOWER" FROM ENGLAND. — ARRIVAL AT CAPE COD. — FORM OF GOVERNMENT ADOPTED. — EXPLORATIONS ALONG THE COAST. — SITE FOR A COLONY SELECTED. — CONFUSION OF FACTS AND DATES AS TO THE LANDING AT PLYMOUTH. — THE FIRST WINTER. — SUFFERINGS AND DEATHS.

The lessons of exile.

THE moral, political, and, in some sense, the material training which the colonists on the James River, in Virginia, were twelve years in acquiring, as a necessary preparation for future success, the Pilgrims were, during the same period, subjected to in Holland. "We are well weaned," said the pastor, Robinson, after nine years of exile, "from the delicate milk of our mother countrie, and enured to the difficulties of a strange and hard land." Poverty in Amsterdam and Leyden was not, indeed, quite so irremediable as in the American wilderness, but the lesson it taught did not greatly differ in either place. As exiles in strange lands with no dependence but upon themselves, the necessity of self-denial and self-reliance for the sake of self-preservation would grow alike in both places; in the circumstances of both was the same stimulus to the most active use of all the powers of mind and body; isolation, whether from absolute solitude, or from being surrounded by an alien people, would produce the same sense of mutual interest, of the necessity of mutual help, and of a mutual regard for each other's rights, which is the only sure foundation for political self-government.

First Seal of Plymouth Colony.

While, however, this preparatory education of events was thus, in some measure, the same for the founders of the first two English colonies on the American coast, the Pilgrims had this great advantage over their countrymen in Virginia, — that a bond of unity in deep-seated religious convictions was strengthened by a brotherhood of social relations growing out of the peculiar circumstances of their flight from their native land.

The accession of James I. to the throne of England did not bring, as they hoped it would, relief to those devout and devoted believers, who, through the preceding reign, had contended for religious freedom. From the time of Mary, "the one side laboured," says Bradford, "to have the right worship of God and discipline of Christ established in the Church, according to the simplicitie of the Gospell, without the admixture of men's inventions, and to have, and to be ruled by, the laws of God's word dispensed in those offices, and by those officers of Pastors, Teachers, and Elders, etc., according to the Scripturs. The other partie, though under many colours and pretences, endevored to have the episcopall dignitie (after the popish mañer) with their large power and jurisdiction still retained; with all those courts, cannons, and ceremonies, together with all such livings, revenues, and subordinate officers, with other such means as formerly upheld their antichristian greatnes, and enabled them with lordly and tyranous power to persecute the poore servants of God."[1] In this succinct statement is the very pith of the matter in that religious controversy which followed the Reformation; and one of its important results, hardly noticed, and almost unknown at the time, was, that it banished, early in the seventeenth century, a ship-load of yeomen from England.

The issue between the Church and the Separatists.

At a conference held in 1603, to consider the grievances of this class of his subjects, James I. boasted, in a letter to a friend in Scotland, that he had "kept such a revel with the Puritans these two days, as was never heard the like; where I have peppered them so soundly as ye have done the Papists."[2] There was nothing to be hoped from this son of a mother who had been led to the block for her adherence to the ancient faith, as well as for her crimes against the state. It was equally amusing to James to "pepper" Puritans in public debate, and to remember that Catholics had lost their heads for their devotion to the religion in which they believed.

There were many of these persecuted dissenters throughout the

[1] *History of Plymouth Plantation,* by William Bradford, the Second Governor of The Colony.

[2] Strype's *Life of Whitgift,* App. No. 46. Quoted in Palfrey's *History of New England,* vol. ii., p. 130.

Kingdom, sometimes gathered into societies of their own, especially in London; sometimes bearing alone a silent but painful testimony against the undoubted immoralities connived at in the church, and the vain ordinances — as they deemed them — which they were called upon to share in and to sanction. But in no rural district were they so numerous or so well organized as in that part of England where the borders of Nottinghamshire, Lincolnshire, and Yorkshire met. More than one earnest preacher in that neighborhood had called and held together by his eloquence and zeal a little knot of followers as firm in the faith as he, and ready to follow whithersoever his higher light should lead.

View of Scrooby Village.

The village of Scrooby, in Nottinghamshire.

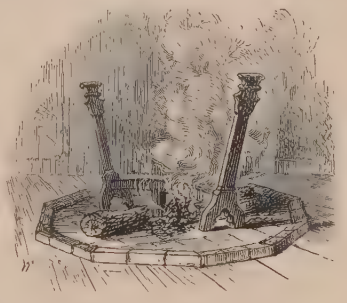
In North Nottinghamshire, in the Hundred of Basset-Lawe, is the village of Scrooby. Though little more than a hamlet, it was of some importance three hundred years ago, as a post-town on the great road from London to Scotland, and as containing a manor place belonging to the Archbishop of York, then the Archbishop Sandys, one of whose sons was that Edwin Sandys who, in 1618, was made Treasurer of the Virginia Company in London. There were historical associations connected with the archbishop's residence at Scrooby other than those for which the descendants of the "Pilgrim Fathers" may cherish its memory, and which even now are not without some interest. Here Margaret, Queen of Scotland, daughter of Henry VII., slept for a night, on the way to her own kingdom, in 1503; here, also, Henry VIII. passed a night on a northern progress in 1541; and in this manor-house Cardinal Wolsey lived some weeks after his fall, ministering to the poor in

deeds of charity, saying mass on Sundays, and distributing alms in meat, and drink, and money.[1]

This house of the archbishop was the one great house of Scrooby, for the people of the neighborhood were, for the most part, plain yeomen, who followed what Bradford, the Plymouth Governor, called the innocent trade of husbandry. In the method and manners of their lives there was no very essential difference, except that they had enough to eat and wear, from that way of life which fell to the lot of some of them in an American wilderness.

Social condition of English common people of that period.

For the habits of the common people of England at that period were exceedingly simple, and in some respects almost primitive. Only where wood was plentiful were their houses well and solidly built of timber; elsewhere they were mere frames filled in with clay. The walls of the rich only, who could afford such a luxury, were covered with hangings to keep out the dampness, and even plastered walls were uncommon. The floors of these houses were of clay, and covered, if covered at all, with rushes. Chimneys had come into use in the sixteenth century, though it was common long after to have a hole in the roof for the escape of smoke, as is done in Indian wigwams. The windows were not glazed, for that was a luxury so costly that even noblemen when they left their country-houses to go to Court, had their glass-windows packed away with other precious furniture for safe-keeping. In the houses of the common people there was no better protection from the weather than panes of oiled paper.[2] A pallet of straw, with a rough mat for covering, and a log for a pillow, was deemed a good bed. The food of the people was chiefly flesh, for gardening was an art confined to the very rich, for ornamental purposes, and few vegetables were cultivated. Even agriculture was in a rude state; the draining of land was almost unknown, and fever and ague consequently the common disease. A clumsy wooden plough, a wooden fork, a spade, hoe, and flail were the only agricultural implements. The bread was the coarser kind of black bread made of the unbolted flour of oats, barley, or rye, and in times of scarcity this was mixed with ground



Fire-place in 16th Century

[1] See *The Founders of New Plymouth*, by Rev. Joseph Hunter. London, 1854. Also Bradford's *History of Plymouth Plantation*.

[2] Winslow wrote home from Plymouth, in the early days of the colony, to those about to emigrate: "Bring paper and linseed oil for your windows."

acorns. Table-forks were unknown; the spoons and platters, where there were any, were of wood; with the use of a knife, the fingers, and a common dish, the civilities of the table were generally dispensed with.

The English yeoman.

The yeomen, who lived in this rude fashion, were not called Sir or Master, as gentlemen and knights were, but plain John or Thomas. Yet they were the "settled or staid men" — from the Saxon Zeoman — the great middle class of England, the firm foundation on which the state rested; and in "foughten fields" the king remained among his yeomanry, or footmen, for on them he relied as his chief strength. The land they lived upon and cultivated was sometimes their own, and they often acquired wealth. Their sons were sent to the universities and the inns of court, and from the ranks of the yeomen great men and great names were given to England; to the class of gentry came recruits of fresh, healthy blood, quickened by new ambitions, strong in great purposes. It was good stock from which to settle a new country.

The congregation at Scrooby.

There was at Scrooby a congregation of Separatists, made up, for the most part, of people of this class; educated and enlightened enough to come to conclusions of their own upon questions of religious reformation; so stable in character as to hold firmly to convictions conscientiously formed; and endowed with enough of this world's goods to maintain their freedom of thought, even to banishment, if need be, from their native land. A body of their faith preceded them by some years, in emigrating to Holland, and, after their departure, the Scrooby people had no separate building in which to congregate for religious worship. Their usual place of meeting was the manor-house, belonging to the Archbishop of York.

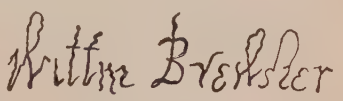
Site of Scrooby Manor.

The leading man among them was William Brewster, who after-

wards became the ruling elder of the little church.[1] Brewster held the office of postmaster — or post as it was then called — of Scrooby, a position of a good deal of importance, as it enjoined not only the charge of the mails and the dispatch of letters, but the entertainment and conveyance of travellers, in whatever direction they wished to go. The postmaster was, in one sense, an innkeeper; but an innkeeper for certain duties, by official appointment.[2] As the incumbent of such an office, Brewster occupied the largest and most important house in Scrooby, — that belonging to the archbishop. And this, notwithstanding his official relation to the state, and its dignity as an episcopal residence, he threw open, once a week, to those with whose opposition to the state and church he was in fullest sympathy.

But Brewster was otherwise a man of some mark. In his youth he had spent some time at the University of Cambridge, where he had acquired a knowledge of Latin and Greek. He afterward went to court, and entered the service of a noted statesman of the time, William Davison; was with him when he was sent ambassador from Elizabeth to the Low Countries to perfect a league with the United Provinces that should enable them to maintain their independence of Spain; was still the faithful friend and follower of his master when Davison was ruined for having issued, as Secretary of State, — possibly against the orders, but certainly in accordance with the wishes of Elizabeth, — the royal writ for the execution of Mary, Queen of Scots. Davison's fall ended Brewster's career as a courtier; but he still possessed influence enough to secure the appointment of post at Scrooby. Davison was a Puritan. Bradford says of him that he was a "religious and godly gentleman," and that he esteemed Brewster "rather as a son than a servant, and for his wisdom and godliness in private, he would converse with him more like a familiar than a master."[3] Such influence must have confirmed, if it did not instill, in Brewster's mind the principles which governed his subsequent life.

William Brewster.



Signature of William Brewster.

A society of Separatists, holding weekly meetings under such circumstances, in the house occupied by an officer of the government, and belonging to a dignitary of the established Church, would be quite likely to attract more than usual attention; their boldness may

[1] The office of the ruling elder in the early Puritan churches was to assist the teaching elder, or pastor, in overseeing and ruling the church, and to teach occasionally in the absence of the pastor. See Young's *Chronicles of the Pilgrims*, p. 455, note, for authorities on this point.

[2] See Hunter's *Founders of New Plymouth*, where the social and official position of Elder Brewster, at Scrooby, was first made clear.

[3] Bradford's *Memoir of Elder William Brewster*, in Young's *Chronicles of the Pilgrims*.

have even been construed into a defiance of the law. These people had already been called upon to suffer afflictions, when some of them were members of the church at Gainsborough under the care of John Smith, who, with many of his people, had taken refuge in Holland some years before; and also, no doubt, when upholding Richard Clifton, a clergyman at Babworth in the County of Nottingham, who had been deposed for non-conformity. But those were as "flea-bitings," it was said,[1] to the sufferings they were called upon to undergo soon after they had gathered into a distinct body at Scrooby. They were hunted and persecuted on every side; some were imprisoned; the houses of others were beset and watched till they were fain to fly, leaving homes and means of livelihood, to preserve their liberty.

Persecution of the Separatists.

Brewster soon ceased to be postmaster, — no doubt dismissed from the office he had held more than a dozen years. And he was to have been otherwise punished. He and two others of the principal members of the society, Richard Jackson and Robert Rochester, were summoned as Separatists before the Ecclesiastical Commission for the province of York to pay a fine of £20 each; and for not obeying that summons, a further fine of an equal amount was subsequently recorded against them, — recorded, but not paid, for the recusants had fled before the commissioners had time to enforce the penalties.[2]

From the persecutions which these people suffered there was no escape but by exile, and they resolved, therefore, to go to the Low Countries, where they understood there was freedom of religion for all men. Though we learn only in general terms the character of the pains and penalties which they were called upon to endure, these were certainly of no light nature, — if persecution for religion's sake is ever light, — for they clearly understood the difficulties that beset the path on which they were about to enter, and which they chose as the least painful alternative. "Their desires were sett on the ways of God and to injoy his ordinances," and for these they were ready to leave their native soil, their lands and livings, their friends and familiar acquaintance, to go to a country of which they knew nothing except by hearsay, to learn a new language, to get their livings they knew not how. Nor was this all. They could not stay; neither were they permitted to go, without hindrance, for the ports were shut against them. They were oftentimes betrayed, their goods taken from them to their great trouble and expense, and their intentions defeated.[3]

It was impossible that two or three hundred people could dispose in

[1] Bradford's *History of Plymouth Plantation.*
[2] Hunter's *Founders of New Plymouth.*
[3] Bradford.

secret of lands and houses and other property, make the other needful preparations to emigrate in a body from a rural neighborhood, and do all this unobserved. They hoped to get away in small detachments, but even this was impossible, without encountering dangers and oftentimes defeat. At one time, at Boston, in Lincolnshire, a large party of them got safely at night on board ship. But the master was treacherous, and handed them over to the officers with whom he was in complicity; their goods were rifled and ransacked; the men were searched to their shirts for money; even the women were compelled to submit to like indignities "further than became modesty;" and thus outraged, insulted, and robbed, they were led back to the town, a spectacle and wonder to the gaping crowd that flocked from all sides to see and jeer at their sad condition. The mag-

Cruel treatment at Boston, Lincolnshire.

Attempted Flight of Puritans.

istrates were kinder than the people, and showed them such favor as they could; but the whole company were imprisoned for a month, when they were dismissed to go where they would, excepting seven of the chief among them, who were detained for trial.

These, and others with them, made a more disastrous attempt to escape some months later. A Dutch ship was engaged to take them on board at a lonely place between Hull and Grimsby, and thither

the women and children were sent in a small vessel; the men were to go by land. All arrived in due season. The ship rode at anchor some distance from the shore; the smaller vessel, with the women and children, lay aground where the ebb-tide had left her. A single boat-load of men had been taken off to the ship as the first preparation for departure, when suddenly a mob of country people, some on foot and some mounted, armed with bills and guns and other weapons, rushed down upon the beach. The frightened Dutchman "swore his country's oath, *Sacramente*," weighed anchor, hoisted sails, and with a fair wind was soon out at sea. His wretched passengers, though destitute of everything but the clothes they wore, gave no thought to their own condition as they looked back to their helpless wives and children thus abandoned to dangers which they could neither defend them from nor share. On shore, some of the men evaded the mob of assailants and dispersed; others, who remained with their own families, or to give such little protection as they could to the families of their friends carried away by the Dutchman, were taken into custody, with those who, either from age, or youth, or sex, were unable to escape. The unhappy company was at the mercy of the mob, always more cruel than the law. They were hurried from place to place, from one magistrate to another; denied even the friendly shelter of a jail; for the women and children, as they mostly were, had been guilty of, at worst, a venial crime in seeking to go with their husbands and fathers even to a foreign land. Now they had no homes to which they could be sent, for those they had recently left had passed into other hands; their present means of support must needs have been very limited and soon exhausted; what should be done with them then was a puzzling problem which each bench of magistrates tried to throw upon its fellow of the next town or parish, and which none of them thanked the over-zealous populace for thrusting upon them for solution.

Attempted flight near Hull frustrated.

So pitiable a case could hardly fail to excite compassion in any civilized community of even two hundred and fifty years ago, and help came no doubt, at last, to these poor people, from many persons as liberal in mind as in purse. For we learn from the narrative of these trials and misfortunes,[1] that "by these so public troubles, in so many eminent places, their cause became famous, and occasioned many to look into the same; and their godly carriage and Christian behavior was such as left a deep impression upon the minds of many." The scattered families and friends at length united in Holland, where the Dutch ship arrived after a tempestuous and dangerous voyage. In the course of the winter of 1607–8, and the following spring, the Puritan Church of Scrooby came together

The reunion of Puritans in Holland.

[1] Bradford's *History of Plymouth Plantation.*

again in Amsterdam, its members arriving in several parties, and at different times, after many perils and hardships.

These simple yeomen of Nottinghamshire, whose travels, till that winter, had seldom, if ever, probably, extended beyond the nearest market town, had come, as it were, into a new world. Instead of the green fields and pleasant hamlets of England, they saw a city risen out of the sea, its long, sluggish canals crowded with ships and spanned by hundreds of bridges. They wandered about streets of a new and strange aspect, filled with people speaking a strange and uncouth language, and clothed in strange costumes. Accustomed to the monotony of simple, rural ways and the rigid economies of country life, they were brought suddenly into places where wealth and luxury abounded, and where the sights and sounds of a vast and busy commerce met them on every side. But there were other realities before them of a sterner kind which gave them little time to observe or think of these new surroundings. The grim face of poverty confronted them, and all their energies were needed in the struggle for a bare subsistence.

Puritan churches in Amsterdam.

There were already two English Puritan churches in Amsterdam. Strife had arisen among the members, stirred up chiefly by John Smith, the pastor of the church from Gainsborough in Lincolnshire, a man of too restless and contentious a disposition to remain long at rest in any one place or in one belief. The Scrooby people had suffered enough to value tranquillity; and indeed all their history shows them to have been at all times a people who, next to purity, sought for peace. As they had abandoned the homes they loved so much, that they might live in the quiet enjoyment of their own religious faith, so now, rather than be drawn into these disputes and difficulties among the brethren of Amsterdam, they removed, about a year after their arrival, to Leyden.

The life in Holland.

This city was, for the next twelve years, their home, where they gained a sufficient livelihood by hard labor, but especially "enjoying much sweet and delightful society and spiritual comfort together in the ways of God, under the able ministry and prudent government of Mr. John Robinson and Mr. William Brewster."[1] Brewster, in those years, turned his early education to account by teaching, and carried on also the business of printing, sometimes publishing religious works which were prohibited in England. Bradford, who was not more than twenty years of age when he left Nottinghamshire, learned the trade of silk-weaving, but devoted himself also to study, being particularly anxious to read God's Word in the original Hebrew, and became a leading member of the church. Other principal men among them were Carver, Cushman, and Winslow, —

[1] Bradford's *History*.

the latter, a young man of higher social position than any of the rest, who, visiting Leyden while on his travels, became acquainted with the Puritans, and embraced their faith about three years before their departure from this city of refuge.

As the old grew older, and the young attained to manhood, a serious consideration of the future pressed upon them. Though none were very poor, there were none who were very prosperous; and their circumstances were not such as to attract any large addition to their number, or to increase their material welfare. They remained strangers in a strange land, still cherishing next to religious purity their birthright as Englishmen. Some of the younger members, who had little or no recollection of their English homes, were already yielding to the influences and temptations of foreign habits and manners; and the elders feared that as they passed away, not only would the Church be scattered, and the good seed of the Gospel perish, but all the ties and associations of a precious inheritance be lost and forgotten among their children.

Dissatisfaction with their new dwelling-place.

Church at Austerfield, Bradford's Birthplace.

Whither should they go that their faith and their birthright might both be handed down to their posterity sacred and inviolate? The power of the hierarchy that had driven them from their homes, hunted them from port to port, robbed them of almost everything but liberty and the right of obedience to the dictates of their own consciences, forbade that they should go back to England. Where, then, should they seek a new resting-place?

There were divided opinions. The anxious discussion of the subject began a year or more before Raleigh returned, to lose his head, from that fatal expedition to Guinea where he had lost his son. El Dorado was still believed in; there were some among the Puritans of Leyden bold enough and imaginative enough to urge a removal to a land where in perpetual summer, upon a soil that should yield them the fruits of the earth almost without labor, and in the enjoyment of wealth that, from the abundance of gold, need have no limit, they hoped to forget the perils, the hardships, and the poverty of the past.

Some were opposed to any change. They dreaded to expose their women and the aged to the perils and privations of a long voyage, to a change of climate, and to the dangers to be encountered from a savage

people, stories of whose ferocity and cruelty "moved the very bowels of men to grate within them, and made the weak to quake and tremble." But the more sober-minded, putting aside both delusive hopes and vain fears, turned their eyes to Virginia, though not to the colony on James River, where, it was thought, they would be subjected to religious persecution quite as much as in England. Somewhere, however, within the wide domain of the Virginia Company they proposed to establish themselves as a separate and independent colony, trusting they might obtain from James the assurance that they should be left in the undisturbed enjoyment of their religious convictions.

Proposal to remove to America.

They relied much on the good offices of Sir Edwin Sandys, then a member of the Council of the Virginia Company, and under whose wise management the colony on the James was soon to give its first real promise of permanence and prosperity. Sandys and Brewster had served together under William Davison thirty years before, and had probably continued in friendly relations; the former can hardly have failed to be familiar with the history of the Scrooby Puritans who had met in the house that Brewster leased, but which belonged to the Sandys family;[1] he was known, moreover, to share, in some degree, the opinions of the Puritans upon religious subjects, and to sympathize with them in the trials to which those opinions had led. None knew better than he the peculiar fitness of such a community to found a colony — men and women of blameless lives, of tenacious morality, of habits of persistent industry, inured to the evils of poverty, accustomed by years of exile to the shifts and devices with which new settlers must make themselves content and prosperous; for it was not with them as with other men, wrote Robinson and Brewster to Sandys, "whom small things can discourage, or small discontentments cause to wish themselves at home again."

Robert Cushman and John Carver were sent in 1617 to England as a deputation from the Church to obtain, if possible, a patent from the king which should give them lands in North Virginia with the assurance under the royal seal, of religious liberty. On their part it was promised that "they would endeavour the advancement of his majesty's dominions and the enlargement of the Gospel by all due means." "It was," James said, "a good and honest motion; but what profits," he asked, "would come from such a movement?" They answered: "Fishing." "So God have my soul," was the king's reply, "'t is an honest trade: 'twas the Apostles' own calling."[2] Nevertheless, the negotiations, which were continued for

Cushman and Carver sent to England.

[1] See *Founders of New Plymouth* for an account of the division of the lands of the See among his sons by Archbishop Sandys.

[2] Winslow's *Brief Relation.*

about a year and seconded by men of influence, came to nought. The king was unwilling to recognize such a colony by any public act, and it would have been inconsistent with his orders for the government of the South Virginia colony, given years before, when he had commanded that "the word and service of God should be preached and used according to the rites and doctrines of the Church of England." [1]

James, however, was made to understand that these people who besought his favor were not such rigid Separatists as their enemies represented them to be, and did not assume that the Christian religion was committed exclusively to their keeping. For they held communion with the Reformed Dutch and French churches, and acknowledged those of Scotland as Churches of Christ; they assented to the confession of Faith of the English Church, and were ready always to receive into fellowship its devout members, though they did not accept its Liturgy, its stated and formal prayers, and its constitution as a national church.[2] The King they acknowledged as supreme head of the State; in him was the lawful power to appoint bishops, as well as civil officers, whose authority, therefore, they honored as a part of the civil government; and they denied all power or authority in any ecclesiastical body that was not derived from the king.[3] James understood clearly enough, no doubt, the distinction the Puritans always kept in mind between civil and spiritual conformity. But he also understood that they were a harmless and godly people who used their religious freedom for the guidance of their own lives, and not for the government of others. He gave their friends in England the assurance that he would connive at their settlement in America, and should not molest them so long as they conducted themselves peaceably though he could not extend to them his royal permission and public recognition. Some of the Puritans, understanding the character of the king, were disposed to think that they had gained in this concession all that they could reasonably hope for. James, they said, "had he given them a seal as broad as the house floor," [4] would have evaded or recalled it, if at any future time he should be disposed to do so.

Negotiations with King James.

But better warrant than the mere word of the king was wanted to

[1] Stith's *History of Virginia.*

[2] There is a gleam of humor, though he may not have meant it as such, in Robinson's assertion that, "Our faith is founded upon the writings of the Prophets and Apostles in which no mention of the Church of England is made."

[3] Compare the Seven Articles sent by the Church at Leyden to the Council in England and signed by Robinson and Brewster. *New York Historical Collections*, Second Series, vol. iii., Part I. Bradford's *History of Plymouth Plantation;* Winslow's *Brief Relation*, in Young's *Chronicles.*

[4] Bradford's *Plymouth Plantation.*

justify them in giving up, without any certainty for the future, the security and peace they possessed in Holland. Negotiations were continued in England, Brewster going over to the assistance of Carver and Cushman. After much trouble and delay, a patent was procured from the Virginia Company, issued in the name of Mr. John Wincob, on the 9th of June, 1619.[1] Of this patent nothing further is known, and it was never used.[2] It is supposed to have made a grant of land somewhere near the mouth of the Hudson River. Perhaps the patent was not thought sufficient because it promised to give title to lands in that region. The Puritans were wary and prudent, and evidently the first condition, in their minds, of the proposed movement was that wherever they went they should carry with them a sense of absolute security and protection. The Dutch already had their trading posts on Manhattan Island and the upper waters of the Hudson; and though they had as yet made no agricultural settlements, they clearly had the best right to that region of country, both by virtue of discovery and of possession. The most obvious course, therefore, for the Puritans was to obtain from the Dutch some confirmation of title, before they moved under a patent from an English company to lands which the Dutch occupied. This, at any rate, is what they attempted to do, whatever may have been the motive. The pastor, John Robinson, proposed, on behalf of the Church, to the Amsterdam Company, that he and his people should go to New Netherland, provided the Company could assure them of protection, and establish a colony there subject to the Prince of Orange and the States General. Four hundred families, to go from Holland and from England, Robinson said, would constitute the colony.

The Puritans propose to settle in New Netherland.

The proposal seems to have been received with enthusiasm by the Amsterdam merchants, who well knew the value of such material for the settlement of a new country. Their reply was an offer of free transportation, cattle for every family, and other inducements;[3] but on the question of the indispensable guaranty of safety, they could only refer the memorial to the Prince of Orange with a prayer of their own that protection be granted. The stadtholder referred the subject, in his turn, to the States General. After much deliberation and discussion, the petition of the Amsterdam Company, in favor of Robinson's proposal, was rejected. This decision may have been influenced by the proposed establish-

Their proposal refused by the States General.

[1] The date is fixed by the journal of the London Council in Neill's *History of the Virginia Company*, where the name of the patentee is spelt Wencop, Wincopp, and Whincop. Bradford says Wincob.

[2] Bradford's *Plymouth Plantation*.

[3] Winslow in Young's *Chronicles*; Bradford's *History*.

ment of the great West India Company, to which would properly belong the settlement of all Dutch possessions in the New World, and by the possible international complications that might arise from colonizing a body of Englishmen under the protection of the States-General.[1]

Nearly three years had now elapsed since negotiations were begun, and none of them had led to any practical result. Many were discouraged by these difficulties, and some in England, who had at first proposed to join in the enterprise, and others in Holland, declined to have anything more to do with it. The more zealous and persistent, who were not to be deterred by any obstacles, were convinced that the time had come to resort to positive measures and to take risks. The reso-

Leyden.

lution shaped itself into "a solemn meeting and day of humiliation to seeke the Lord for his direction," and the conclusion was that such as were disposed and could make the needful preparation should go, with Elder Brewster at their head; the rest, and the larger number, remaining with Mr. Robinson in Leyden. Those who were left behind, it was agreed, should follow when means and opportunity offered.

Among those in London who had interested themselves in the negotiations for a patent was one Thomas Weston, a merchant. He was in Leyden some time in 1620, while these delays and doubts and dis-

[1] Holland Documents, cited in Brodhead's *History of the State of New York.*

appointments were gradually bringing a portion of the Church to a determination to emigrate at all hazards. Weston's counsel was in harmony with this feeling; he advised them to rely neither upon the Dutch nor the Virginia Company; he and others, he assured them, were ready to supply ships and money for such an enterprise; and he reminded them that Sir Ferdinando Gorges and others were moving for a new patent in Northern Virginia. "Unto which," adds Bradford, "Mr. Weston, and the cheefe of them, began to incline it was best for them to goe." Thereupon a joint-stock company was formed, to continue for seven years; when all the profits of the adventure in trading, fishing, planting, or anything else, were to go for that period into a common stock, and at the end of it were to be equally divided between the adventurers and planters, — that is, those who had contributed money only to the enterprise, and those who had engaged in it personally. Every person over sixteen years of age who went was rated at ten pounds, or a single share; and if he provided his own outfit, to the amount of ten pounds, he was entitled to two shares. All the members of the colony were to be supported out of the common stock. These were the essential articles of agreement made between the London adventurers, who were chiefly to supply the means of going, and the members of the Leyden Church who were to go.[1]

A joint-stock company formed.

The conflicting rights and interests of adventurers and planters in this joint-stock company were not adjusted without a good deal of controversy and delay, the planters being especially dissatisfied that the value of the homes which they should make for themselves in the colony should, at the end of the seven years, be equally divided among all the stockholders; and that, during that period, there should not be two or three days in each week reserved to the colonists in which to labor on their own account. But, at length, all the arrangements for their departure were completed. The *Speedwell*, a vessel of sixty tons, was bought and fitted in Holland, and another, the *Mayflower*, was chartered in London, and was to receive them at Southampton.

On or about the 21st of July, 1620,[2] the church at Leyden held a day of humiliation and prayer, the pastor, Mr. Robinson, preaching a sermon "upon which," says Bradford, "he spente a good parte of the day very profitably, and suitable to their presente occasion." Those that were to stay behind "feasted" those that were to go, "refreshing" them afterward with the singing of psalms, making joyful melody, for many were expert in music.[3]

The Pilgrims at Delft-Haven.

[1] Bradford's *Plymouth Plantation*, p. 45, where the articles of agreement are given.

[2] Prince's *Chronological History of New England.*

[3] Winslow in Young's *Chronicles.*

The next day — leaving "the goodly and pleasante citie," continues Bradford, "which had been their resting-place near twelve years; but they knew they were *pilgrims* and looked not much on those things, but lift up their eyes to the heavens, their dearest cuntrie, and quieted their spirits" — they went to the port of Delft-Haven.

Here the night was spent, not in sleep, but in friendly entertainment, and Christian discourse. On the morrow they parted with their friends, and "truly dolfull," he adds, "was the sight of that sade and mournfull parting; to see what sighs and sobbs, and praires did sound amongst them, what tears did gush from every eye, and pithy speeches pierst each harte. . . . . But the tide (which waits for no man) calling them away, that were thus loath to departe, their Reverend pastor, falling downe on his knees, (and they all with him,) with watrie cheekes comended them with most fervente praiers to the Lord and his blessing. And then with mutuall imbraces, and many tears they tooke their leaves one of an other which proved to be the last leave of many of them."[1] Then they went forth to help lay, in the wilderness across the sea, the foundations of a Nation.

Delft-Haven.

On the 5th of August, the two ships sailed from Southampton with about one hundred and twenty passengers. In a week they were back again, putting in at Dartmouth, the *Speedwell* having sprung a leak. In a few days they again put to sea, but only to run back to Plymouth, after sailing a hundred leagues, for the *Speedwell* proved altogether unseaworthy. A month was thus wasted in attempts to get away, and it was not till the 6th of September that the *Mayflower* succeeded in making a successful departure alone, carrying, beside her crew, one hundred and two persons for the new colony.[2]

The departure of the *Mayflower*, 6th of September, 1620, Old Style, 16th September, New Style.

It was sixty-five days before they saw land again. The voyage

[1] In bidding farewell to their friends, "we gave them," says Winslow, "a volley of small shot and three pieces of ordnance; and so lifting up our hands to each other, and our hearts for each other to the Lord our God, we departed."

[2] This was the exact number that sailed from Plymouth, and arrived at Cape Cod, there having been one birth and one death on the passage.

was tempestuous; the ship was too weak to bear much canvas; and it was a question, when they were half across the ocean, whether they should not return. On the 9th of November, they hailed with delight, as so many storm-tossed mariners had done before them, the low coast of Cape Cod. Their purpose was to find a place farther south, or indefinitely somewhere about the mouth of the Hudson River, for their proposed settlement, and for half a day, after making land, they stood

Plymouth Harbor, England.

to the southward. But they fell presently among dangerous shoals. Gosnold's Point Care and Tucker's Terror, Champlain's Cape Malebarre, stretched out into the sea and turned them back. The next day they ran along the outer coast of the cape, sailed round its extremity, and on the 11th [1] cast anchor in Cape Cod Harbor, now the Harbor of Provincetown, the only windward port within two hundred miles where the ship could have lain at anchor for the next month, unvexed by the storms which usher in a New England winter.

The anchorage in Cape Cod Harbor.

Their first act on landing, was to fall upon their knees and bless God "who had brought them over the vast and furious ocean, and delivered them from all the perils and miseries thereof, againe to set their feete on the firme and stable earth, their proper elemente." [2] But however much cause there was for thankfulness, they were not unmindful of the serious difficulties with which they stood face to face. Among them were some persons not of the Leyden Church, but who had been taken on board, perhaps, in England, as servants of the leading and wealthier members

The first landing, 11th November, 1620, O. S., 21st November, N. S.

[1] The 11th of November, Old Style; the 21st of November, New Style.

[2] Bradford.

of the Company. These men had given, the day before the harbor was reached, and when the ship had been turned back from her southward course, some evidences of a discontented and mutinous spirit. If the patent from the Southern Virginia Company was not used, and a settlement was made without the jurisdiction of that Company, then these malcontents intimated they would be under no restraint of legal authority, and at liberty to do as should seem to them best. It was determined, therefore, to enter into a compact of government which should not only have the binding force of law over all persons disposed to be insubordinate, but which would be, it was thought, of as much virtue under the circumstances in which they were placed as any patent. On the day they entered Cape Cod

Compact signed on board the *Mayflower*.

Harbor of Provincetown.

harbor, therefore, all the men, excepting seven of the servants, entered into and signed this agreement:[1]—

"In y^e^ name of God, Amen. We whose names are underwriten, the loyall subjects of our dread soveraigne Lord, King James, by y^e^ grace of God, of Great Britaine, Franc & Ireland king, defender of y^e^ faith, &c., haveing undertaken, for y^e^ glorie of God, and advancemente of y^e^ Christian faith, and honour of our king & countrie, a voyage to plant y^e^ first colonie in y^e^ Northerne part of Virginia, doe by these presents solemnly & mutualy in y^e^ presence of God, and one of another, covenant & combine our selves togeather into a civill body politick, for our better ordering & preservation & furtherance of y^e^ ends aforesaid; and by vertue hearof to enacte, constitute, and frame such just & equall lawes, ordinances, acts, constitutions & offices, from time

[1] We follow literally the copy in Bradford's *History of Plymouth Plantation*, recovered in full only twenty years ago, and published under the editorship of Charles Deane. This document is given in Mourt's *Relation*, and Morton's *Memorial*, with some slight and unimportant changes of phraseology.

to time, as shall be thought most meete & convenient for y^e^ generall good of y^e^ Colonie, unto which we promise all due submission and obedience. In witnes wherof we have hereunder subscribed our names at Cap-Codd y^e^ 11 of November, in y^e^ year of y^e^ raigne of our soveraigne lord, King James, of England, France & Ireland y^e^ eighteenth, and of Scotland y^e^ fiftie fourth An^o^ : Dom. 1620."

The promptitude and unanimity — saving only of the seven servants, who were the only members of the company it was necessary to reduce to obedience by creating a government — with which this compact was made and adopted, almost compel the belief that the colonists were quite content to find themselves without the jurisdiction of either the Dutch, or the Virginia Company. The shoals of Point Care and Tucker's Terror may have been rather a pretext than a cause for making no farther attempt to reach a port more to the southward. Nor does there seem to be any sufficient reason for believing the story, that the captain of the *Mayflower* was bribed not to take his passengers to the mouth of the Hudson River.[1] The negotiations before they left Holland, show that while the States General declined to grant them protection, apparently for political reasons, the New Netherland Company were anxious to induce them to settle in the region of country they claimed as theirs. It was the Puritans who objected to going without this guaranty of safety ; not the Dutch who objected to receiving them. Weston, who represented the London adventurers on whom the church members at Leyden were to depend so largely for the means of removal, urged them, as we have already stated, not to rely upon either the Dutch or the Virginia Company, enforcing his counsel with the fact that Sir Ferdinando Gorges, and others, had obtained from the king a patent for that part of America called New England. The Virginia Company opposed this patent ; the questions raised in regard to it were carried to the House of Commons, and it was not till the next year that they were definitively disposed of. It may have been for this that the Puritans did not seek, before their departure, for a patent from the New England Company ; but they sent for and obtained it, when the *Mayflower* returned to England in the spring.[2] It is quite possible that the Pilgrim Fathers

[1] Morton in his *New England's Memorial,* published in 1669, says : " Of this Plot betwixt the Dutch and Mr. Jones, (the master of the *Mayflower,*) I have had late and certain Intelligence." He does not say what or whence the intelligence was, and it is more likely the story was born of the feeling that grew up against the Dutch in later years, than that it had any real foundation. There is no hint of any dissatisfaction with, or suspicion of Captain Jones in the narratives of the emigrants themselves. It has been said, also, that the *Mayflower* had run north of her intended course, because the compass was influenced by an axe, concealed purposely, or by chance, near the binnacle. One tale is hardly more improbable than the other.

[2] This was the patent to John Peirce. See the " Brief Narration " of Sir Ferdinando

were content to make their land-fall within the boundaries of New England rather than within those of the Virginia Company. The impatience of the captain of the *Mayflower* to land his passengers and return to England may have found a ready response in men who were not sorry that chance had thrown them where they had nothing to fear from the interference of others, whatever other trials there might be in store for them.

The extremity of Cape Cod now is quite a different place from that on which the passengers of the *Mayflower* landed, glad to get ashore

The Landing on Cape Cod.

anywhere after their long and anxious voyage. Where they found pleasant woods of oak and pine, of ash and walnut, and other fine trees, "open & without underwood, fit either to goe or ride in,"[1] are now only a few starved and scattered shrubs. The soil of "excellent black earth, a spit's depth," has disappeared, except here and there in swamps, and in its place are the shifting hills of yellow sand, drifting from year to year like snow before a driving storm, the Cape only saved from being blown away altogether, by the long beach-

Gorges, in *Maine Hist. Soc. Coll.*, vol. ii. Davis's notes to Morton's *Memorial*. Young's *Chronicles*. Deane's notes to Bradford's *History*.

[1] Mourt's *Relation*. Bradford gives essentially the same account.

grass which ties it down.[1] But then, as now, the waters of the bay were shallow, and the people waded ashore; the men to explore the country, the women to wash the clothes after the long sea voyage; though where fresh water was found for this purpose, can only now be guessed by the curious antiquary, who finds traces of a pond, obliterated long ago by the encroaching waters of the sea and the ever shifting sands.[2] But there was no water fit for drinking; for, some days later, the men drank their "first New England water" from springs found ten miles distant from the beach where the *Mayflower* lay at anchor.

A company of sixteen men under Captain Miles Standish, made this first reconnoissance of the land, marching through boughs and bushes which tore their armor in pieces; seeing Indians, for the first time, at a distance; crossing fields of stubble where they had grown their maize; finding the winter's store of the grain itself which the natives had buried in the sand, and filling with this a kettle — left by some former visitors, or taken perhaps, from some wrecked vessel — they returned to the ship like the men from Eshcol, with the fruits of the land, at which their brethren were "marvelously glad & their harts encouraged."

Reconnoitring party under Miles Standish.

Signature of Miles Standish.

When the shallop, which the ship had brought, had received the repairs she needed, more extended explorations were made along the shores of the bay. These unfortunate people could not have come at a worse season, and could hardly have found a less fitting place along the whole coast, on which to plant a colony. More than a month was consumed in the search for a spot, which they could venture to believe might answer, — a longer time than it would have taken to go hundreds of miles farther south, had they wished, or had they been willing to put themselves within the jurisdiction of either the Virginia Company or the Dutch. There was nothing to invite, and everything to discourage them in the aspect and condition of the country. They were very thankful to have found corn enough in the Indian stores to answer their own needs in the coming spring for seed-corn, which they honestly paid for, when, six months later, they met with the owners; and they had good reason to congratulate themselves, that the natives of the country seemed to be but few; these were the only special blessings, but they were duly grateful. The weather was

[1] So serious is the danger of the destruction of the end of Cape Cod, as to call for remedial measures on the part of the United States Government, within a few years.

[2] See Thoreau's *Cape Cod*, and Dexter's notes to Mourt's *Relation*.

so cold that the sea-spray, as it fell upon those exposed in the open shallop, encased them, as it were, in armor of ice; the ground was frozen hard, and during much of the first month covered with snow; they rather hoped than knew that fish, which was to be their chief dependence, were plentiful, for at that season they could catch but few; and they sought painfully along the shallow shores for a harbor with water enough to float their ship, whose passengers pined to exchange their narrow cabins for even the lonely wilderness and the leafless woods, through which the winter storms swept dismally, bringing with them the roar, the smell, and the dreariness of the sea.

The ship herself was safe on good anchorage-ground, and in a land-locked port; but for her people to remain longer than was absolutely necessary, at a place where there was no fresh water to drink, and where the shore could only be reached by wading, except at the full flood of the tide, was out of the question. No pretermission of diligence, therefore, in seeking for a better spot was permitted, and at last the search was successful. On Wednesday, the 6th of December (Old Style), a party put off for a more extended search than had yet been made. Robert Coppin, the gunner of the *Mayflower*, was of this company, and he knew, he said — for he had been upon this coast before — of a good harbor, and a great navigable river in the other headland of the bay. On Wednesday and Thursday they cruised along the shore, on the west side of the cape, from Provincetown to Truro, from Truro to Wellfleet, from Wellfleet to Eastham — as the region is now divided. A sudden attack was made upon them, on Friday morning, by the natives, as they were getting ready to leave the night's camping-ground, and arquebus-shot and arrow flights were exchanged without harm to either party.

From this point they sailed along the coast for fifteen leagues, on Friday, and, seeing no good harbor, stood on in search of that which Coppin said he knew. The day was stormy; in the course of it the rudder of the boat was unshipped, and, before they made land on the other side of the bay, she carried away her mast, split her sail, and was near being lost altogether. At nightfall they reached and landed upon an island, since known as Clark's Island, because Clark, the *Mayflower's* chief mate, was the first to step ashore. The next day, the 9th, they explored the island, and on Sunday, the 10th, they rested, as men would be sure to rest who, on week-days, never forgot, under any circumstances, to ask in outspoken prayer the blessing of God upon their labors.

On Monday, December 11th,[1] they crossed the harbor, sounding it

[1] December 11, Old Style: December 21, New Style. In 1769 the "landing of the 'Pilgrim Fathers'" was first commemorated at Plymouth, and the date in New Style was errone-

THE SABBATH ON CLARK'S ISLAND.

as they went, and finding it of good depth for small vessels. Along the shore of the mainland they found several brooks of plentiful waters pouring into the bay, and here and there were cleared fields, where the Indians had planted maize, ready for the use of new comers. If not the best of places, it was, says Bradford, who was of the party, "at least the best they could find, and the season and their present necessity made them glad to accept it."

The exploring party land on the mainland, December 11, O. S., December 21, N. S.

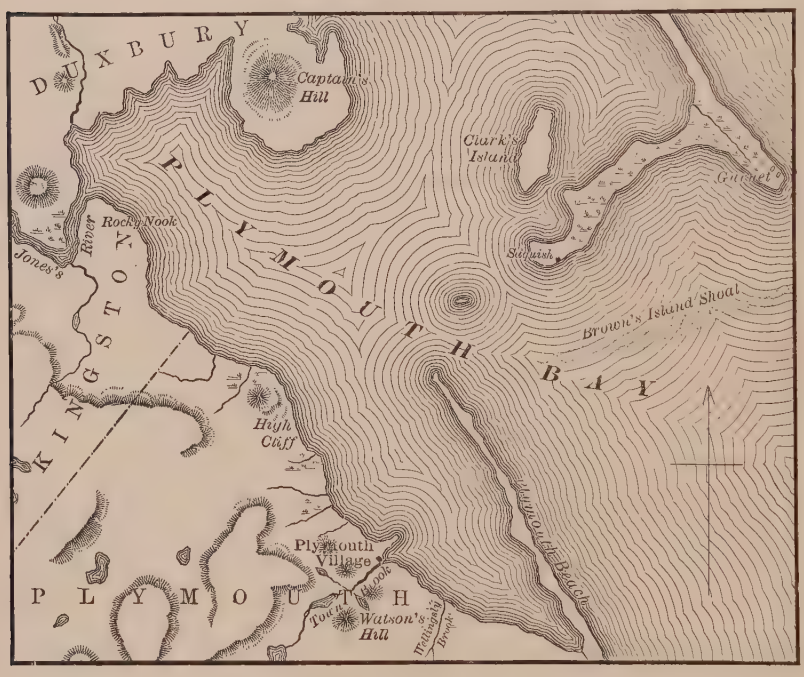
The incident in itself is commonplace enough. Seventeen rough men,[1] who, for the five previous days had been in an open boat, sleeping by night upon the bare ground, sometimes drenched with rain, sometimes half frozen with the cold, landed, as they had often done before, from their boat to seek anew a spot that would answer their purpose. History, nevertheless, has marked the act as an epoch. Nor is its significance likely to be forgotten, although confusion and misunderstanding have gathered about it and obscured its exact details. Its importance and interest are none the less because it happens to be commemorated by the descendants of the Pilgrims, wherever they are found, on the anniversary of a day when the event did not occur, and with the general supposition that on that day the people of the *Mayflower* landed from the ship upon the rock of Plymouth — which they certainly did not do till a fortnight later.

Nor is there any reason, except in the confounding of fact and tradition, for the supposition that this boat-load of explorers visited the spot where the Pilgrims afterward made their home. That is three miles from Clark's Island, while the shore of the mainland — toward which these men would naturally steer their boat at the nearest point — stretches along opposite the island within a much shorter distance. Though they "marched into the land, and found divers corn-fields

ously made the 22d, instead of the 21st." The error, which has been perpetuated ever since in the celebration of the day, arose, it has been supposed, from the addition of eleven days, instead of ten, to mark the difference between Old Style and New. The explanation is unsatisfactory, as such a blunder seems hardly likely to have occurred. The error more probably came from a mistake in punctuation, in Mourt's *Relation*, where the statement is: "And here we made our rendezvous all that day, being Saturday, 10 of December, on the Sabbath day we rested, and on Monday we sounded the harbor," etc. There should be a period after "Saturday," when it would read: "And here we made our rendezvous all that day, being Saturday. 10 of December, on the Sabbath day, we rested; and on Monday," etc. Saturday was certainly the 9th, not the 10th; but when, in 1769, in Plymouth, they turned to Mourt's *Relation*, to fix the date of this incident, and read the record with its erroneous punctuation, they of course called Monday the 12th, and, adding ten days for difference of styles, made "Forefathers' Day" the 22d.

[1] They were Miles Standish, John Carver, William Bradford, Edward Winslow, John Tilley, Edward Tilley, John Howland, Richard Warren, Steven Hopkins, Edward Doty; two seamen, John Allerton and Thomas English, hired by the colonists; of the ship's company, Clark, the first mate, Coppin, the master-gunner, and three unnamed sailors.

and litle runing brooks," they decided upon no particular site for the colony, for they "afterwards," says Bradford, "took better view of the place, and resolved where to pitch their dwelling." Nor could they have spent much time in a survey of the shores of the harbor, for they returned that day to their companions, at the end of Cape Cod, to report the success of the expedition — a return saddened by the news of the death of William Bradford's wife, who, during his absence, had fallen overboard and was drowned. With this voyage of the shallop no tradition seems to be connected. We have only



Map of Plymouth Harbor.

the cold, bare records of ordinary facts; the rough pioneer work of men engaged in an arduous duty, to be done at any risk of hardship, and to be done quickly. All the romantic interest that tradition lends to the landing of the Pilgrims came later with the disembarkation of the passengers of the *Mayflower*, upon the rock at Plymouth.

On the 15th of December the *Mayflower* left her harbor at Cape Cod; the next day, Saturday, the 16th, she dropped her anchor about half-way between Plymouth and Clark's Island. On Monday and Tuesday, the 18th and 19th, exploring parties, some in the shallop, and some on foot, cruised along the shore or roamed through the woods

for several miles. But it was not till Wednesday that a choice was made between two places, and it was decided that the fittest for a settlement was where a hill, overlooking the bay and the surrounding country, offered the best site for a fort and houses, and near which were fields cleared by the Indians for their own planting, and a plentiful stream of sweet water. Here some of them at once established themselves. But communication with the ship was, for the next two days, interrupted by bad weather, which permitted only of the putting off of a boat occasionally in the intervals of the storm. On Saturday those on shore felled some timber. But not till Monday, the 25th, did the passengers generally go "on shore, some to fell timber, some to saw, some to rive, and some to carry, so no man rested all that day." The actual beginning of the settlement was then made, — "to erect the first house for common use to receive them and their goods." [1]

The *Mayflower* in Plymouth harbor. Dec. 16, O. S Dec. 26, N. S.

Relics from the 'Mayflower,' — John Alden's Bible; William Clark's Mug and Wallet, etc.

This was on the site of the present town of Plymouth, and at the head of one of its wharves, almost buried in the roadway, is the memorial rock, or rather what there is left of it.[2] Trustworthy tradition verifies it as that on which the passengers of the *Mayflower* landed when, for the first time, — Monday, December 25th, — they left the ship with a distinct purpose of taking possession of a new home.

The landing at Plymouth. Dec. 25, 1620, O. S.; Jan. 4, 1621, N. S.

Only on Tuesday of the previous week was this spot fixed upon; the ship was a mile and a half away; in the interval of nearly a week the stormy weather had made it difficult for the shallop to take even the needed provisions to the few men on shore. Not till Monday, the 25th, was the actual work of putting up a shelter on this chosen spot begun; and then it seems probable and natural — indeed only till then does it seem possible — that a visit was made by the company generally, men, women, and children, to their future home.

And it was made, no doubt, with recognition of the occasion as something more than an ordinary occurrence; with emotions of mingled

[1] Bradford's *History*. Mourt's *Relation*.

[2] The upper portion of it was removed, about a hundred years ago, nearer to the centre of the town.

gladness and sorrow; with sad and tender memories of that past life, ending now as they were preparing to leave the ship that brought them from the homes they should never see again; but with sanguine hope also in the new and free life on which they were about to enter, though beginning in hardship and suffering,—visibly beginning, with almost all the calamities from which they might have asked to be delivered in no more definite and forcible prayer than that of the Litany against which they protested,—"from lightning and

Landing of John Alden and Mary Chilton.

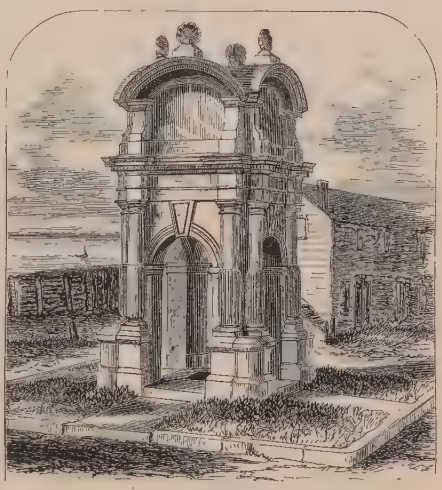
tempest; from plague, pestilence, and famine; from battle and murder, and from sudden death."

Still another tradition connects this rock with the general landing of the *Mayflower's* passengers.[1] The honor of being the first to

[1] "There is a tradition, as to the person who first leaped upon this rock, when the families came on shore, December 11, 1620." *Coll. Mass. Hist. Society*, vol. iii., Second Series, p. 174. It is such careless statements as this that have led to confusion on this subject. "The families" were on board the *Mayflower* in Provincetown harbor, twenty-five miles from Plymouth, on the 11th of December, 1620. The advance party of explorers only landed that day somewhere on the Plymouth shore.

step upon the rock is divided between John Alden and Mary Chilton.[1] Neither of these persons is named in the list, which professes to be a full one, of those who in the shallop, on the 11th of December, discovered the bay of Plymouth; and certainly no woman could have been upon such an expedition. Nor is it likely that any woman went on shore in the stormy weather, after the arrival of the *Mayflower* in the harbor on the 16th, till the general visit was made on the 25th to the selected spot. Whoever then was the first to spring to the rock, — about which there may have been, on such an occasion, some pleasant rivalry, — whether the young man or the young maiden, the leap was made, no doubt, from the first boat from the *Mayflower*, on the 25th of December — **Jan. 4th 1621, N. S.**

John Alden and Mary Chilton.



Stone Canopy over Plymouth Rock.

But even yet there was no final transfer of the colonists to land. The ship was still the home of the larger number, and probably of all the women and children, those only remaining on shore who were engaged in building or in guarding the accumulating property. On the 10th of January the common house of about twenty feet square was nearly finished; it was only then that a town of a single street was laid out, and it was agreed that each head of a family should build his own house on the lot assigned him. The building went on slowly, for the inclemency of the weather permitted of out-door work for only half the time. Some of the private houses were finished in the course of the winter, but it was not till the 21st of March that all the company went finally on shore.

Much less room was needed now, if that were one of the reasons for delay in removing from the ship. For the first two months those on shore were exposed, with little or no shelter, to the rigors of a New England winter, though that of 1620–21 was plainly one of unusual mildness; those in the ship were crowded into close and unwholesome quarters; provision was scanty and poor; the scurvy appeared and spread rapidly; other diseases, engendered

Mortality in the winter of 1620–21.

[1] *Notes on Plymouth, Mass.*, vol. iii., Second Series, and *Notes on Duxbury*, vol. x., Mass. Hist. Coll.

in want and exposure, became equally prevalent; and when the spring opened about one half the company were dead.

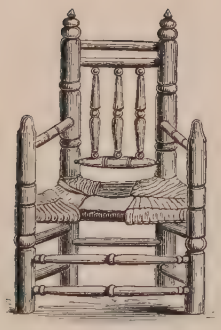
Some of the most eminent in character and station; many in the prime of their days and their strength, whose loss to the colony was most serious; wives, mothers, children, servants were swept away, leaving those who survived enfeebled by sickness and overwhelmed with grief, when they were most in need of all their physical and mental energies. Carver, the governor, died in April, and his wife soon followed him; the wife of William Bradford, who was Carver's successor, was drowned — as we have already said — before the *Mayflower* left Cape Cod harbor; Edward Winslow, Miles Standish, Isaac Allerton, were soon made widowers; Edward Tillie and John Tillie, who were of the crew of the shallop that discovered Plymouth Bay,

First Burial Place near the Landing.

lost their wives, and both died not long after; John Allerton and Thomas English, of the same company, soon filled graves on the shore they had helped to find; Mary Chilton, one of the first, no doubt, if not the very first, to spring to the landing-place in glad expectation of a happy future in a new home, was soon alone, both father and mother dead; others, like her, were left orphans; parents were left childless; in some cases whole families were carried off; in others there was only a single survivor. Hardly a day passed for four months that they did not bring out their dead.

So the winter passed. Little happened to break the sad monotony of intervals of work on houses which they might not live to occupy, and nursing the sick till most of them were taken to those narrow houses which they would never leave. Twice the wretched commu-

nity were in danger of being burnt out of their poor shelters on shore, the thatched roofs of their two buildings, one for the well, the other for the sick, taking fire by accident and being consumed. Lurking savages were sometimes seen in the neighborhood, but they made no attempt to molest the new comers. Precautions, however, were taken against any attack from them, and Miles Standish, who had been a soldier in the Low Countries, was entrusted with the conduct of military affairs, as he was generally with the command of all expeditions.



Governor Carver's Chair.

CHAPTER XV.

THE PILGRIMS AT PLYMOUTH.

The Coming of Friendly Indians. — Samoset and Squanto. — Captain Dermer's Previous Visit to Plymouth. — Standish's Visit to Boston Harbor. — Reinforcements from England. — The First Christmas at Plymouth. — Hostile Message from the Narragansetts. — Arrival of Weston's Colonists. — Their Settlement at Wessagusset. — An Indian Conspiracy. — Standish's Expedition and the Plot defeated. — The Grief of Pastor Robinson. — Arrival of Robert Gorges. — First Allotment of Land in Plymouth. — John Peirce's Patent. — The Lyford and Oldham Conspiracy. — Their Banishment. — Breaking-up of the London Company. — The Pilgrims thrown on their own Resources. — The Fishing Station at Cape Ann. — Encounter between Captain Standish and Mr. Hewes. — The Dorchester Settlement at Cape Ann. — Conant's Charge of it, and his Removal to Naumkeag. — Settlements about Boston Harbor. — Morton of Merry-Mount. — Standish's Arrest of Morton.

New events came with the spring to the colony at Plymouth, as well as health and hope. In March a naked Indian stalked boldly in

Visit of Samoset to the Colony.

among them, and greeted them in a few English words, which he had learned from the fishermen and other voyagers on the coast of Maine,

his home being on the Pemaquid. This man's name was Samoset, but why he was so far from home is not clear. He may have been brought and left in the neighborhood by Captain Dermer, who had twice been upon this coast, making his second voyage only the previous summer. On his first voyage he visited the place, "which," he said, "in Captain Smith's map is called Plimouth. And," he adds, "I would that the first Plantation might here be seated, if there come to the number of Fifty persons, or upwards." [1]

The visit of a friendly Indian -- Samoset.

From this Samoset they learned that the Indian name of the place they had settled upon was Patuxet, and that about four years before all the inhabitants had been swept off by a plague.[2] He told them who were their nearest Indian neighbors — Massasoit's people, the Wampanoags, and the Nausets on Cape Cod. It was these Nausets with whom the Pilgrims had their harmless fight soon after landing, and who were most inimical to the English because seven of their tribe were kidnapped by Hunt in 1614, the other twenty being taken from Patuxet — Plymouth.

Samoset brought to the settlement some of the friendly Indians, and among them Tisquantum or Squanto, one of those whom Weymouth took to England, fifteen years before, and gave to Sir Ferdinando Gorges. It had been this man's fortune to be again kidnapped, this time by Hunt, and to fall into the hands of Dermer, who brought him home to Patuxet, — "my savage's native country," Dermer writes, where he found "all dead," nearly two years before. It was fortunate for the new-comers that their first intercourse with the Indians was through these two men, who were friendly to the English and could speak their tongue. One immediate

Tisquantum or Squanto.

[1] Bradford says of this letter that it is "a relation written by him [Dermer], and given me by a friend, bearing date June 30 Ano 1620. . . . . In which relation to his honored friend he hath these passages of this very place." Morton in the *Memorial*, copies verbatim from Bradford. "I will first begin [says the letter] with that place from whence Squanto or Tisquantum was taken away, which in Captain Smith's map is called Plimouth: and I would that Plimouth had the same commodities. I would that the first Plantation might here be seated if there come to the number of 50 persons or upward." Morton evidently mistakes in supposing this letter of June 30, 1620, referred to the visit of that spring. It was in the summer of 1619 that Dermer was at Plymouth.

[2] There can be no doubt from the concurring testimony of several of the writers of that period, that such a pestilence prevailed throughout New England a few years before the settlement of Plymouth. The story was that a party of Frenchmen, trading on the coast of Massachusetts, aroused the enmity of the natives, who fell upon and killed all but five whom they kept as servants. None of them lived long, and the last survivor predicted to the Indians, just before his death, that God was so angry with them for their bloody and cruel deed that He would destroy them all. The Indians answered that they were so many God could not kill them. The prediction, nevertheless, was fulfilled, and the more pious of the early settlers believed that the pestilence was sent as a special providence to rid the country of the heathen and make room for the coming of a Christian people.

good result followed, for the natives brought, within a few days, the most powerful Sagamore of that region, Massasoit, with whom the colonists made a treaty both offensive and defensive. They were not much impressed with the dignity of this first Indian king whom they met, for he was distinguished from his followers only by a string of white bone beads about his neck ; his face was painted of a sad red, and both face and head were well oiled so that he " looked greasily."

Squanto became at once an intimate and valued friend. He taught them how to plant maize, and to manure it with the alewives which in April came up the brook in great numbers to spawn ; and these he showed them how to take. It was a service of no slight value, for the wheat and peas, and other English seed the colonists sowed, proved almost worthless, either from defect in cultivation, or from delay in planting. Later in the season the Indian guided two ambassadors, Winslow and Hopkins, across the country to Massasoit's chief village, Pokanoket, now Warren, Rhode Island, to confirm the treaty of peace and friendship made with him at Plymouth. The pleasant weather between seed-time and harvest was wisely used in learning the character of the surrounding region, in making the acquaintance of the nearest native tribes, and in acquiring an influence over them.

Visit to Pokanoket and other places.

The cape was explored ; Boston Harbor was visited, and the sight of its islands, then covered with woods, its sheltered coves, and its navigable streams, into which fish of every kind known on that coast swarmed in their season, excited keen regret that their lines had not fallen in such pleasant places. The health of the colonists was now so completely established that ten men could be spared to go off upon some of these excursions — half, at least, of their effective force, for the whole colony, including women and children, was reduced to about fifty persons, and seven small houses held them all. Those left at home were employed in fishing and tending the few acres of the expected harvest. Of food there was abundance ; game was plentiful, especially wild turkeys, which long since disappeared from the Atlantic sea-coast, and deer, which to this day roam in the woods from Plymouth to Cape Cod.[1]

In November came the first reinforcement of thirty-five persons in the ship *Fortune*. She brought also a new patent, issued to John

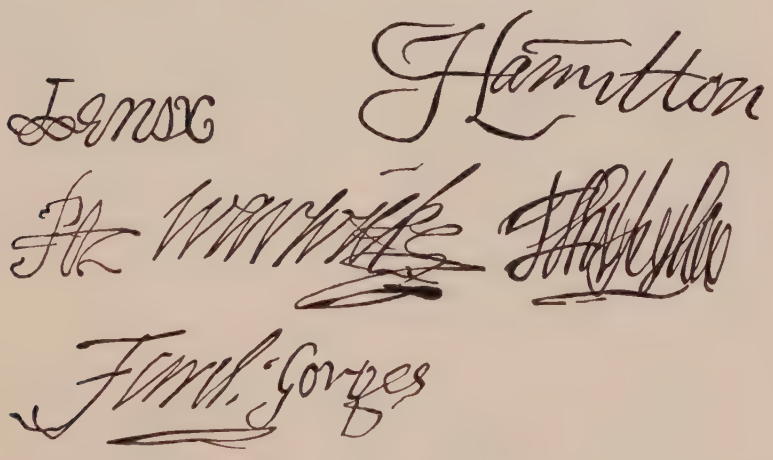
[1] In the autumn of this year the Governor (says Winslow, in Mourt's *Relation*) " sent four men on fowling, that so we might after a more speciall manner rejoice together after we had gathered the fruit of our labours." This is thought to be the origin of the New England festival of Thanksgiving. But special reference to such a day by name comes the next year, at the same season, for a fruitful harvest, when, says Morton in his *Memorial*, " for which mercy, in time convenient, they also solemnized a Day of Thanksgiving unto the Lord."

Peirce and associates by the Plymouth Company, which had received its charter the November previous, and had given to the New Plymouth Puritans the first patent it granted. It was the first time the exiles had heard from England, and the letters were filled with complaints from the London adventurers that the *Mayflower*, which had returned in the spring, had come without a cargo. To such ungenerous reproaches Bradford — who was now governor — replied in terms as pathetic as they were dignified, that "it pleased God to vissite us with death daily, and with so generall a disease, that the living were scarce able to burie the dead; and the well not in any measure sufficiente to tend the sick." This second ship, however, was laden with lumber and some peltries, but unfortunately only a small part of her cargo ever reached England, as she was taken by the French on the homeward passage.

Patent granted to John Peirce.

The second winter passed without unusual hardship or sickness;

/ **In witnes** whereof the said President & Counsell haue to the one p̃t of this p̃nte Indenture sett their seales And to th'other p̃t hereof the said John Peirce in the name of himself and his said Associat̃ haue sett to his seale geven the day and yeeres first aboue written /



Signatures to Plymouth Patent.[1]

[1] This patent is preserved at Plymouth, Mass., and is the oldest document now in existence relating to her history, as well as the first known grant made by the Plymouth Company. It is published in full in vol. ii., Fourth Series, *Mass. Hist. Coll.*, from which we copy the fac-similes of the signatures of the President and Council who signed it, namely, the Duke of Lenox, the Marquis of Hamilton, the Earl of Warwick, Lord Sheffield, and Sir Ferdinando Gorges.

there was enough to eat; order, security, and sobriety were maintained by strict discipline, the discipline, however, of a mixed civil and military rule and not exclusively of a rigid religious conformity. The better and the larger number were heedful of their own religious walk and conversation, as became a people who for the sake of their faith had submitted to so many years of exile, and who had taken refuge, at last, in the wilderness that they might preserve their allegiance to

Christmas Revellers.

their convictions as well as to their country. Civil order they valued for its own sake, and with that sound common sense, which on a larger field would be called statesmanship, secured it by enforcing it. But that they did not deny to others the freedom of conscience which they claimed for themselves, is evident from a little incident with the relation of which Bradford closes his record of the year, and which he calls a "passage rather of mirth than of waight." On "the day called Christmas day," as he and others of the Leyden congregation went out to their usual labor, some of those who had recently arrived in the *Fortune* excused themselves, as it was, they said, against their consciences to work on that day. If it was a matter of conscience, the

Governor Bradford and the Christmas revellers.

governor assented, then they should be excused till better informed. But when on returning at noon from work these people were found playing at ball, pitching the bar, and at other games in the street, the governor, with more of humor than of that grim intolerance which is often supposed to be the ground-work of the Puritan character, sent them to their houses and their devotions, if they had any to pay, with the reasonable injunction that it was against his conscience they should play while others worked.

The courage and firmness which secured order at home, was no less sturdy in maintaining peace abroad. The Narragansett Indians sent to Plymouth, in token of enmity and of hostile intentions, a bundle of arrows tied together with the skin of a rattlesnake. This was the most numerous and most warlike tribe in New England, numbering, it is supposed, thirty thousand, of whom five thousand were warriors. The little colony, in which there were not more than fifty men capable of bearing arms, may not have known the full strength of these Narragansetts, but they knew, at least, that so numerous a people would be formidable enemies. So soon, nevertheless, as they understood from Squanto the purport of this symbolic message, the skin of the rattlesnake was stuffed with powder and ball and returned. The Indians were at no loss to comprehend both the meaning of the answer and the spirit that prompted it, and the Pilgrims were unmolested.

Defiance of the Narragansetts.

The town, of seven dwellings and two public buildings, was, however, surrounded with palisades, as a measure of precaution; the order of a military garrison, both for peace within and without, was established; all the men were enrolled in four companies, with time and place appointed for mounting guard, for drill, and for general muster; and when, in the spring of 1622, the news came of the massacre in Virginia, the building of a fort was begun within the palisades, on what is now known as "the burial-hill" of Plymouth. There were occasional alarms from the Indians; but that at first, seemingly the most serious, was a false report raised by Squanto, who, coming to entertain a mistaken notion of his own importance, attempted to enhance it by arousing the fears and jealousies of his own people and the English, which he alone was to pacify. He learned better behavior for the future, however, when Massasoit demanded his head, and his Plymouth friends pardoned and saved him.

The first difficulty that had any lasting result came through the conduct of their own countrymen. There was, indeed, a scarcity of food, in the summer of 1622, but that was relieved partly by supplies which Winslow obtained among the English fishermen on the coast of

Maine, and partly from several English vessels which, in the course of the season, visited Plymouth. Among these arrivals were two sent out by that Mr. Weston, of London, who hitherto had been an active and influential friend of their company, but had now retired from it and proposed to plant a colony of his own.

Weston's colony at Wessagusett.

The people whom Weston sent out were not Puritans. Rude and profane fellows, he himself acknowledged, many of them were; and Mr. Peirce, in whose name the new charter was taken out, wrote: "As for Mr. Weston's company, they are so base in condition, for the most part, as, in all appearance, not fit for an honest man's company." Such as they were, they were landed

Burial Hill.

at Plymouth, where they remained for some time, helping to consume the stores to which they had added nothing when they came, and did nothing to increase while they stayed. To support them was a burden; to be compelled to tolerate their idleness and evil example was a misfortune. Plymouth was happily rid of their presence when they determined to establish a separate colony at Wichaguscusset, — or Wessagusset, — now Weymouth, where a broad but shallow stream empties into the harbor, eight or nine miles south of Boston.

Little good was to be expected from such a company; and there came nothing but evil. It was not long before the complaints of the Indians were loud and bitter against them. Improvident and idle, or diligent only in stealing, they soon reached the extremity of want and suffering. Some died of hunger. Some sold their clothes and blankets to the natives for food; others rendered them the most menial services to keep off starvation. Many dispersed themselves about the woods and along the shore seeking to subsist on ground nuts and shell-fish. To the Indians they soon became objects of contempt for their weakness, and of resentment for their thefts and, perhaps, for graver wrongs; for their leader was accused — and he would not be likely, if the charge were true, to be the only offender — of making

mistresses of the Indian women. But the natives must have come at length to despise much more than they feared them, for they would snatch from between their hands the food the whites had prepared for themselves, and take from under them the blankets in which they had wrapped themselves for sleep. So far from resenting and assuming to punish these aggressions of the natives, they attempted to appease their anger by hanging one of the colonists for stealing corn.

Hanging of a colonist.

The culprit, it is related, was one of the stoutest among them — so stout, and strong, and courageous, that his fellows did not venture to arrest him openly, but secured him by some stratagem, and hanged him thus bound. According to the same narrative it was proposed and seriously considered, whether it would not be better to spare this real criminal, who was young and vigorous, and might yet be of great service, and substitute for him on the gallows one who was old, and impotent, and sickly. The project was overruled, however, not so much, apparently, from any recognition of the essential wrong which it was proposed to inflict upon the old man, as from the evident inexpediency of resorting to an artifice which would exasperate but not deceive the Indians.[1]

Discovery of an Indian conspiracy.

This pestilent colony, the Massachusetts Indians, in conjunction with others, resolved, at length, to exterminate; and as they naturally supposed such an act would be avenged by the countrymen of the Wessagusset people, at Plymouth, they also were to be fallen upon at the same time, and the country to be thus rid altogether of the English. But before the savages were ready to put this plan in execution, it happened that news came to Plymouth of the serious illness of Massasoit. Edward Winslow and John Hamden,[2] were at once sent to Pokanoket to express sym-

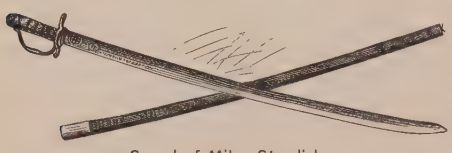
[1] The story rests on the authority of Thomas Morton (*New English Canaan*, Third Book, chap. iv.), who, however much he may have hated and misrepresented the people of Plymouth, does not appear to have borne any ill-will towards those of Wessagusset, and may, indeed, have been one of that company. His circumstantial statement does not look like an invention. Butler, in *Hudibras*, makes use of the story to throw ridicule upon the Puritans, who of course had nothing to do with the incident, if it ever occurred. He represents the culprit as a shoemaker who had slain an Indian because he was an infidel, and then adds, —

> "But they maturely having weighed,
> They had no more but him of the trade,
> A man that served them in a double
> Capacity, to teach and cobble,
> Resolved to spare him; yet to do
> The Indian Hoghgan Moghgan, too,
> Impartial justice, in his stead did
> Hang an old weaver that was bed-rid."

[2] Similarity of name has sometimes suggested that this was John Hampden, the English patriot, but the conjecture has no other foundation, and other reasons make it altogether improbable.

pathy, and if possible, render aid to one who had shown himself a firm friend and ally of the colonists. The chief was apparently in a dying condition, but Winslow by timely remedies and careful nursing, restored him in a few days to health, to the amazement of his friends and followers, who looked upon his cure as a miracle. The gratitude of Massasoit was unbounded, and he showed it by revealing to Hobbamock, Winslow's Indian guide, the plot against the colonies, in which he had been urged to take part.

An example had been given within a year in Virginia, of how sudden, stealthy, and complete, a massacre by Indians might be. The information given by Massasoit was discussed in the "yearly court-day," or town-meeting on the day of the election in March,[1] and it was determined that an expedition be sent to Wessagusset. This consisted of only eight men, commanded by Captain Standish, who thought proper to take no more, lest the suspicions of the Indians should be aroused by the appearance of a greater number. Standish found the colony in a condition quite as forlorn and wretched as had been represented, so scattered, heedless, imbecile, and unsuspicious, that they would be an easy prey to the savages when these were ready to strike the blow. Only a few of the leading men among them, when told of the designs of the Indians, could believe in the report, and to those few it was confirmed by some circumstances which they had themselves observed.



Sword of Miles Standish.

Some conference was had with the Indians, who suspected the design of Standish, laughed at, and defied him. They were too cautious to expose themselves in any large number together, and Standish seems to have recalled the advice of Massasoit, to cut off the chiefs. Getting two of them, Pecksuot and Wituwamat, with a brother of the latter in a room by themselves, the Captain ordered the door to be closed, and then with two or three of his own men, attacked the Indians. The fight was hand to hand and desperate, but after a long struggle the two chiefs were killed, and the other secured, who was afterwards hanged. Some others were killed at the same time at other places; so, also, when the alarm was spread, were several of the English, who had wandered from home. A more general battle, or rather skirmish, afterward occurred in an

Standish at Wessagusett.

[1] The annual Town-meeting — or "March-meeting day" as it was called — for the choosing of public officers and attending to the public business of the town, continued to be held, till within a few years, in March in Massachusetts. It probably originated in the "Court-day" of the Pilgrims.

open field, when the Indians fled without loss on either side. The head of Wituwamat was taken to Plymouth, and exposed as a warning to the natives. Thither Standish returned, taking a portion of the Wessagusset men with him; others going in their own pinnace to Monhegan, on the coast of Maine. The colony was thus entirely broken up.

This was the first Indian blood shed by the Pilgrims, driven thereto in self-defence by the misconduct of others. The immediate result was beneficial, whatever may have been the consequences in later times in the enmity planted in the minds of a people who never forget and never forgive an injury. For the time being, however, the energetic conduct of Standish spread terror, not only among the Massachusetts Indians, but those of other tribes engaged with them in the plot against the English. They dispersed themselves in the woods and swamps, to avoid the punishment which they feared would fall next upon them; their planting was neglected, and in the destitution of food that followed in a few months, many perished.[1]

The first Indian killed.

When the news of this affair reached Holland, Mr. Robinson, the pastor, wrote: "Concerning the killing of those poor Indians of which we heard at first by reporte, & since by more certaine relation, oh! how happy a thing had it been, if you had converted some before you had killed any; besids, wher bloud is one begune to be shed, it is seldome stanched of a long time after." It was certainly a humane and prophetic judgment, befitting the man and his profession, but not quite so discriminating as it might have been as to the part his own people were constrained to take in their own defence. The experience of two centuries and a half has since shown how easy it is to kill, and how hard to convert an Indian; and however deplorable the fact may be, it is unquestionably true that occasions have arisen — and this was one of them — where the choice of killing or converting was not presented. Still less just was the excellent pastor to Captain Standish in the same letter. "Let me be bould," he adds, "to exhorte you seriously to consider of the disposition of your Captaine, whom I love, and am persuaded the Lord in great mercie & for much good hath sent you him, if you use him aright. . . . . Ther is cause to fear that by occasion, espetially of provocation, ther may be wanting that tendernes of the life of man (made after God's image) which is meete." The brethren at Plymouth might have answered that the good pastor at Leyden, who knew nothing of the North American Indians, could hardly judge as to the proper line of duty for Captain Standish, shut up in a room with a

Mr. Robinson's rebuke.

[1] Winslow's "Relation" in Young's *Chronicles of the Pilgrims.*

naked savage, bent upon taking his life, and armed with a long, keen, doubled-edged knife ground to a fine point.

Weston arrived not long after the dispersion of his colony. When a few months later Captain Robert Gorges, the recently appointed governor of all New England, came to Plymouth, he proposed to arrest Weston and put him upon trial to answer, among other things, for the ill conduct of his men at Wessagusset, whereby the peace of the whole country had been endangered. Weston's sufficient defence was, that he could not be held responsible for acts done by others in his absence. Other charges, brought then and later, he could not so easily answer. But Governor Bradford and others of the leading men at Plymouth could not forget their former relations with Weston, and the services he had rendered in the outset of their enterprise. Partly at their intercession, and partly because Gorges was at length convinced that nothing could be gained by a continued pursuit of a man bankrupt alike in fortune and character, Plymouth and New England became happily rid of that unfortunate adventurer in the course of the next winter.

Arrival of Captain Gorges.

Signature of William Bradford.

The patent Robert Gorges brought with him gave him a vague title to all the mainland in New England known as Massachusetts, on the northeast side of Massachusetts Bay, with all the coast for ten miles in a straight line toward the northeast, and thirty miles into the interior for that breadth. He, nevertheless, assumed Wessagusset — on the South shore — to be within the limits assigned him, and landed his stores and built warehouses on the site that Weston had chosen. Gorges himself, however, soon returned to England; his people dispersed, in the course of the year, some going home, some to Virginia, except a few who preferred to remain at Wessagusset.

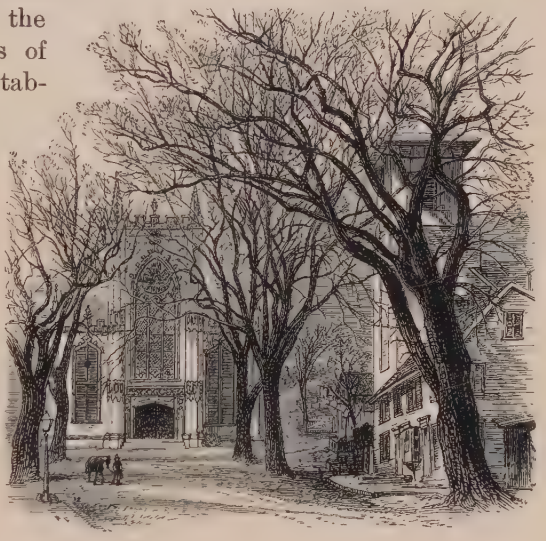
Wessagusset reoccupied and again abandoned.

The year 1623 was otherwise memorable in the annals of the Pilgrims. The laboring in common and on joint account, to which they were bound by their articles of agreement with the London adventurers, was a source of so much injustice, discontent, and confusion, and so evident a hindrance to their prosperity — almost to their continued existence — that the necessity of some modification of that arrangement was forced upon them. The most obvious evil was the radical one; there could be no true prosperity for the whole so long as there was no just proportion between the labor of the individual and the welfare it secured to him. It was proposed, therefore, as an experiment, to make allotments of lands, for one year, to each

colonist to cultivate on his own account. That there was any hesitation in resorting to so imperative a measure was partly because it was an infringement upon the jointstock agreement, and partly because it was the persuasion of the time that a colony in a new country could only exist as the dependency of a corporation, with a community of goods in anything it produced.

Allotments of land to individuals.

In Plymouth, as in Virginia, the change once made became perpetual, and from it dates the beginning of true prosperity. The right of every man, thenceforward, to ownership in the land and to the fruits of his own labor was established. The "particular planting" — or each man for himself — was at once proved to be so advantageous, that "any generall want or famine," says Bradford, writing more than twenty years afterward, "hath not been amongst them since to this day."



Site of First Church and Governor Bradford's House

And there was need enough that some way should be devised to escape from that condition of almost extreme want under which, for the first three years, the colony generally suffered. Above all people of the world, as one of them said, they had reason to pray for their daily bread, it so often happened that none knew at night where the next day's food was to come from. To get enough from day to day to keep soul and body together was their constant anxiety, and the stimulus to unceasing labor. Their chief sustenance in the summer-time was fish and clams, with sometimes a little venison — very little it must have been, for stalking deer with the clumsy musket of the period, could but be wearisome and unprofitable hunting. Those who went out by turns in their single boat to fish, would stay away five or six days rather than return empty-handed to be received with gloom and disappointment by their hungry fellows. The treasured stores were eked out in winter with ground nuts and such wild fowl as they could kill. When a ship came in with additions to their number the scant and sorry feast of

General scarcity of food for the first few years.

welcome they spread before their friends was a lobster, or a bit of fish without bread, and a cup of water. To deprive an Englishman of that period, when tea and coffee were unknown in Europe, of his beer, was to reduce him to a condition next to starvation; but the want of "a spoonful of beer," even for the sick, is recorded as among the deprivations most sorely felt in the first year's sufferings, both of Plymouth and Jamestown. "It is worthy to be observed," wrote Bradford, twenty years afterward, in allusion to the sufferings of the early times, "how the Lord doth chaing times and things; for what is now more plentiful than wine." It was not counted as among the least of the trials which these first colonists had to endure, that a cup of fair water was the only drink. When the search was made along the shores of Plymouth Bay for a fitting place for a settlement, the reason given, in addition to the lateness of the season, for the hasty decision was that: "We could not now take time for further search or consideration, our victuals being much spent, especially our beer."[1] And when, a few years later, a colony came over to settle at Salem, and provisions soon became scarce, "most began to repent when their strong Beere and full cups ran as small as water in a large Land."[2]

There are indications of other troubles in these early years, the cause and sometimes the character of which are not always clear. The root of them all, however, was probably in the determination on the part of some of the London adventurers to use the colony for their own selfish purposes. Thus when John Peirce, in whose name, but on behalf of the colony, the first patent from the Plymouth Company was taken out in 1621, saw that the enterprise promised within two years to be successful, he procured, in 1623, another patent on his own account, under which the Plymouth people were to be merely his tenants. Fortunately for them Peirce met with such losses in sending a ship to America that he was willing to part with this grant; but for what had cost him only £50, he compelled the company to pay him £500. Nor was the conflict of material interests the only or the most serious one. Among the adventurers in London some were Church people, and the jealousy of sect, while harder to reconcile than merely pecuniary interests, embittered and intensified all other differences. That the pastor, Robinson, and more of their friends from the Church at Leyden did not join them seems to have been because there was a determination among some of the managers in London to prevent it. There was clearly a purpose to get another class of persons than Puritans settled

John Peirce's second patent.

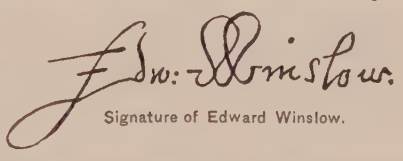
[1] Mourt's *Relation*.

[2] Johnson's *Wonder Working Providence*.

at Plymouth; and while it seems plain that those of the Puritan faith were quite ready, so far as it was possible among a people of such strong convictions and rigid lives, to tolerate those who did not agree with them, there are indications at least on the other side, of a purpose to diminish and overcome the puritanic element of the colony, and to put the management of its affairs into the hands of those who had no sympathy with it. But the Puritans were strong in the leadership of such men as Bradford, Brewster, and Winslow, who were as eminently endowed with common sense, worldly wisdom, and the governing faculty, as they were deservedly esteemed among the brethren for their soundness in the faith.

Winslow was sent to England on the business of the colony in the autumn of 1623, and brought, on his return in the spring, a report of these differences. There came with him one John Lyford, a clergyman, who, as it afterwards appeared, was an emissary of the discontented faction in the London Council, a veritable wolf in sheep's clothing among the Plymouth flock, a dissembler, mischief-maker, and spy. "The preacher we have sent," wrote Robert Cushman, "is (we hope) an honest, plain man, though none of the most eminente and rare. . . . . Mr. Winslow and my selfe gave way to his going, to give continte to some hear, and we see no hurt, but only his great charge of children." The charge of his family, which had to be supported from the public store, was the lightest burden he brought them, as the event showed. Full of protestations of humility, of admiration for the Pilgrims, of being a devout and zealous convert to their way of thinking on religious subjects, he so ingratiated himself among them, that he was soon admitted to the church, and taken by the governor into unreserved confidence.

Arrival of John Lyford from England.



Signature of Edward Winslow.

There was in the colony one John Oldham, who also had won much good repute before the coming of Lyford and was held in like esteem. These two men soon drew together and gathered about them all the discontented spirits of the colony, proposing apparently to subvert both church and state. A movement of this sort could not be carried on long in a community of less than two hundred persons, without being suspected. Lyford and Oldham were watched, and when it was found among other things that Lyford had prepared more letters to send to England by the ship in which he came out than any honest purpose would seem to warrant, Bradford felt that it was his duty as chief magistrate and to avert the ruin that such a conspiracy threatened, to intercept these letters. They

Conduct of Lyford and Oldham.

were found to contain ample evidence against both the suspected men.

Lyford, however, was not arrested till he openly held a meeting for public worship in accordance with the forms and rites of the Episcopal Church. It was impossible that the Pilgrims should see the introduction of any other form of religious observance than their own among them without a good deal of feeling, and that alone might, in some degree, warp their judgment. But the offence of Lyford was evidently not so much that he had held such a meeting, as that he should have done so without consultation with the brethren, while he had all the while professed to have abandoned the Episcopal Church, and to be in full accord with a people who, as Bradford said, "all the world knew came hither to enjoy the liberty of their conscience and the free use of God's ordinances; and for that end had ventured their lives and passed through so much hardship hitherto, and they and their friends had borne the charge of those beginnings, which was not small." But there were other grievances, though this may have been the head and front of his offending, that justified the course pursued with him as a dangerous member of society.

Oldham was at the same time brought to trial, but not till he had openly disobeyed and defied the Captain when ordered out on guard; had called him a "beggarly raskell," and had threatened him with a knife. When arraigned before the public meeting with Lyford to answer for his conduct, he loudly called, though he called in vain, upon all who were discontented and on whom they both thought they could rely, to rally around him in open mutiny. The result of the trial, however, was that Lyford publicly and humbly confessed in the church, with many tears, that he had been guilty of grievous wrong, had slandered the brethren, and plotted against their rule in the colony, and that in his pride, vain-glory, and self-love, he had hoped to carry all against them by violence and the strong hand.

Their trial and condemnation.

A sentence of banishment was pronounced upon both, to take place some months later. This clemency was misplaced, for Lyford wrote again secretly to England, soon after, repeating and maintaining the truth of all the charges he had before made, which were chiefly intolerance among the Pilgrims of all religious opinions and forms of worship but their own; abuse by the magistrates of the civil power to the injury of all who were not of their way of thinking; injustice to those later emigrants who had no interest in the joint-stock company; and waste of the public property — charges which were all categorically met and denied.

His case came at length, on this second letter, before a public meeting of the adventurers in London for consideration and decision,

where Winslow, who meantime was on another visit to England, not only met the accusations made against the good name and peace of the colony, but proved by trustworthy witnesses there present, that Lyford, while a clergyman in Ireland, had been guilty of seduction under circumstances of unusual baseness. About the same time his wife in Plymouth, "a grave matron and of good cariage," when the sentence of banishment was about to be enforced against her husband, "was so affected with his doings as she could no longer conceaill her greefe and sorrow of minde." She laid her burden before a deacon of the church and other friends, acknowledging that this reverend hypocrite had been a fornicator before their marriage and an adulterer since. Such developments were the best evidence of the true character of the man, and

Acknowledgment of Lyford's wife.

Expulsion of Oldham.

that the prosecution of him by the Puritans was on behalf of social morality, good order, and peace in the colony, and did not proceed from religious bigotry.

The case of Oldham was less complicated, and was dealt with in a more summary manner. He had the hardihood to return again to Plymouth a few months after his banishment. A coarse and open brawler, he made himself so offensive to all good citizens and so abused the forbearance of the magistrates by his open denunciations and loud-mouthed defiance, that even the

Oldham kicked out of Plymouth.

limit of their patience was at length reached. "They committed him," says Bradford, "till he was tamer, and then apointed a gard of musketers which he was to pass throw and every one was ordered to give him a thump on the brich, with the but end of his musket, and then was conveied to the water side, wher a boat was ready to cary him away. Then they bid him goe and mende his maners."

There is not much in the characters or the acts of these men to distinguish them from the ordinary and trivial incidents which necessarily mark the history of a handful of people struggling in the wilderness to retain their grasp upon existence, while laying the foundations of what may become a commonwealth, or may only be a village. But their conduct had results more serious than were involved in the punishment of two bad men, or than the anxiety they gave to the rulers of the colony, or the scandal they brought upon it. The bringing of Lyford's case before the London meeting was the culmination of the differences and difficulties which had long divided the company; differences and difficulties which had prevented Mr. Robinson and the rest of his flock in Leyden, from joining those in America; had kept alive that spirit of persecution which the Puritans hoped to escape by voluntary exile; and had so seriously interfered with the progress and prosperity of the colony.

Breaking up of the company in London.

That Lyford was really an emissary of a faction whose purpose was to take the colony out of the hands of the Puritans and reduce them to the condition of sufferance — if even that should be granted them — seemed no longer doubtful. His conviction before the world as a man of detestable character who had attempted by the most treacherous means to carry out a hostile purpose, led the majority of the London adventurers, not to drop him, but to drop the colony. They virtually made common cause with the culprit, and accepted his exposure and defeat as their own. The Company from that moment came to an end, and the Plymouth people were left, with a few friends in England, to work out for themselves their own success or their own failure as the case might be.

Independence of the colony.

It was really the beginning of their success. Thrown upon their own resources, they developed new energies. Assuming in the course of the next year the entire debts and responsibilities of the Company, lands, houses, cattle and other domestic animals were equitably divided, and the people from dependent colonists became independent citizens, living in the enjoyment of the fruits of their own labor, and under laws of their own making. The whole trade of the colony was put for a limited period under the sole management of eight of the principal men, who undertook in return — and in due time discharged the obligation — to liquidate all

debts, including that to the old Company which was the price of their freedom. Their friends at Leyden were enabled in time to join them, though the Pastor Robinson, who died in March, 1625, was never permitted to see the promised land. From that time they had none to rely upon but themselves.

When Winslow returned from England in the spring of 1624, he brought with him a grant, made to himself and Robert Cushman by Edward Lord Sheffield, of 500 acres of land, together with 30 acres in addition for each actual settler for a mile and a half along the shore of Cape Ann Bay, now Gloucester. The Cape Ann Patent.

"In my discovery of Virginia," says Captain John Smith with characteristic audacity, in the dedication to Prince Charles of his description of New England — "in my discovery of Virginia, I presumed to call two nameless Headlands after my Soveraign's heirs, Cape Henry and Cape Charles." He neither discovered Virginia nor named its capes, but to Cape Ann he did give a name which, however, it did not long retain — calling it Cape Tragabigzanda, in honor of that noble Turkish gentlewoman, Charatza Tragabigzanda, whose slave he once was, by right of purchase, and who he tells us, pined for love of him. But Prince Charles ruthlessly took from New England the perpetuation of the memory of this tender romance by changing the name to Cape Ann in honor of his mother, Anne of Denmark. Lord Sheffield's right to that portion of the country was derived partly from purchase and partly from a division of New England among the patentees of the Plymouth Company, which division, however, was never approved by the king, and was therefore null and void.[1]

Thither the ship in which Winslow came, was sent to establish a fishing station, after discharging her cargo, an important part of which was three heifers and a bull, the first cattle taken to Plymouth. The first cattle at Plymouth.

But they made a poor voyage, says Bradford, — who always thought that fishing was a "thing fatal" to the colony — partly because of the lateness of the season, and partly because the master of the ship was "a drunken beast, and did nothing (in a maner) but drink and gusle, and consume away the time and his victails."

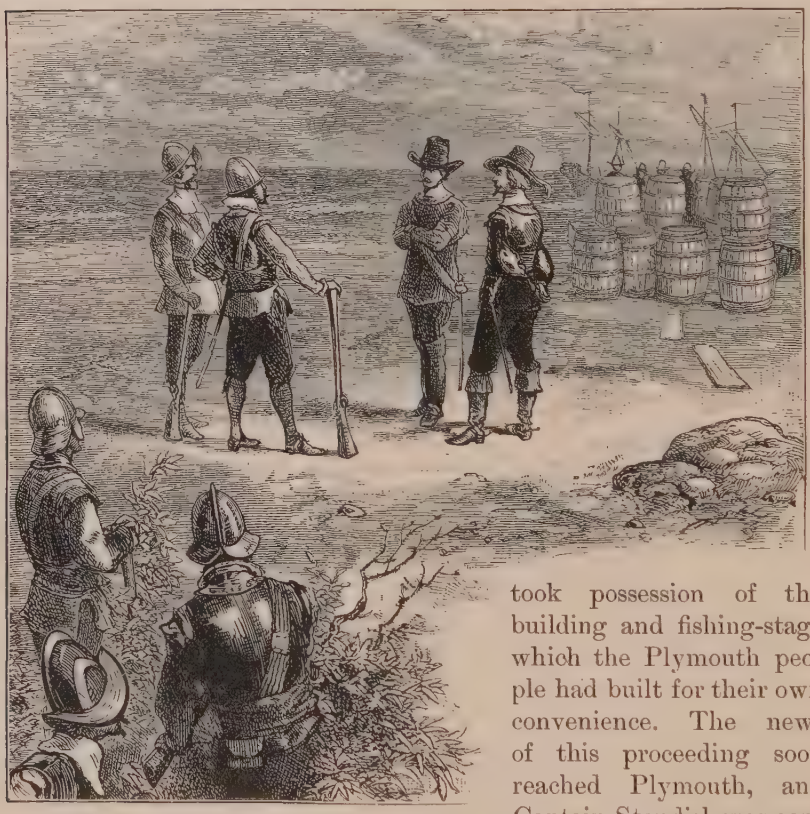
The undertaking was on the whole, disastrous, though something was made by trade in peltries. The beaver was to these first people of Massachusetts a better friend than the cod, though the cod hangs to this day in the State House at Boston as the emblem of its prosperity, while only here and there in the country lingers some dim tradition of the beaver, where an embankment across some secluded meadow suggests that a dam may once have been there. The Pilgrims, how-

[1] Smith's *General Historie*; *The Landing at Cape Anne*, by J. Wingate Thornton.

ever, built a large frame house and put up a stage for drying fish as the nucleus of a settlement. But here the Lyford trouble was to break out again and plague them.

The first result of the dissolution of the Company in London which followed his exposure was the sending out of a ship by some of the adventurers who had upheld Lyford, upon a voyage which could hardly fail to come into competition with their late associates. The vessel, under the command of one Hewes, arrived early in the season and finding this place at Cape Ann unoccupied, he took possession of the building and fishing-stage which the Plymouth people had built for their own convenience. The news of this proceeding soon reached Plymouth, and Captain Standish was sent with a company to expel the intruders. A surrender was demanded; Hewes piled up a barricade of hogsheads at the stage-head, and secure behind these with his ship in the rear, as his base of operations, defied the Captain. High words passed and might have ended in bloodshed, for as "a little chimney is soon fired, so was the Plymouth captain, a man of very little stature, yet of a very hot and angry temper."[1] But the fortifi-

The fishing station at Cape Ann.



Barricade at Cape Ann.

[1] Hubbard's *History of New England.*

cation was one not to be easily carried, and an attack from the open country could only be made at the greatest disadvantage.

There happened to be present, however, Captain William Peirce in a ship from Plymouth, and one Roger Conant of Nantasket, and at their intercession the anger of Standish was appeased. He was, moreover, too good a soldier not to see that an assault would be hopeless; so a compromise was made, the fishermen promising to help the Plymouth people in building another stage. The house seems to have remained in possession of its rightful owners, for a salt-maker was sent from Plymouth to put up pans for salt-boiling. But by his carelessness, in the course of the summer, house and pans were destroyed by fire, "and this," says Governor Bradford, "was the end of that chargable bussines."

This Roger Conant, who helped to assuage the hot and angry temper of the Plymouth captain, was an early member of that colony; but being a churchman, the rigid life of the Separatists was probably distasteful to him, and he removed to Nantasket. At Nantasket — now the little hamlet of Hull, though the old Indian name happily still clings to it, snugly nestling just within Boston harbor, in a valley between two great round hills, out of sight, though not out of sound of the surf which the Atlantic rolls up upon the long stretch of Nantasket beach and dashes against the ledges of Cohasset — in or near this lovely nook, Standish, on his first visit to Boston harbor, had put up a house.[1] Of this, probably a year or two later, Conant took possession, and there he, Lyford, and Oldham found refuge when the Puritans would no longer tolerate the latter.

Roger Conant of Nantasket.

Standish's "Pot and Platter."

It is not quite certain whether Conant was at this time residing at Cape Ann, or whether he was there only to be present at the apprehended struggle between the Plymouth men and the crew of Hewes's vessel, a report of which might easily have reached him at Nantasket, only a few miles distant. At Cape Ann, at any rate, was already planted that first colony of which Conant was sometime in charge, and which was the seed from which sprung the Colony of Massachusetts Bay.

The first Cape Ann Colony.

The merchants of the west of England had for several years sent

1 "Something like a habitation was put up at Nantasket," says Hubbard (*General History of New England*), with reference to future traffic with Indians.

vessels to fish along the coast of New England,[1] and in 1623 it was proposed, as a saving of time and expense, that colonizing and fishing should be united. The extra men whom it was necessary to take on these voyages to catch and to cure the fish, were to be left somewhere on the coast when the fishing season was over and the vessel ready to go home, to employ themselves in building, planting, and hunting, for the rest of the year till they were needed again as fishermen. The plan, indeed, did not answer, for, — as Bradford saw so plainly and as the west country merchants proved to their great loss, — the preliminary and continuous work necessary in the planting of a colony was incompatible with the business of fishing. It was not till a later period that so many of the thrifty people of Massachusetts, small farmers, or shoemakers, or other handi-craftsmen, in the autumn and winter, found that they could profitably and healthfully spend the spring and summer months in fishing on the Grand Banks, or along the coast for cod and mackerel, and never go to sea at any other time, or for any other purpose.

The Dorchester Company.

A company, however, was formed in 1623 at Dorchester, England, of which the Rev. John White, the minister of that place, was the moving spirit, to combine planting with fishing. One vessel was sent out that year on such a voyage, and, when she was ready to return, fourteen of her crew were left, with provisions for their support, at Cape Ann to begin a colony. The next spring two ships with more men were sent; the year after, three. To the people were added cattle in 1625; but the experiment, nevertheless, was unsuccessful. The fishing proved unprofitable from several causes; the landsmen were ill-chosen and ill-governed; the colony fell into disorder, and most of the people were sent back to England, probably in 1626.[2] A few men remained in charge of cattle sent out the year before. Of these, Conant was chief, having been previously appointed — Hubbard says — the overseer or governor.[3]

[1] In 1620 there were seven or eight fishing-vessels sent out from that part of England and four years later their number was increased to fifty.

[2] *The Planters' Plea.* By Rev. John White. Hubbard's *General History of New England.*

[3] There is much incertitude about the history of this Cape Ann Colony, under the Dorchester Company. White, in *The Planters' Plea,* gives the date of its settlement as 1623; Hubbard in the *General History* says, "about 1624." White does not mention Conant, but Hubbard says that John Tylly and Thomas Gardner, were overseers "at least for one year's time, at the end of which," White and his associates "pitched upon him, the said Conant, for the managing and government of all their affairs at Cape Ann." This would be in 1625, when according to White, after a "two years and a half" experiment, the Company abandoned the attempt, and a few only of the most honest and industrious remained to take charge of the cattle. But Hubbard also says, that "together with him," — Conant — the Company invited Lyford, "to be the minister of the place," and Oldham, "to trade for them with the Indians," — which invitation Lyford accepted, but Oldham declined —

The same year, Conant, not liking the place at Cape Ann, moved to Naumkeag, or Nahumkeik, — now Salem.[1] Mr. White and some of his associates, encouraged by the fact that this little remainder of their colony still clung together, sent out more cattle, and moved anew in England to engage others in their enterprise. Some gentlemen in London added to these cattle, and there can be little doubt that emigrants also went out in the course of the year, to join Conant and his few companions. Removal to Naumkeag.

The "action" had fallen, at last, into good hands. Some gentlemen of London took hold of it with great energy, moved thereto by

all three at that time residing at Nantasket; and elsewhere he says, that these men, after leaving Plymouth, found refuge at Nantasket for themselves and their families, "for the space of a year and a few months, till a door was opened for them at Cape Ann. . . . . about the year 1625." But Lyford and Oldham were not tried at Plymouth till the summer of 1624; Lyford's banishment was not to take place till six months afterward, and Oldham's family had permission to remain in Plymouth the ensuing winter. Neither Lyford nor Oldham's family, therefore, went to Nantasket till 1625, and if they remained there a year and some months, could not have gone to Cape Ann till 1626. Bradford, moreover, though he does not mention Conant, says that Lyford went from Nantasket to Naumkeag, — Salem. The difficulty is, to reconcile Hubbard with himself; with the fixed date of the Lyford trouble at Plymouth; and with White's statement as to the beginning and duration of the colony. This difficulty is further complicated by Captain Smith, in his *General History*, published in 1624, where he says, "and by Cape Ann there is a plantation, a beginning by the Dorchester men, which they hold of those of New Plymouth, who also by them have set up a fishing worke." If the Dorchester men held of New Plymouth, it must have been under the Sheffield patent, and such "beginning" of their plantation would necessarily be in 1624, and not in 1623; for the Sheffield patent is dated January 1st, 1624, N. S. — 1623, O. S. — and the Plymouth "fishing work" we know was set up in the spring of 1624. Hubbard is supposed to have received his information directly from Conant, who lived in Salem till 1680, but as his statement about Lyford is manifestly incorrect, he is quite likely to be so in other particulars as to dates. Smith could have had only hearsay information; the assertions of both, therefore, cannot weigh against the peculiarly clear account of White, in the *Planters' Plea*. If Conant left Plymouth, as Hubbard says, with Lyford — and Conant's memory on such a point would probably be accurate; — if they went first to Nantasket, and lived there even a much shorter time than a year and a few months, they may not have gone to Cape Ann till late in 1625, Conant's "governorship" beginning the next spring, or the winter of 1625–26, when the colony was abandoned by all but himself and a few companions, and he took charge of the cattle. It seems, indeed, most likely that this act of Conant's first commended him to the favorable attention of Mr. White, who was glad to hear of so trustworthy a man on the spot, and, not being willing to give up the project, sent more cattle to his care. Meanwhile, Conant had removed to Naumkeag. He could hardly be called a governor, even as governors went in those times. The only authority for it is Hubbard, who evidently used the term indifferently and interchangeably with overseer or agent.

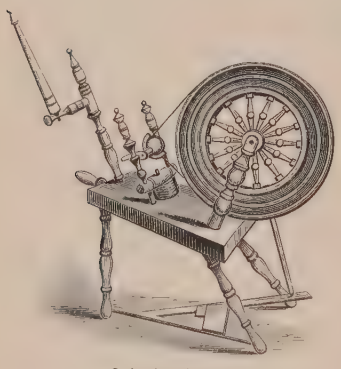
[1] "Of which place I have somewhere met with an odd observation, that the name of it was rather Hebrew, than Indian; for נחום, Nahum, signifies comfort, & הוק, signifies an haven; & our English not only found it an Haven of Comfort, but happened also to put an Hebrew name upon it, for they called it Salem, for the *peace* which they had & hoped in it; *& so it is called unto this day.*" Mather's *Magnalia*, vol. i., chap. iv.

"It fals out that the name of the place, which our late Colony hath chosen for their seat, proves to be perfect Hebrew being called Nahum Keike, by interpretation, *The bosome of consolation.*" White's *Planters' Plea*, chap. ii.

the promise of pecuniary success and the hope of making an asylum for those who, though not such rigid Separatists as the New Plymouth people, were nevertheless Non-conformists, anxious to escape the tyranny of the prelates and from a church which they believed was on the high road to Rome. Fit men for the enterprise were sought for, and "among others they lighted at last on master Endicott, a man well knowne to divers persons of good note." In March, a patent[1] was procured from the New England Company; it granted all that tract of country from three miles south of the Charles River, to three miles north of the Merrimack, and under this Endicott was sent out as governor with a few colonists, who arrived at Naumkeag in September, 1628.

Endicott's arrival.

Endicott's people and those already at Naumkeag, numbered altogether on his arrival, fifty or sixty only. A year later, when the Rev. Francis Higginson joined them with two hundred more, he found there one hundred. How in the mean time had the number doubled? History prides itself on exactness, and undertakes to say precisely when and how events occurred, how many men were at a given time in a given place, and what they did. But much is, and must be taken upon conjecture and upon trust, in this case, and the reality may, after all, have differed much from the guesses transmitted from book to book, and from century to century.



Spinning Wheel.

How many men may have scattered themselves along the shores of Massachusetts Bay — indeed all along the whole coast of New England — from 1620 to 1630, is altogether uncertain. There were isolated "squatters," no doubt, in various places — temporary settlements soon forgotten and soon abandoned, or absorbed in permanent colonies afterward established with settled forms of government. Some vagabonds came then, as so many have come since, to the New World, to mingle with and add to the more staid and sober population. There was more than one place along the shores of the Bay, whence men may have gone to Endicott's colony and submitted to law and the restraints of civil society, for the sake of its advantages; men who gladly surrendered the attractions and the freedom of a half savage life, to be again among houses where women in civilized garments were busy about

[1] The patentees were Sir Henry Roswell, Sir John Young, Thomas Southcote, John Humphrey, John Endicott, and Simon Whitcomb.

their household duties, where the pleasant whir of the spinning-wheel filled the air, where busy farmers sowed or reaped, where horses were driven a-field, and kine gathered into barn-yards. The sights and sounds of rural and domestic life, appealing to so many memories of early homes across the sea, in green and merry England, which they would never see again, must needs have been an irresistible attraction to many of these solitary adventurers, weary, at last, of the silence of the wilderness and the companionship of savages. Little neighborhoods that had been drawn together for mutual support and defence, would often melt away into large companies which came with the advantages of numbers and of wealth. For of these smaller plantations, it was said, "they were like the habitations of the foolish, as it is in Job, cursed before they had taken root."

Scattered settlements along the coast.

Nantasket was a place of refuge for Conant, Lyford, and Oldham. The rough house which Standish put up there before Plymouth was a year old, was open to all comers, — like the "Humane Houses" of the present day scattered along the coast, places of entertainment for shipwrecked men — and perhaps had often sheltered some outcasts whom the rigid righteousness of the Puritans would not tolerate. Thompson's Island, in Boston Harbor, so called to this day, was granted early to David Thompson, whom we know of as living at one time at Piscataway; and there are trustworthy intimations that he and others were living on the island at one time and another. When Gorges's colony was broken up at Wessagusset, some few remained behind, and either they or others were still on that river some years later. William Blaxton lived where Boston now stands. Maverick was on Noddle's Island in Boston Harbor. At Mount Wollaston, a colony was planted in 1625, which may have become so attractive to all indolent and shiftless vagrants, as to be a nursery of vagabonds, and an asylum to discontented fishermen and sailors who ran away from their ships.

Mount Wollaston and Thomas Morton.

Mount Wollaston — still bearing the same name — is in the present town of Quincy, about five miles south of Boston, and was so named from one Captain Wollaston, who came out from England in 1625, with thirty others, the larger part of whom were persons bound to service. These were not profitable emigrants to take to New England, and Captain Wollaston soon carried some of his servants to a better market in Virginia. Having sold the first importation, he wrote to his partner to come on with more, and to leave a Mr. Fitchter in charge of the colony at Mount Wollaston till further orders. Among the colonists was one Thomas Morton, by profession a lawyer, but by choice a roving and reckless adventurer, impatient of any steady labor and of all serious duties, given to much

drinking, fond of public sports, deriding always the sobriety of the Puritans and the severity of their lives — just the jolly vagabond to lead other vagabonds into any mischief. "In the month of June, Anno Salutis, 1622," he says, "it was my good chance to arrive in the parts of New England." He must, in that case, have been at Plymouth, where he could have found no more congenial companions — for he, too, professed to be a good church-man — than among those whose scrupulous consciences forbade them to chop wood on Christmas day, but permitted them to play at bowls; and he may have gone to Wessagusset that year with Weston's people, for no brain of that company would have been more likely to conceive that remarkable "Embrion" — his own narrative is the sole authority for its birth — which suggested the vicarious hanging of an old, sickly, and useless member of the community, in place of a young and lusty culprit.

At any rate, this troublesome adventurer was at Mount Wollaston; Mare Mount he named it, which the Puritans, ignorantly or ironically, changed to Merry Mount, and Endicott altered again to Mount Dagon. And here, when Fitchter was left in command, he made a characteristic proposal, when his commander happened to be out of the way. He told his companions that as some of their company had already been taken to Virginia and sold for their terms of service, so would the rest be when Wollaston was next heard from. But if they chose, he said, to depose Fitchter and banish him from the colony, he — Morton — and they would henceforth live together as copartners and equals, and they be released from service altogether. He hardly needed to have made the crew about him drunk — as it is intimated he did — to secure the acceptance of this tempting proposal. Fitchter was deposed and driven forth, and thenceforward not liberty only, but license held high revel at Mount Wollaston.

The May-pole at Merry Mount.

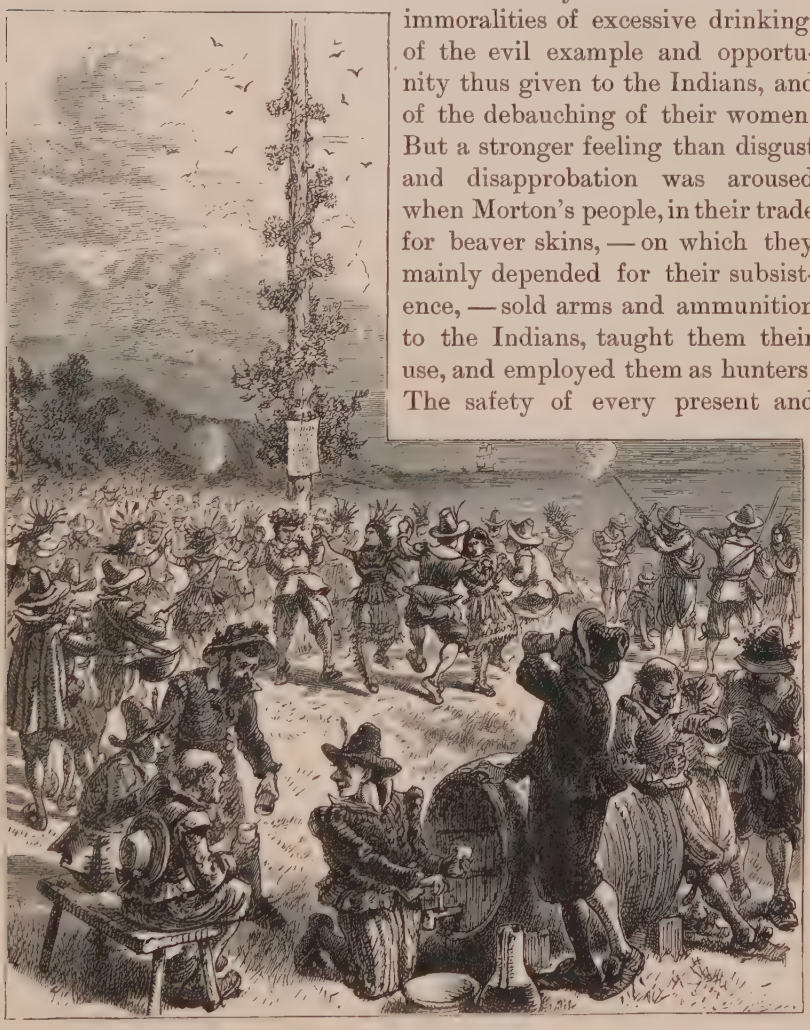
Upon the top of the hill was set up, on May-day, a May-pole, eighty feet high, visible for miles around, "a faire sea-marke for directions," says Morton, "how to finde out the way to mine Host of Ma-re Mount." A pair of buck-horns adorned the top; a poem of Morton's own composing was nailed at a convenient height to be read of all comers, few of whom could read and fewer still could understand any more of its labored enigma than that Cith-area pointed to land at last: —

> "With proclamation that the first of May,
> At Ma-re Mount shall be kept hollyday."

A barrel of beer was broached upon the green, and bottles of stronger drink provided for those who wanted it; all the drums, guns, and pistols that the settlement possessed were called into use for the noise

indispensable to a public rejoicing; roaring a song of Morton's in praise of drink and "Indian lasses in beaver coats," the hilarious crew danced about the May-pole, with Indian women for partners in the absence of ladies with more clothes on.

The sober Puritans would have been shocked by such festivities, even had they been free from the immoralities of excessive drinking, of the evil example and opportunity thus given to the Indians, and of the debauching of their women. But a stronger feeling than disgust and disapprobation was aroused when Morton's people, in their trade for beaver skins, — on which they mainly depended for their subsistence, — sold arms and ammunition to the Indians, taught them their use, and employed them as hunters. The safety of every present and



Festivities at Merry Mount.

future colony was put in jeopardy if the savages were to have such means of mischief. There could no longer be a silent submission to these dangerous proceedings at Mount Wollaston. Morton was deaf to remonstrance, and other remedies had to be resorted to by the com-

mon consent of those at Plymouth and others living at different places about the bay and on the Piscataqua River. Captain Standish — Captain Shrimp, Morton calls him in his "New Canaan," where he gives ludicrous names to all who condemned his conduct — was sure to come to the front in such an emergency, and he, in command of a few men, was accordingly sent to Mount Wollaston, by common consent, to arrest the offender. Morton says they found him at Wessagusset, where, it seems, there still remained a small colony. They took him, he declares, by surprise; but he warily permitted them to eat and drink to satiety while he was carefully abstemious; when they, overcome by their indulgence, slept, he, vigilant and wide-awake, escaped by night to his own stronghold three miles distant.

Expedition of Standish to arrest Morton.

Thither Standish and his men followed him. Bradford in his "History," says nothing of Wessagusset, but his and Morton's narrative agree that at Mount Wollaston Morton closed his doors and prepared to receive the assailants. Means for defence were ample. There were four men in a sort of log fortress with loop-holes; on a table they laid out three pounds of well-dried powder, four guns, and three hundred bullets, and then they fortified themselves with "good aqua solis." The enemy were only nine strong, and the approach to the building was without cover. Standish and his men advanced steadily and in good order, "coming within danger," says Morton, "like a flocke of wild geese, as if they had bin tayled one to another as colts to be sold at a faire," and much blood would have flowed "if mine Host (Morton) should have played upon them out at his ports holes." But he chose not to play upon them. The "sonne of a souldier" contented himself with boasting that had he only had more men he "would have given Captaine Shrimpe (a quondam Drummer) such a wellcome, as would have made him wish for a Drume as bigg as Diogenes' tubb that he might have crept into it out of sight." He nevertheless surrendered without firing a shot. The only blood shed was from the nose of one of the defenders, who, from too much "aqua solis," stumbled against the sword of one of Standish's men. The son of a soldier seems to have been a coward as well as a braggart.

Morton sent to England.

After this almost bloodless victory, Morton was taken to Plymouth and sent thence to England in the custody of John Oldham, who, repenting of his former misdeeds, had been taken again into favor. For the time Morton escaped further punishment, and was permitted to return again to New England to plague the Puritans for years to come. He afterward fell into the hands, however, of Endicott — whom he nicknamed Captain Littleworth — who not only sent him a second time to England, but, before he went, set him in

the stocks, and confiscated his goods at Mount Wollaston. He had previously burnt his house, and cut down the Maypole.[1]

Meanwhile, during all these later years of the first decade of the Plymouth Colony, "it pleased the Lord to give the plantation peace and health and contented minds." The Dutch of New Netherland sent pompous letters addressed "to the noble, worshipful, wise, and prudent Lords, the Governor and Councillors residing in New Plymouth" — "over high titles," said Bradford in his reply, "more than belongs to us, or is meete for us to receive;" and an ambassador was sent — the secretary Rasierres — "with a noyse of trumpeters and some other attendants." But good fellowship was thereby established between the two colonies, and this was followed by profitable trade, especially in wampum. This native currency the Indians of the East soon learned to value, though, as its manufacture by the tribes of Long Island from the shells of the quahaug and the periwinkle was practically unlimited, it soon produced such an inflation of values that, from being rated at first by the penny worth, it came at last to be sold by the fathom, and then to be prohibited altogether by colonial law.

Extension of trade and territory.

But as the Pilgrims increased their trade, and grew in prosperity, they enlarged their borders. In 1628 they procured from the Plymouth Company a patent for lands on the Kennebec, and a settlement near the present town of Augusta, Maine, became a valuable dependency. In 1630 a new patent was granted to William Bradford and his associates, which, for the first time, defined the limits of the New Plymouth Colony, making its eastern boundary the ocean, from Cohasset River to Narragansett River; its western, a line drawn from the mouths of these rivers and meeting at the extreme western border of the Indian country, known as the Pokanoket country, which was the southeastern portion of the State of Massachusetts. And this patent also approved the grant on the Kennebec, defining it to be fifteen miles on each bank of that river.

Charter of 1630.

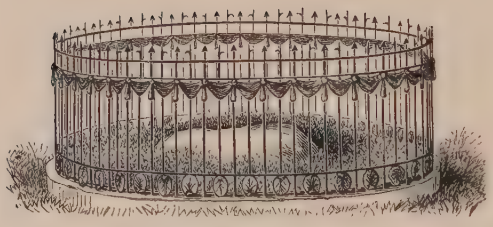
The colony, however, never procured the royal signature to this charter from the Plymouth Company. Their powers of government were derived from the compact signed in the cabin of the *Mayflower*, the day after her arrival in Cape Cod Harbor, and from the discipline of the church. In the censure of the brethren, and the authority drawn from the general assembly of the people, the law found sufficient and

[1] Morton was accused of cruelty to the Indians and other crimes, and was arrested by Endicott on a writ from England. He continued his active hostility to the Puritans till his death in 1645 or 1646, having meanwhile been punished with a year's imprisonment in Boston for his libellous book, *The New English Canaan*, in which he had attacked, with a good deal of scurrilous humor, all the principal men of the colonies.

unquestioned authority.[1] The exigencies of their own condition, the maintenance of social order and of mutual rights, the suggestions of common sense, and the dictates of their own consciences, made the body of the law. Not till the first serious crime was committed among them — the murder of a fellow-colonist by one John Billington — was it thought necessary to seek for counsel, for precedent and sanction in English law. The advice of Governor Winthrop and other leading men of Massachusetts Bay was asked, as to what should be done under such novel and distressing circumstances, and the conclusion of the united council was that the man should die, and the land be purged of blood.

Execution of John Billington.

[1] See *Historical Memoir of the County of New Plymouth*, pp. 227, 228, by Francis Baylies.



Fragment of the Rock at Pilgrim Hall, Plymouth.

Amsterdam.

CHAPTER XVI.

PROGRESS OF DUTCH COLONIZATION.

The Order of Patroons established in New Netherland. — Division and Monopoly of Lands. — The Company overreached by the Patroons. — Massacre of the Colonists of Swaanendael. — Wouter van Twiller appointed Governor. — Weakness and Absurdities of his Administration. — Superseded by William Kieft. — Popular Measures of the Council at Amsterdam. — Purchase of Lands from Patroons. — Increase of Immigration. — Promise of Prosperity to the Colony. — Portents of Coming Calamities. — A Council of Twelve appointed.

With the short-sighted selfishness that belongs to every great monopoly, the West India Company attempted to assure the growth and prosperity of their colony by means the least likely to secure that end. In the Netherlands the feudal system had gradually given way, as everywhere else in Europe, with the increasing intelligence of the people. Titles of nobility still existed, but they had come to be held in little esteem; and wherever great manorial privileges were still tolerated, it was rather as the right of landlords than of chiefs. But this system a great Netherland commercial company now proposed to reëstablish upon the virgin soil

Policy of West India Company.

of a new continent, where that pretence of right, which centuries of endurance were supposed to give it in the Old World, had no existence.

The plan of the directors at Amsterdam was to establish seigniories in the hands of a few great proprietors, whose wealth and ambition would make them lords of people as well as of lands. To the Company, would be saved by this course, they argued, all the enormous cost and care of emigration, the necessity of supporting a small army of officers, and much of the expense of carrying on a government. The colony would increase in wealth and numbers through the labors of the great proprietors, while the chief function of the Company would be to absorb the growing trade and commerce, and to wax fat in opulence and power.

Seal of New Netherland.

The "Charter of Privileges and Exemptions," issued by the West India Company's College of Nineteen on June 7, 1629, provided that any person, a member of this Company (for to this restriction the College adhered even in their new measure), who should purchase of the Indians and found in any part of New Netherland except Manhattan, a colony of fifty persons over fifteen years of age, should be in all respects the feudal lord or patroon of the territory of which he should thus take possession. Not only should he have a full and inheritable title and proprietorship, but the power to establish officers and magistrates in all towns and cities on his lands; to hold manorial courts, from which in higher cases the only appeal was to the director-general of New Netherland; to possess the "lower jurisdictions, fishing, fowling and grinding, to the exclusion of all others;" to make use of all "lands, rivers, and woods, lying contiguous to his own;" in short, to hold and govern his great manors with as absolute rule as any baron of the Middle Ages, with the added advantage of distance from all other constituted authority except that of the corporation of which he was himself a member. The lands which such proprietors could take under these conditions might have a frontage of sixteen miles on one bank, or eight miles on each bank, of any navigable river; with the privilege of extending the estates "so far into the country as the situation of the occupiers would permit." The patroons could trade along the American coast within the Company's nominal jurisdiction, if they brought the goods obtained to the headquarters at Manhattan and paid a tariff of five per cent.; they could engage in the fur trade where the Company itself had

Proprietary privileges.

no factories, on much the same conditions; and avail themselves of the sea-fisheries on paying three guilders a ton for what they caught. Their power over their people was almost unlimited; for no "man or woman, son or daughter, man-servant or maid-servant" could leave a patroon's service during the time they had agreed to remain, except by his written consent; and this rule held in spite of any and all abuses or breaches of contract on the patroon's part. The Company promised to protect and defend the proprietors in the exercise of all these privileges, requiring in return only that each should make an annual report of the condition of his colony. The only privilege that attached to tenants under the patroons was their exemption for ten years from all taxation; though a certain temporary aid was granted to them by the Company's promise to furnish for their assistance "as many blacks (slaves) as they conveniently could." The patroons could bring over their goods on the payment of five per cent. to the Company; cattle and agricultural implements came without cost; but they must pay the passage of "their people." Certain minor rules with regard to the continued importation of provisions in the Company's ships were also inserted in the charter, but they were in every way favorable to the great proprietors.

Condition of laborers and tenants under the charter.

Dutch Costumes.

This creation of a monopoly within a monopoly, had some immediate results that might have been foreseen. The same principle which the Company was carrying out against the rest of the world, its richer and shrewder members enforced against their less fortunate fellow-shareholders. Before the charter was published some of the directors in the Amsterdam Council had their preparations fully made to seize upon the benefits they knew to be in prospect. No sooner were the "privileges and exemptions" actually made law, than Samuel Godyn, a director, informed his colleagues that he and his fellow-director, Samuel Blommaert, had already perfected their arrangements to oc-

Results of the monopoly.

The first patroons.

cupy "the Bay of the South River," and had secured their title and privileges as patroons by purchase of that region, and by due notice to Minuit, at Manhattan. So prompt had been their action that the purchase had been made two days before even the first passage of the charter; but of course it was decided to come within its rules, and the first patroon's patent was duly delivered during the next year.[1]

Other Amsterdam directors had also availed themselves of their position to forestall the ordinary stockholders, and were but little behind Godyn and Blommaert. In the spring of 1630, Kiliaen van Rensselaer, a wealthy dealer and worker in precious stones, bought from the Indians, through Krol, the Company's commissary at Fort Orange, an immense tract of land on the west side of the North River. It extended from Barren (originally Beeren, or Bear's) Island, about twelve miles below Albany, to Smack's Island, and two days' journey inland; and to this he added later in the year, and after beginning its colonization, another territory to the northward, carrying his boundaries nearly to the confluence of the Mohawk. On the east side of the river he bought, in August, a third tract with a river front extending from Castle Island to Fort Orange, and from "Poetanock, the Mill Creek, northwards to Negagonce." Michael Pauw, another director, had meanwhile acquired the territory opposite Manhattan Island, on the west bank, which still bears, in the name Hoboken, a part of its old title "Hobokan-Hacking;" he soon after secured the whole of Staten (then Staaten) Island; and later still the region where Jersey City now stands, and all its neighborhood. While Van Rensselaer called his estate simply Rensselaerswyck (or Manor), Pauw bestowed upon his the more sonorous latinized title of "Pavonia." Fort Orange, reserved for the Company in the north, stood isolated in the midst of Van Rensselaer's vast domain, while the post at Manhattan lay opposite the long river-front of Pauw's possessions. The land of both patroons far exceeded the terms of even the liberal charter, absorbing some of the Company's most profitable trading-regions. Van Rensselaer's purchases were ratified at Fort Amsterdam on the very day on which the charter was first officially proclaimed there; and Pauw's final purchase but three months after.

Lands acquired by patroons.

When the action of these enterprising capitalists was revealed to

[1] July 15, 1630. "It was the first European title, by purchase from the aborigines, within the limits of the present State of Delaware; and it bears date two years before the charter of Maryland, granted to Lord Baltimore by Charles I." — Brodhead, vol. i., p. 200. Mr. Brodhead found the original patent at Amsterdam, in 1841. It has the names of both proprietors, but the English version among old Delaware documents, has only Godyn's. Compare O'Callaghan, vol. i., p. 122, note; and Moulton.

their fellow-members in the Netherlands, they were indignantly denounced as having used "the cunning tricks of merchants." So strong was the feeling against Van Rensselaer and the rest, that they were required by the College of Nineteen to take several partners into the different proprietorships. But they easily evaded the purpose of that order, for Van Rensselaer took Godyn and Blommaert into his partnership, with John de Laet, Bissels, and Moussart, other Amsterdam directors, and kept for himself two of the fifths into which he divided the estate. Godyn and Blommaert, in turn took Van Rensselaer and de Laet into association with them, with Captain de Vries, and several others, also directors. By this convenient arrangement the new partners gained little, and the first holders merely exchanged one property for another.

The occupation of the new estates was nearly as speedy as their purchase. Van Rensselaer had begun the colonization of his lands almost as soon as he had acquired the first great tract, sending out settlers, cattle, and farming tools in his ship the *Eendragt* (Unity), to a point near Fort Orange. Godyn and Blommaert, with their new partners, hastened to follow his example with their lands at the South River; and Pieter Heyes, acting in the service of Captain de Vries, took out in the *Walvis* (Whale), some thirty emigrants to the bay now called Delaware, and early in 1631 founded the colony of Swaanendael, the Valley of Swans, on the shore of the Horekill, a stream near the present town of Lewiston, Delaware. At the same time Heyes crossed over to Cape May, and bought from the Indians for his employers, another great tract of land, stretching twelve miles northward along the coast, and twelve miles inland. Then running up to Manhattan, without stopping to try the profitable whale-fishery which was said to exist near the South River, and had formed one great hope of profit with Godyn, he applied to Minuit to register his purchases.

Colonization of their estates.

In spite of the jealousy which the "cunning tricks" of these earliest patroons had excited among the members of the West India Company at home, it is probable that the animosity would have died away, and no open quarrel have arisen, had the new proprietors kept quietly to the management of colonies which soon grew to be prosperous. But they were not content to confine themselves to agriculture. The lands of which they had taken possession covered some of the most profitable trading ground that had sent its wealth of costly furs to the Company's Manhattan warehouses. All along the river the Indians had brought their peltries to the shore, to meet the little fleet of trading-yachts which now sailed up and down through the region that Hudson had opened; and the exports to

Holland, which in 1626 had been valued at forty-six thousand guilders, had rapidly increased, within the few years following, to more than three times that amount. It was hardly to be expected that the enormous power now put into the hands of the patroons should not be used to acquire a part of this profitable traffic. With so loose a regulation as that imposed upon them by the clause in the "Privileges," which permitted them to trade "where the Company had no factories," it was easy for them to take an ell instead of the inch it had been meant to grant; to regard only the immediate vicinity of Fort Orange and Manhattan as covered by those posts, and to quietly absorb the traffic of the great intermediate region.

The patroons seek to monopolize the fur trade.

Trading for Furs.

This infringement upon the rights of the Company, however, proved a little more than the directors in the Netherlands would bear, and the first attempts at it provoked a storm. The Company's monopoly was attacked at its strongest point, and its authorities rose in a protest so energetic that it might have put an end to the patroons' power altogether, had this not already been suffered to grow so formidable. The directors drew up an order forbidding all private persons, patroons or otherwise, from dealing in peltries, maize, or wampum, and sent out officers to see to its enforcement. The angry complaints of the proprietors were overruled, but the great corporation saw too late the folly of which it had been guilty. Violent disputes occurred before it gained even a partial suc-

Energetic protest of the West India Company.

cess, and the difficulties thus begun not only seriously hindered its own plans, but for several years stood in the way of the whole progress of New Netherland, its colonization, agriculture, and every condition of its growth.

Toward the end of the summer of 1631, the ship *Eendragt* arrived at Fort Amsterdam, bringing letters ordering the recall of Minuit, who was held to have been far too complaisant in confirming the purchases and privileges of the patroons. An officer of the Company, one Conrad Notelman, brought out the order, at the same time that he was instructed to supersede Minuit's Schout, Lampo, in his office; and in the spring of 1632 the discomfited director-general resigned his authority to the council, with the secretary, Van Remund, at its head, and sailed for home in the vessel that had brought the order of his recall. His voyage was an eventful one, for bad weather compelling the *Eendragt* to seek refuge in the English harbor of Plymouth, she was seized there on the ground that she had traded within the limits of the English possessions, and thus a new discussion arose as to the Dutch right to their territory in New Netherland. Like the former disputes, it ended in nothing definite. Both England and the Netherlands renewed their declarations of ownership more positively than before, but after a long correspondence with the Dutch ambassadors the English government let the *Eendragt* pursue her voyage in peace.

Peter Minuit recalled by the Company. 1631.

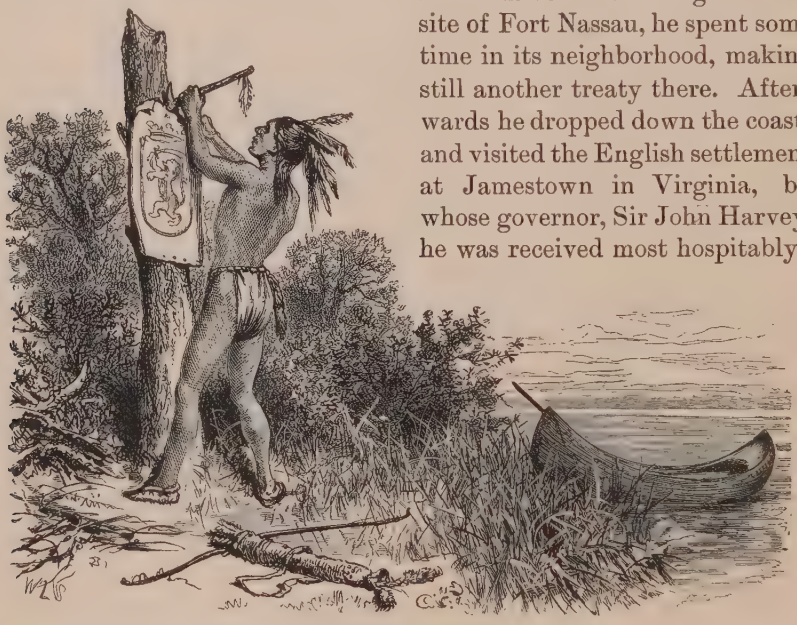
While the colonies on the Hudson were suffering from these disputes and intrigues, a much more terrible calamity suddenly ended the existence of the settlement at Swaanendael. It arose from one of those arbitrary acts common enough in the intercourse of civilized with savage peoples, — acts which the Dutch, however, had hitherto been wise enough to avoid. Heyes, when he had founded the Swaanendael colony for De Vries, had set up a pillar bearing the arms of Holland, in token of possession; but an Indian chief, attracted by the glitter of the tin plate on which the arms were engraved, and not in the least understanding the importance which the whites attached to the symbol of sovereignty, had taken off the metal and made it into shining tobacco pipes, which he carried away in great delight. Gillis Hossett, the Dutch officer left in charge of the new post, was indignant at this irreverent treatment of the Holland escutcheon, and expressed himself so angrily that the comrades of the erring chief, thinking to conciliate the Dutch, put their fellow to death, and came triumphantly to report the fact to the white commander. He explained too late that he only desired to reprimand the culprit. The Indians were enraged to find that their costly sacrifice had been a useless one, and soon after a band of them ap-

End of the colony at Swaanendael.

proached the settlement under the guise of friendship, fell upon and murdered every person at the post, destroyed the fort, and left only the ruins of the burned houses of the whites to mark the site of Heyes's colony.

De Vries visits his estates in America.

De Vries was about to leave Amsterdam to assume the place of patroon at the new settlement, when Minuit brought to Europe the news of this massacre. He did not abandon his voyage, but on arriving at the place where his countrymen were murdered he thought it wiser to make a treaty of peace with the Indians than to attempt to avenge the murder. Going on up the South River to the long-deserted site of Fort Nassau, he spent some time in its neighborhood, making still another treaty there. Afterwards he dropped down the coast, and visited the English settlement at Jamestown in Virginia, by whose governor, Sir John Harvey, he was received most hospitably;



Indian taking down the Arms of Holland

and the neighborhood of the two colonies was amicably discussed without any serious dispute as to the rival rights of Dutch and English.

Wouter Van Twiller, fourth governor. 1633.

It was now the spring of 1633; and while De Vries was cruising to the southward, the Company's ship *Soutberg* was on its way from Amsterdam, bringing out a fourth director-general for New Netherland. For a year after Minuit's departure, at a time when it most needed the guidance of a strong and steady hand, the colony had been left without a ruler; and the new officer who now arrived was anything but fitted for his post. Bred in the service of the Company at Amsterdam, Wouter Van Twiller was little more than a clerk at the time of his appointment, with

only the narrow experience of the Company's routine business at home, and apparently without a single quality to fit him for great responsibilities. But he had married a niece of Van Rensselaer, the chief of the patroons, and the very influence there was most cause to dread, seems to have thrust him into the place which a strong man might have made respectable, but which he could only belittle.

He had barely arrived at Fort Amsterdam, in April, when he was overwhelmed by difficulties which soon showed the weakness of his administration. On the 18th of the month an English vessel, the *William*, entered the harbor, whose supercargo was Jacob Eelkens, the Company's former commandant at Fort Orange. He had entered the English service when dismissed from that of his own countrymen, and, either through pure malice or from hope of gain, now guided his new masters into the richest possessions of the old. The *William* anchored for a few days in the bay, and Van Twiller, with De Vries, who had arrived from Virginia a short time before, dined with the English captain. But the mask of frienship was soon thrown off, and Eelkens boldly declared his intention to go up the river, the Englishman proposing to trade with the Indians on his own account and to see for himself the land that "belonged to the English," having been discovered by "Hudson, who was an Englishman." [1]

An English ship in the harbor of New Amsterdam.

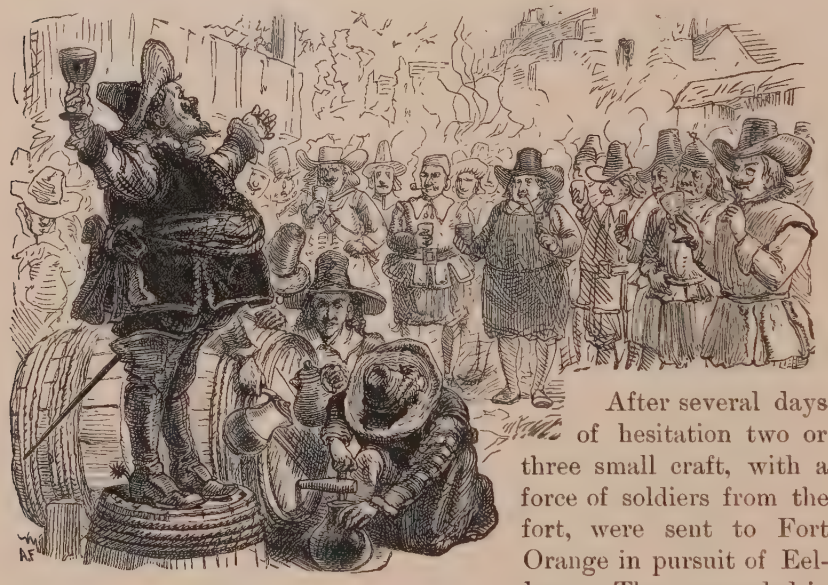
De Vries.

Van Twiller caused the flag of Orange to be raised over the fort and saluted with three guns, the doughtiest defiance of the stranger's purpose which seemed to occur to him; Eelkens and his captain as promptly ran up the English flag on board the *William* with a like ceremony. The director strode furiously up and down his ramparts; but when the Englishman actually weighed his anchor, and sailed away up the stream without the fear of the Company or the Prince of Orange before his eyes, Van Twiller was beside himself at such audacity. He "collected all his people in the fort before his door," and ordering a barrel of wine to be brought and opened, stoutly drank bumper after bumper and cried, "Those who love the Prince of Orange and me, emulate me in this, and assist

Bold conduct of the English captain.

[1] Voyages of De Vries, *N. Y. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, New Series, vol. i., p. 255.

me in repelling the violence committed by that Englishman!" Then he retired to his quarters, and the *William* quietly sailed out of sight and proceeded to Fort Orange without hindrance. "This commander Van Twiller," says the downright De Vries, who was greatly disgusted at such cowardly conduct — "this commander Van Twiller, who came to his office from a clerkship — an amusing case!" Later in the day De Vries dined with the director, and gave him his opinion very freely. "I spoke then as if it had been my own case, and told him that I would have made him go from the fort by the persuasion of some *iron beans* sent him by our guns, and would not have allowed him to go up the river. I told him that we did not put up with those things in the East Indies. There we taught them how to behave."[1]



Van Twiller's Defiance.

After several days of hesitation two or three small craft, with a force of soldiers from the fort, were sent to Fort Orange in pursuit of Eelkens. They succeeded in compelling him to return, and the *William* was then ordered to leave the harbor; but this tardy triumph came much too late to help the governor's reputation. What little was left he lost in a quarrel with De Vries a short time after, when the patroon sent his yacht *The Squirrel* through Hellgate, in spite of Van Twiller's prohibition. The latter threatened in this case to take more energetic measures than before, for he pointed the guns in an angle of the fort at De Vries' vessel, and declared that he would fire. But as he stood with some of his council on the rampart deliberating when he should have been acting,

Quarrel with De Vries

[1] De Vries' *Voyages*.

De Vries himself scornfully approached the group, and rated them in his usual plain-spoken fashion: "It seems that the country is full of fools," he said. "If they must needs fire at something why did they not," he asked, "fire at the Englishman who violated the rights of the river?" This taunt, it is recorded, "made them desist from firing;" and they contented themselves, as the patroon's vessel sailed away on her trading voyage along the eastern and northeastern coast, with sending a yacht to watch her movements. On her return soon after, De Vries again and as coolly disobeyed the governor's orders by going on board before she had been searched. Secretary Van Remund and Notelman, the

De Vries in East River.

schout or sheriff, were sent to the vessel to demand that her furs should be entered at the fort; but Notelman, who was "somewhat of a *bouser*," devoted his visit to a continual clamor for wine, caring little for the business in hand, and only protesting that "he was dry, and would go to the cabin;" as for the secretary, the patroon openly defied him. Both officials were finally sent ashore with the assurance from De Vries that he was "astonished that the West India Company should send such fools to the colonies, who knew nothing but how to drink themselves drunk."

Such was the character of Van Twiller's government at home. Abroad, where events were independent of his personal interference, results were not always ridiculous though generally weak. By the di-

rection of the Company, Arendt Corssen, a commissary, bought from the Indians, during the summer of 1633, a tract of land on the Schuylkill, within the limits of the present State of Pennsylvania. Here he established a trading post, as some compensation for the abandonment of the posts on and near the South River. But by far the most important measure of the year was the first formal attempt made by New Netherland to extend its possessions to the eastward. In the valley of the Fresh or Connecticut River were now living a great number of the former neighbors of the Dutch, the Mohicans, who a few years back had occupied the region opposite Fort Orange. Conquered by the Mohawks, and driven away from their old home in 1628, they had settled in the pleasant country to the east, where they were again defeated by the Pequods, and reduced to the condition of a tributary tribe. Though beaten, they were restless under the yoke, and at different times had sought the aid of the whites to restore their old power; but neither the Dutch to the westward, nor the English on Massachusetts Bay, would interfere in their dispute. At this early day little attention had been paid to their country as desirable for colonization; but the Dutch had pushed into it in search of peltries, and had found the valley rich trading ground. The traders had already bought lands on both sides of the river; and the arms of the States General had been affixed to a tree on Kievit's Hoeck (Saybrook Point), at the mouth of the stream, in 1632.

Purchase of lands on the Schuylkill.

The Dutch on the Connecticut River.

Commissary Van Curler was sent to the Connecticut with directions to make a further purchase and establishment on account of the Company. Sailing up the stream to the mouth of Little River (the site of Hartford), he bought tracts there on both sides of the broad channel, and set about founding a post to be called *Het Huys de Hoop* — "the House of Hope," or Fort Good Hope. It was finished, in spite of the protests of the nearest English colony that it was in violation of their rights. The Plymouth people came to build a trading-house a mile and a half above, and found this rival post, which was to be the cause of long and tedious disputes, in full possession of the Dutch. The fields about it were under tillage; but there was little or no attempt to settle the larger tracts Van Curler had purchased. The questions which the occupation of this outpost raised, gave to Van Twiller ample opportunity for protests and diplomatic correspondence; but as there was no more forcible assertion of the assumed rights of the Dutch, there was little to retard the inevitable fate of "The House of Hope."

Indeed, the frontiers of New Netherland seemed beset, at this moment, with difficulties brought about by the English. Within two

years of this settlement at Hartford, the Netherland territory seemed likely to suffer indirectly from the dispute between the English of Maryland and Virginia. Harvey had just been deposed in Virginia; and the friends of Maryland's old enemy, Clayborne, finding themselves in power, which they had little hope of retaining long, conceived the idea of establishing a post on the Delaware to make up for their loss of trading privileges through the Maryland charter. They knew, through De Vries' visit to Harvey, of the Dutch Fort Nassau; and acting Governor West sent out a party of men under a Virginian, George Holmes, to take possession of the now abandoned post. For once, however, Van Twiller, to whom an English deserter carried news of the attempt, was induced to act promptly. A force was sent to the Delaware, and the English invaders were captured, brought to Manhattan, and finally returned to Virginia by De Vries' vessel.

The disputes referred to the Home Governments.

It is probable that some of the difficulties with the English might have been avoided, or at least their recurrence prevented, had an excellent suggestion made by the Company to the States General been heeded. The *William*, the English vessel under Eelkens's charge, had made complaint and demand for damages, on its return to England, the object of its voyage having been defeated by the action of the Dutch. The application was denied, the Company claiming that damages should rather be paid to them for Eelkens's serious interference with their Indian trade. The controversy, however, necessarily raised the question of the Dutch title to New Netherland, and it was proposed by the Company to submit the whole question to the arbitration of Boswell, the English ambassador at The Hague, and Joachimi, one of the Dutch ambassadors in England, who should establish a boundary line between the English and Dutch possessions in America. Had this suggestion been acted upon, New Netherland would have had a different history; but like former questions with England, this was suffered to slip out of sight, and in a few months the matter had been practically dismissed by both governments.

While all these things were passing, the settlement at Manhattan, though twenty years had passed since it was begun, was still little else than a mere trading-post. It very slowly acquired any of the features of a colonial village, in which industries were springing up, new settlers constantly acquiring fresh interests, the customs and life of a little town growing into form. Its people were the Company's people, with the occasional addition of small bodies of emigrants from Holland; and as yet it had hardly grown to have an interest of its own. Its history thus far had been only the monotonous record of the Company's trade, except for these difficulties with the English,

and the measures connected with them, which kept the little band of officials in continual perplexity. The place had, however, prospered and increased in some degree. New houses had been built of good quality, some of them of brick. The governor had erected three wind-mills, and quarters had been arranged for about one hundred soldiers which Van Twiller had brought over with him. A church had taken the place of the rough loft in which the few early settlers had worshipped; and here Dominie Everardus Bogardus, who had succeeded Jonas Michaelius (the first minister sent out in 1628), preached on Sundays the doctrines of the Reformed religion. The trading vessels of the Company passed and repassed the fort, or lay at anchor in the upper bay; the smith, the cooper, brewer, and joiner, had established rough shops near the fort; and on the north side of this a farm or bouwerie had been laid out for the Company's use, and was industriously cultivated. The "staple right," or right to impose duties on passing vessels, had been granted to the settlement, and added to its importance, and every ship entering the river was stopped before Fort Amsterdam, and made to pay the impost, or land its cargo. Across the river, opposite Manhattan, Patroon Pauw's commander or superintendent, Van Voorst, had built his house; and the early colonists of Pavonia had already begun to gather about it, when the Company succeeded in buying back both that region and Staten Island from their owner, in the summer of 1637. Nearly two years before, they had regained, by a similar purchase, the territory of Swaanendael; but to compensate for this return of property into the corporation's hands, Van Rensselaer had added still further to his already enormous estates, which were prospering and growing valuable under his able manager, Arendt Van Curler; while numerous less important proprietors, among them Van Twiller himself and other official persons, who did not fail

Growth of New Amsterdam.

Dutch Windmill.

Governor's House and Church.

to take good care of their own interests, had acquired lands about Manhattan, and on the western end of Long Island.

Thus affairs stood at the end of the fourth year of Van Twiller's administration. The incompetent governor had grown more and more imbecile in his conduct of home affairs, and he was regarded only with contempt by the few sensible men about him. Irritable and consequential as he was weak, he was constantly involved in petty quarrels with his associates. Dominie Bogardus, who does not seem to have had all that forbearance and gentleness which usually belong to clergymen, is known to have called him, on one occasion, "a child of the devil," and to have declared that he would give him "such a shake from the pulpit, on the next Sunday, as

Unpopularity of Wouter van Twiller.

The Obstinate Trumpeter.

would make him shudder." No doubt the governor deserved it, for he often brought disgrace upon himself and his office by brawling over his wine with the drunken superintendents or captains among whom he found congenial companionship. With such a head, the discipline among minor officers was naturally lax enough; and the gravity of the few records of the time is occasionally enlivened by narratives which might almost seem exaggerations in the pages of Diedrich Knickerbocker. Such was a quarrel between certain officers of the fort and the fort's trumpeter, Corlaer, because the latter persisted in trumpeting in the midst of a leisurely banquet which the others were enjoying with their friends at a corner of the ramparts. The sturdy musician had the best of it, in spite of the number against him, for having given each of the company a "drubbing," he retired in good

order. Nor did their going for their swords, and venting their wrath in vows to "eat" the trumpeter, have any disastrous result,[1] for, says the faithful chronicler, when in the morning the wine was evaporated, "their courage was somewhat lowered and they did not endeavor much to find the trumpeter."

Recall of Van Twiller.

It is not to be wondered at that an administration conducted in so slipshod and absurd a fashion should receive the sharp censure of the few capable men about the governor; and it was through Van Twiller's treatment of one of these, Van Dincklage, the schout who now occupied Notelman's place, that the government was suddenly checked in the midst of its abuses. For Van Dincklage, having ventured to express his contempt too openly, was sent back to Holland with large arrears of salary unpaid, and in a condition giving him a decided right to complain, which he did not hesitate to do. To such purpose did he represent the governor's conduct before the board of Amsterdam directors, that they determined at once upon Van Twiller's recall, especially as the schout's account was almost immediately confirmed on the return of De Vries from one of his frequent voyages. In the summer of 1637, the indignant Van Twiller received notice of his removal. If his official career, however, had brought him nothing else, it had brought him wealth. He was now one of the richest among the private citizens of the colony, owning, with other large tracts of land, several islands in the East River, one of which was Nutten — now Governor's — Island, at its mouth.

William Kieft the fifth governor.

William Kieft of Amsterdam, the fifth director-general or governor of New Netherland, was almost as singular a selection on the part of the directors as his predecessor. His record, in so far as it has been preserved, did not show a mere routine experience, like that of Van Twiller, but it had worse elements in another way. He had been an unsuccessful merchant, his business career ending in bankruptcy, for which in accordance with the custom of the time and place, his portrait was nailed to the gibbet. A still worse crime was laid to his charge; for he was accused of having left in captivity in Turkey some unhappy prisoners he was sent to ransom, while he embezzled the money their friends had provided for their release.[2] But he had been strongly recommended to the Company's College of Nineteen, and his appointment was secured by friends at Amsterdam. On the 28th of March, 1638, he reached his post at Manhattan; and while Van Twiller retired to enjoy the comfortable prosperity which he had secured by the thrifty use of his official opportunities,[3] his suc-

[1] De Vries, in *N. Y. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, New Series, vol. i., p. 259.

[2] De Vries; and authorities in Brodhead, vol. i., p. 274.

[3] There is a partial inventory of the large property Van Twiller accumulated in the Albany Records, vol. i., pp. 89, 91, 101. O'Callaghan, vol. i, p. 183.

cessor entered upon his duties with a vigor that at least promised well. Kieft's tendencies were decidedly despotic; he organized a council with a single member, besides himself, who had but one vote to the governor's two. Furthermore, he immediately issued various decrees which restricted all the powers of the post to a few officers who were little more than his tools; but in spite of this his early measures were generally wise and beneficial.

Condition of the colony on Kieft's arrival.

It was indeed a wretched condition of affairs that greeted him on his arrival; and his first act was to have a formal affidavit made by certain officers and men as to the state of the Company's property at Manhattan; and to embody this in a report to Holland. Van Twiller's zeal for improvements and building had completely died away during the last part of his rule; and all the repairs and new houses upon which he at first lavished the Company's money, had been suffered to fall into decay. The walls of the fort had fallen on all sides; the guns were without carriages; the houses, the mills, the work-shops, both within and without the fort, were in a dilapidated condition; none of the vessels, except the yacht *Prince William*, was fit to be put under sail; it was difficult even to find the site where the magazine or public store once stood; the Company's farms were without tenants, and the land turned into common.[1] It was not only matters of property that were in disorder; the moral condition of the post and its discipline in regard to trade were equally out of joint. The crews that visited the port and the traders who made it their headquarters were a rough and lawless set, and small and poor as the Manhattan settlement was at this time, most of the elaborate forms of smuggling, cheating, and adulteration of goods appear from Kieft's documents to have flourished among its people.

Energetic measures of Kieft.

He took these abuses in hand at once, and a series of arbitrary but needed measures, port regulations, excise laws, and disciplinary rules extending to the smallest details, marked the beginning of his administration. The attempts to enforce them were not always successful, nor could they put a stop to the constant petty thefts of the Company's goods by its minor officers, or the abuse of their official opportunities by which they were fast growing rich. In spite of Kieft's energy, the change of Manhattan Island from a disorderly trading-post to anything like a peaceful and prosperous colony, was only to be brought about by influences quite outside of his control; and it was most fortunate for all New Netherland that such influences were at last to make themselves felt, even about the council-board of the selfish and short-sighted directors at Amsterdam.

[1] The deposition in full is in *N. Y. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, New Series, vol. i., p. 279.

New demands for power from the patroons.

The patroon difficulties had been partly settled — or at least so the directors hoped — by the Company's buying back Pavonia and Swaanendael, thus opening new fields for their trade. But though the Company was rid of a few competitors by this means, Van Rensselaer and his fellows, among whom were some new proprietors, had been growing stronger and more prosperous while the affairs of the corporation were mismanaged. Taking advantage of their own strength and the Company's weakness, they proposed a remedy of their own for the troubles and abuses which the directors were striving to cure. This was that their already enormous privileges should be largely increased, and their irresponsible jurisdiction be still more extended.

Action of the West India Company.

This extraordinary request was promptly refused: but it was evident that something must be done, if the Company would save itself from the horns of a very awkward dilemma. It had not power enough to assume a high tone with the patroons unless the States aided it: and they on the other hand would not aid it unless it showed itself capable of the better government of its colony. In this crisis the chamber at Amsterdam, with the assent of the Council of Nineteen, adopted a measure which in some degree redeemed its former folly, and solved the question, so far as could be done by half measures. It resolved to do what should have been done long before, and in a proclamation, in the fall of 1638, it opened the New Netherland trade to virtually free competition. People of the United Provinces, and their "allies and friends" of whatever nation, might convey any cattle, merchandise, or goods to New Netherland in the Company's ships, and receive "whatever returns they or their agents might be able to obtain in those quarters therefor," subject to a duty of ten per cent. on imports and fifteen per cent. on exports. "And whereas," said the proclamation further, "it is the intention of the Company to people the lands there more and more, and to bring them into a proper state of cultivation, the director and council there shall be instructed to accommodate every one, according to his condition and means, with as much land as he, by him and his family, can properly cultivate;" such lands to become the absolute property of the possessor, on payment of a quitrent of one tenth of the produce to the Company. Any colonist taking advantage of this provision had only to promise to submit to the laws in force in New Netherland; and even further privileges, such as free passages, and aid in bringing over stock for their prospective farms, were granted by the Amsterdam directors to desirable emigrants.

This wise and timely act placed New Netherland where it had never been before — on an equality, so far, with the English colonies

about it. The change the measure wrought in its condition was great and immediate. Emigration from Holland began in the very autumn after the issue of the proclamation, De Vries, who had bought land on Staten Island, being one of the first to carry out colonists to the plantation. During the next summer ship after ship brought emigrants, people of all conditions, from substantial burghers to the laborers whom they had employed at home. From an unprofitable trading-post New Netherland suddenly became, in the eyes of Hollanders, a very land of promise. Those who emigrated to it wrote to their friends at home of the prosperity which

Increased emigration from Holland.

Landing of Dutch Colony on Staten Island.

began to spring up about them; rich men, like Melyn of Antwerp, who came "to see the country," sent back for their families and servants to join them. Nor was the immigration from the Netherlands only; men who had long been restless under the severity of Puritan rule began to seek new homes among the tolerant Dutch: "whole settlements," says the record, removed to Dutch territory to avail themselves of the new freedom offered there, and "to escape from the insupportable government of New England."[1] Many came from Virginia also, who had been bound to masters there, and had served out their time.

[1] The phrase of the *Journael Van Nieuw Nederlant*, 1647. See, also, O'Callaghan, vol. i., p. 208.

The town of New Amsterdam.

The main current of this sudden immigration set toward Manhattan Island and the region about it, though the colonies farther up the river and on Staten Island also benefited by it. On Manhattan itself, where the "town of New Amsterdam" was now first becoming worthy of such a name, thirty well-stocked bouweries [farms] had taken the place, in the summer of 1639, of the few neglected ones noticed in Kieft's first report, and there were applications for grants of land for a hundred more. Kieft had bought from the Indians, in view of the growing demand, nearly all the land that now forms Queen's County, and part of that in southern Westchester, and this began to be peopled. A part of the shore of the bay, north of the entrance to the Kill van Kull, was also purchased, besides private tracts in different places. Prosperity seemed to follow every enterprise of the new comers, and many of the old abuses vanished with the coming of a better class of people. The Virginians brought cherry and peach trees, which were soon abundant in the island bouweries; and they introduced from the south their better method of tobacco-culture. Far up the river, close by Fort Orange, the little village of Beverswyck, which had grown up on the lands of Van Rensselaer and was the central point of his manor, shared in the new immigration. The only one of the original patroonships that had succeeded, its prosperity well maintained under the capable Van Curler, attracted many, and the persistent efforts of its owner sent still more. Its fertile farms and excellent houses gave the appearance of more rapid growth than was visible at Manhattan, but its feudal restrictions nevertheless were a serious drawback to its progress, which was less real than that at the river's mouth. In

Journey of De Vries up the Hudson.

1640 the restless De Vries made a voyage up the Hudson, of which he gives an elaborate account in his journal; and though he appreciated all the material prosperity of Rensselaerswyck, his quick eye did not fail to note that the patroons had "very much embellished" their property, at the cost of the Company, "and that they had well known how to turn things to their own advantage." Their policy, like the earlier policy of the Company itself, was too selfish for the permanent success of their colonies in any large and popular sense.

In this same year, 1640, the College of Nineteen passed an ordinance materially changing the charter of Privileges and Exemptions, and limiting the lands of future patroons to a water front of one mile, and a depth of two miles; it left them their feudal privileges, but put disputes between them under the jurisdiction of the governor of Manhattan. Furthermore, it recognized any one, who should take five settlers to the colony, as a "master," entitled to two hundred acres of

land, and such "masters or colonists" might form themselves into towns or villages with municipal privileges; it established a second class of patroons, restricting them to one mile of water-front, and whoever chose might trade at New Netherland in the Company's ships, by the payment of certain imposts. It was a great improvement upon the old charter, curtailed the powers of the old patroons and extended their privileges to the people at large.

Progress of the colony.

This removal of the restrictions upon free emigration, upon the possession of land, and upon the freedom of trade, increased at once and largely the prosperity of the colony. The emigrant naturally preferred to hold his lands directly from the Company, rather than from a manorial proprietor and master, and the possibility of doing so was an inducement to remove to a new country. He was a free man, not a serf. This fundamental change in the colonial policy made all the difference between a community possessing the elements of success, and one so bound and crippled by its laws, that to escape from, not to seek it, was an instinctive impulse.

New difficulties and dangers.

A healthy and rapid progress might now be looked for, but there were dangers and difficulties to be encountered from without. On the one hand were the encroachments of the English upon territory claimed by the Dutch which had to be met; on the other the more serious and more alarming peril of Indian hostilities.

CHAPTER XVII.

WAR WITH THE INDIANS. — THE SWEDES ON THE DELAWARE.

Change of Policy toward the Indians. — Kieft's Cruel and Stupid Obstinacy. — Massacre of Indians by the Dutch at Pavonia. — Retaliations by the Natives. — Murder of the Hutchinson Family at Annie's Hoeck. — Disastrous Condition of the Colony. — Appeal of the People of New Amsterdam to the States General. — End of the War. — Kieft removed from Office. — Territorial Encroachments of Rival Colonies. — The English at the East. — A Swedish Settlement on the Delaware. — Fort Christina. — The Swedish Governor, John Printz.

The wisdom and justice which the Dutch had hitherto shown in their treatment of the savages gradually disappeared under Kieft's administration. The agents of the Company, in their intercourse with the Indians, had been governed by a uniform practice; but when

Selling Arms to the Indians.

trade was made free and competition grew with its increase, fraud and oppression followed among Indian traders, who had little regard — then as now — for any rules but the rules of addition and multiplication. This reckless love of gain sowed the seeds of future trouble in

supplying to the savages those arms which could alone make them very formidable enemies, by putting into their hands the means of avenging the wrongs which they both suffered and imagined. In spite of all laws and all the dictates of common prudence, guns and ammunition were sold to the Indians at enormous prices by the selfish traders along the Upper Hudson, and even at Manhattan whenever the police could be evaded. The Mohawks bought enough to arm four hundred men, not only rendering them formidable to the Dutch, but arousing the enmity of other tribes along the river, who bitterly complained of the superiority thus given to their enemies. Kieft, though he tried to put a stop to this traffic, added fuel to the flame of hatred now rapidly rising about the settlements, by a series of ill-judged measures. An attempt in 1640, to exact tribute of corn, wampum, and furs from the Indians near Manhattan, raised the anger of the savages to the highest pitch, and an attack made by his orders on the Raritans, in revenge for an alleged theft on Staten Island — an act really committed by some white traders, — was enough to bring about an open war.

Indian hostilities.

For two years the evils that resulted from these acts hung over New Netherland. When the Raritans, in the spring of 1641, attacked and destroyed the settlement De Vries had made on Staten Island, Kieft in retaliation offered a bounty for every head of a Raritan Indian that should be brought to him. Later in the year a young Weckquasgeek, whose uncle had been murdered by a white man, years before when Fort Amsterdam was building, fell upon and killed, in mere desire of blood for blood, a quiet settler, one Smits, who lived by the East River; and when Kieft demanded the murderer, his tribe refused to give him up. Popular opinion at New Amsterdam, which had been from the first openly hostile to the director's arbitrary treatment of the Indians, compelled him to delay till the next spring any attempt to punish them; and even then the expedition which he sent against them lost its way in the forest, and came back unsuccessful. The Weckquasgeeks were sufficiently alarmed to make a treaty promising that the murderer should be surrendered; but it was never done. In the winter of 1642–43 another Indian, maddened by drink and by the hostility that had now been awakened everywhere among his race, killed an innocent white man at a new colony at Hackensack; and again the tribe refused to give him up, but sought to compromise by paying an indemnity of wampum. About the same time the Indians of Connecticut were aroused against English and Dutch alike. There was enmity on every hand. The New Netherland people shared with their English neighbors the dread of a general Indian war.

All the worst traits of Kieft's nature seem to have been called out by these difficulties with the savages. But though he raged against the Indians, and talked of some general and bloody punishment, the community at large were not in the least disposed to second his desperate purposes. He was openly accused, even, of a want of sincerity; his object was said to be, not so much to punish the Indians as to swell the sum total of his balance-sheet in his accounts with the Company; and it was declared that he was too ready to send others into dangers where he did not dare to lead. When he proposed to send out an expedition against the Weckquaesgeeks to revenge the murder of Smits, the popular feeling against the measure was so strong that he was constrained to call a public meeting for its consideration. The result was the appointment of "Twelve Select Men" who should aid him in coming to a wise decision. The Twelve were cautious in giving advice. The murderer, they thought, should be punished, but his surrender was to be again and again demanded, and any general difficulty with his tribe was to be avoided as long as possible. And they were very decidedly of the opinion that inasmuch as the "Honorable Director is as well the ruler as he is the commander of the soldiery," he ought, "to prevent confusion, to lead the van," their place being "to follow his steps and obey his commands." The Honorable Director no doubt recognized the grim humor of these solemn burghers. He sometime afterward issued a proclamation in which he thanked them for their advice, but forbade any further calling of popular meetings, as they tended to dangerous consequences, and to the injury of the country and his own authority.

Meanwhile events were stronger than either director or council, and all that either could do was to turn them to a wise or unwise account, as the case might be. The unhappy tribes on the lower reaches of the river were a prey to others beside their white neighbors; and in the middle of the winter, when the river was full of ice and the savages were collected in their winter camps, a war-party from the powerful Mohawks at the north came sweeping down upon them, armed with the guns the Dutch had furnished, and driving before them far greater numbers — whole settlements, indeed — of the Algonquins. Without making a stand against their formidable and always dreaded enemies, the southern Indians, the Weckquasgeeks, the Tappans, and others from the rivers' banks, fled through the woods. Many sought refuge with the white men towards whom they had just before been so hostile; and they were received with kindness, some at Manhattan itself, some at a colony which De Vries, always the friend of the savages, had begun by the Tappan Sea, and called Vriesendael. At the latter place, indeed, the refugees were so

War among the savages.

many that the patroon was anxious about the safety of his goods, and paddled a canoe down to Manhattan to ask that a guard might be sent him from the fort.

He was full of friendship and sympathy for the persecuted river tribes, though he could not interfere for their protection against the Mohawks ; and when he had brought his canoe safely through the ice floes and landed at New Amsterdam, his presence was a great gain to the strong party there, who were urging upon the governor that the

De Vries in the Ice.

time had come when all the old hostility might be removed by a little kindly treatment of the savages in their distress. Policy and humanity alike suggested that they should be at least suffered to find a temporary asylum with the whites. But there were a few in the settlement who were ready to aid the director in his plans, and while the rest debated, these resorted to a device worthy of politicians of a later period. The Twelve Men had been disbanded some time before ; but two or three who had belonged to their number now reassumed their power as popular representatives, and authorized an act which the whole body would have rejected in an instant. At a dinner at the house of Jansen Dam, one of the Twelve, he and two others, by previous arrangement, presented to the director a petition purporting to come from the community at large, in which they asked that active hostilities should be begun against the natives. "Let us attack them," said they ; and the defenceless con-

Policy adopted toward the Indians.

dition of the Indians was urged as an argument for a sudden and merciless onslaught.

Kieft acted at once on this pretended popular approval of his own determination. In vain did De Vries, dining with him two days after, point out the folly of such a course. "Consider, sir," he said, "what good it will do — knowing that we lost our settlements by mere jangling with the Indians at Swaanendael in the Hoeren Creek, in 1630, when thirty-two of our men were murdered; and now lately, in 1640, at Staaten Island, where my people were murdered, occasioned by your petty contrivances of killing the Indians

Counsel of De Vries.

Dinner at Van Dam's.

of Raritan, and mangling the body of their chief for mere bagatelle."[1] But the director had determined, as he said, "to make these savages wipe their chops." He knew as well as De Vries — who was president of the Board of Twelve, when it had any legal existence, — that the action at Dam's house was a transparent fraud which could deceive nobody short of Holland. He was not influenced in the least by the wise counsel of De Vries.

Night attack on Indian camp at Pavonia.

Across the river, at Pavonia, the frightened Indians had made their chief camp, many hundreds of them collecting there with the Hackensacks, who numbered perhaps a thousand. Upon this encampment Kieft had resolved to make his first

[1] De Vries, *N. Y. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, New Series, vol. i., pp. 268, 899.

attack, and on the afternoon of the day of De Vries' remonstrance, the soldiers were collected near the fort to prepare for the crossing, which was to happen on the following day. De Vries again protested, as he saw the troops. "You will go," he said, "to break the Indians' heads; but it is our nation that you are going to murder. Nobody in the country knows anything of it. My family will be murdered again, and everything destroyed." The remonstrance was, of course, useless, though Domine Bogardus and other men of influence joined in it. The night was occupied in preparation; and at evening of the next

Indian Fugitives from Pavonia.

day the soldiers under Sergeant Rodolf, going out, as Kieft falsely said, "in the name of the Commonalty," were carried across the river to Pavonia.

De Vries sat that night in the great kitchen at the director's, by the fire. Just at midnight, the winter's night being cold and still, he heard loud shrieks from beyond the river. Hurrying out to the ramparts of the fort, he looked in the direction of Pavonia. "I saw nothing," he says in his brief journal, "but the flash of the guns, and heard nothing more of the yells and clamour of the Indians, who were butchered during their sleep." As he sat down again by the fire, thinking of the bloody work going on so near him,

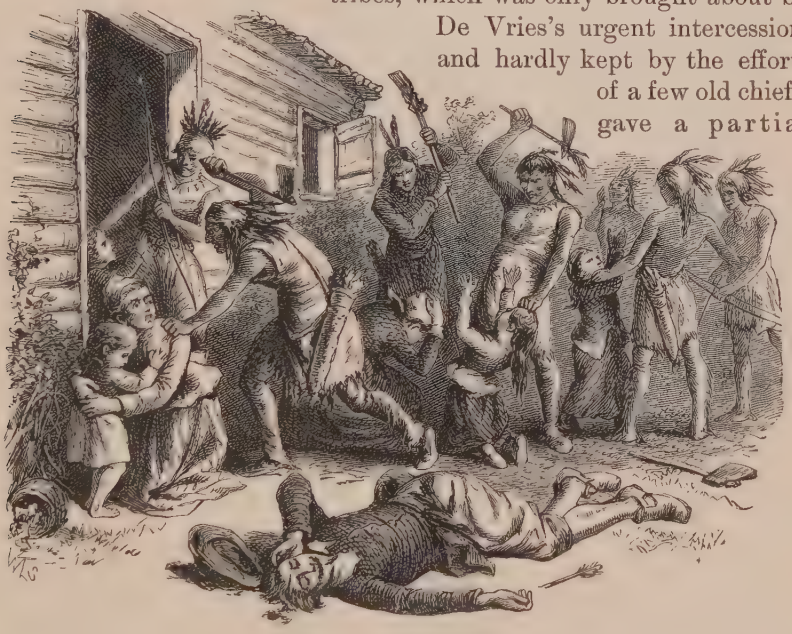
Massacre of the Indians.

there came in an Indian man and woman whom he knew, fleeing for their lives from the Pavonia camp; saying "that the Indians of Fort Orange had surprised them, and that they came there for shelter." De Vries gave them their first knowledge of the truth — that the fort was the worst refuge to which they could come, "and that it was not the savages of Fort Orange who were murdering those of Pavonia, but it was the Swannekins, the Dutch themselves." And with this warning the good patroon took the pair to a side gate of the fort where "no sentry stood," and aided them to hide themselves again in the darkness. Eighty Indians were killed at Pavonia, and forty at Corlaer's Hook that night, with horrible barbarities that might have given the savages themselves a lesson in the art of torture. "And this was the feat worthy of the heroes of old Rome!" — says De Vries, in bitter allusion to a grandiloquent boast that Kieft had made; — "to massacre a parcel of Indians in their sleep, to take the children from the breasts of their mothers, and to butcher them in the presence of their parents, and throw their mangled limbs into the fire or water! Other sucklings had been fastened to little boards, and in this position they were cut in pieces! Some were thrown into the river, and when the parents rushed in to save them, the soldiers prevented their landing, and let parents and children drown. Children of five and six years old were murdered, and some aged decrepit men cut to pieces. Those who had escaped these horrors, and found shelter in bushes and reeds, making in the morning their appearance to beg some food or warm themselves, were killed in cold blood, or thrown into the fire or water." "Some," he adds, "came running to them in the country," mangled and mutilated too terribly to be described; "and these miserable wretches, as well as some of our people, did not know but they had been attacked by the Maquas of Fort Orange." The troops came back to the fort in the morning with prisoners and various bloody tokens of their "victory;" and Director Kieft welcomed them exultantly, as men who had done a noble deed of arms in behalf of the colony and of their homes. They had simply thrown away the chief advantage that the Dutch colony had hitherto held over its energetic and more restless rivals. The chief guaranty of safety and prosperity was lost to a people who had little of the military prowess of their neighbors to stand them in stead.

Terrible results of Kieft's policy.

When the facts of the Pavonia and Corlaer's Hook massacres became known, the results were more terrible than even De Vries, with all his foresight, had looked for. All about the lower river and the bay, and on Long Island (where petty plundering expeditions, soon after the more important events, drove the tribes into common cause with their mainland neighbors), the Al-

gonquin people rose furiously against the whites. The terrors of an Indian war broke forth with a suddenness which appalled the colonists; and every swamp and wood from the country of the Hackensacks to the Connecticut, seemed all at once to swarm with hostile savages. The outlying bouweries and plantations were laid waste, their men killed, and their women and children made prisoners; people from the farms crowded to Fort Amsterdam; even Vriesendael was besieged, and only relieved at the intercession of the Indian who had come to De Vries by the director's fire on the night of the great massacre, and whom he now pointed out as "the good Swannekin chief." A hollow and but half-satisfactory peace with some of the tribes, which was only brought about by De Vries's urgent intercession, and hardly kept by the efforts of a few old chiefs, gave a partial



Massacre of Ann Hutchinson.

respite, from March until midsummer. But the war broke out again in August, with renewed fierceness, among the tribes above the Hudson Highlands. Early in the month they attacked and plundered trading-boats upon the river, murdering many of the crews. By September the conflict was raging with full force. In the south a band of savages fell upon the quiet home of Ann Hutchinson, at "Annie's Hoeck," now known as Pelham Neck, near New Rochelle, and she and her family, excepting one granddaughter who was carried away captive, were murdered. Other plantations near at hand and on Long Island shared this fate; the Hackensacks and Navesincks fell upon the settle-

ments to the westward of Manhattan; even at the outposts of Fort Amsterdam men were wounded by the shots of the lurking savages, who might, had they known their own power, have exterminated the whites, who, in the universal terror, were almost incapable of resistance.

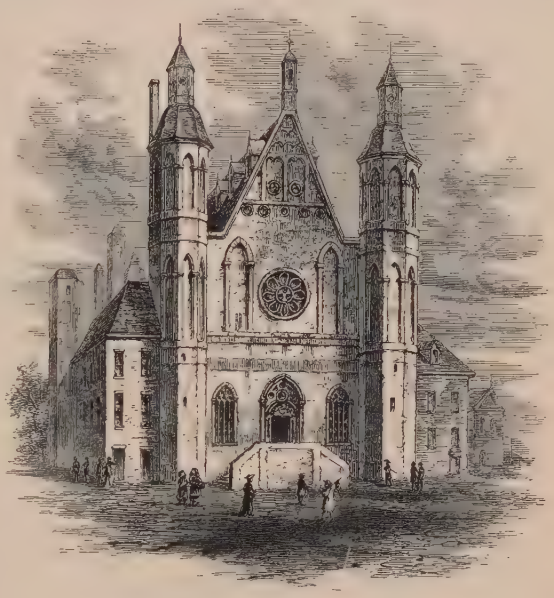
Unpopularity of Kieft.

It may be imagined that during all this terrible retribution Kieft's vindictive rashness had brought upon the wretched colony, his life was not a pleasant one. The terror-stricken people, who crowded with their families within the dilapidated and insufficient ramparts of the fort, thronged about him with imprecations and threats. He tried in vain to shift the responsibility to the shoulders of the Twelve Men. "You would not let them meet," was angrily answered; "how then could they have done this?" Even the three who had presented him the pretended petition at Dam's house deserted him, and attempted to repudiate their share of responsibility for the calamity they had helped to bring upon the colony. One of them — Adriaensen — stalked into Kieft's presence and threatened to take his life if he did not stop his "devilish lies." Indeed, his servant attempted it, and fired at the director, but he was instantly shot down by a sentinel, and his head was afterwards exposed upon the gibbet. Adriaensen was arrested and sent to Holland for trial; but the feeling of the people remained unchanged, nor did the proclamation of a solemn fast, and the remorseful acknowledgment that these things were "doubtless owing to their sins," persuade anybody that it was the Almighty and not the director who was the author of all their woes.

He calls an assembly of the people.

Kieft again called the people together in September, 1643, just after the attack upon the trading-boats had shown the general and vindictive nature of the war, and begged them to choose a new council from among themselves, to consult as the former one had done, on the terrible crisis that was upon them. Eight citizens were selected, who seized the reins of government much more firmly and confidently than their predecessors had done. New provisions were made, which the exigency of the times demanded, among them especially the equipment of a large force of soldiers, of whom fifty were English settlers under John Underhill, lately a Massachusetts captain who had fought against the Pequods. Confidence was in some measure restored to the terrified town; and the refusal of an application to New Haven for aid — the New England colonies being pledged to each other not to enter separately into war, and New Haven, moreover, doubting whether the Dutch could be justified in the course they had pursued towards the Indians — aroused the energies of the New Netherlanders, who saw that they must save themselves or perish.

The Eight Men, however, did something more than use the scanty resources at their command within the colony. On the twenty-fourth of October they addressed to the College of Nineteen at Amsterdam, and on the third of November to the States General themselves, then in session in the Binnenhof[1] at the Hague, the first documents ever sent from the people of New Netherland to their government at home. Two letters of direct appeal were sent from the suffering citizens, couched in simple terms to which their hard condition lent convincing eloquence. A council of eight men.



The Binnenhof.

They set forth how "Almighty God had finally, through his righteous judgment, kindled the fire of war" around the "poor inhabitants of New Netherland;" and they painted a pitiable picture of their woes, their women and children starving, their homes destroyed, "matters, in fine, in such a state, that it will be with us according to the words of the prophet: 'Who draws the sword shall perish of hunger and cold.'" To the States General they wrote that the "wretched people must skulk, with wives and little ones that still are left, by and around the fort on the Manhattes, where we are not one hour safe." They humbly prayed for such assistance "as their High Mightinesses should deem most proper, that they might not be left a prey "to these cruel heathens."

A terrible winter, and one full of sad forebodings, followed the sending out of these earnest letters of appeal. The suffering people, crowded at the southern end of the beleaguered island, and dreading the Indian arrows even at the doors of the little huts that clustered about Fort Amsterdam, could see no hope of better days in the future; and the many who could find pas- Desperate condition of the colony. 1643.

[1] Then the meeting-place of the States General; now used as the repository of the archives of the Netherlands.

sage in the vessels going to Holland in the autumn, felt that they were leaving a colony that could never rise again. In this anxious and forlorn crowd was Roger Williams, who was at Manhattan to take ship for Europe, the Boston Puritans not tolerating his presence among them long enough for him to get a fair wind and go to sea. "Their townes," he says, "were in flames . . . . mine eyes saw the flames at their towns, and their flights and hurries of men, women, and children, the present removal of all that could for Holland."[1] It was only with the really desperate straits of midwinter, when all attempts to gain aid from their English neighbors had failed, that the spirit of the Eight Men and of the people rose, as man's courage does in extremities, to energetic measures against the enemy; and even then, the first attempts at offensive warfare had but little result. An expedition sent to Staten Island in December accomplished nothing but the capture of some grain, the Indians pursuing their usual tactics of keeping away from a large body of organized troops. Another sally towards Greenwich and Stamford, called thither by a petty skirmish, surprised a little Indian village, and killed its warriors, embittering, rather than aiding to end, the general conflict.

Capture of Indian towns.

It was only with the beginning of 1644 that any real success came to the colonial arms. Certain English families, who had removed from Stamford to Heemstede [Hempstead] on Long Island, called the attention of Kieft to the dangers to which they were exposed from the Canarsees, the tribe nearest them; and begged that an expedition should be sent to protect them from attack. The director and the Eight Men sent a hundred and twenty men in answer to this appeal. Two Indian villages were surprised and sacked; more than a hundred warriors were killed; and two were brought back to Manhattan, where they were put to death before the governor with such atrocious tortures that Indian women standing by cried "shame," and declared that the Dutch had shown them new methods of torture.

Underhill's expedition.

This success was soon followed by another and a greater. For Underhill and his force of Dutch and English, having carefully examined the main position of the Connecticut Indians near Greenwich and Stamford, undertook an expedition of a more decisive character against their principal village. A night march through the February snows brought the little army of a hundred and fifty men to the outskirts of the Indian town, which they had hoped to find unprepared for their approach, though the moonlight was so clear and strong that "many winter's days were not brighter." But the savages were warned, and stood upon their guard, nearly seven hundred strong,

[1] *R. I. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, vol. iii., p. 155.

and having their rude fortifications to protect them. The Dutch line advanced steadily, unbroken by the arrows or attempted sorties of the Indians, and nearly two hundred of the besieged warriors fell in the endeavor to drive it back. Underhill succeeded at last in firing the village; and the flame and the moonlight lit up a slaughter beside which the massacre at Pavonia seemed insignificant. Eight only of the savages escaped. The Dutch, with fifteen wounded, made their way back to Stamford; and a few days afterward a thanksgiving was

March against the Indians in Connecticut.

celebrated on their arrival at Manhattan, after a victory which effectually humbled the eastern tribes.

It was only about Manhattan and on the river that many of the tribes continued hostile after this decisive blow; and the Eight Men counselled that vigorous measures should now be taken against these nearer and more dangerous neighbors; more especially as the arrival of a vessel from the Company's colony at Curaçoa had supplied New Netherland with a fresh force of one hundred and thirty soldiers, whom Peter Stuyvesant, the Curaçoa governor, had sent away because he

had no use for them. It was an addition of military strength to Manhattan which it was sorely in need of, and warmly welcomed, though how the soldiers were to be fed and clothed it was not easy to see. The treasury was empty; Kieft's last bill of exchange had come back from Amsterdam protested, for the Company was bankrupt. His only resource was taxation. The best, the most obvious thing to tax was beer. But a tax on his beer was precisely that to which a Dutchman would not submit. So the director blundered through the summer of 1644, without one wise or energetic measure. He was as inert and imbecile now as he had before been violent. He wasted his time in petty disputes and jealousies over petty measures. Still more of the men on whom the colony depended for protection, experienced soldiers and energetic settlers, returned to Holland. In spite of a palisade built across the island nearly on a line with the present *Wall* Street, the Indians continued to skulk almost under the walls of the fort, and to kill and plunder almost without the show of resistance.

Complaints against Kieft.

All through the summer the Eight Men bore with this condition of affairs, but in October they wrote again to the College of Nineteen, and this time with a bold and definite statement of the reforms they believed to be needed, and the changes they demanded. They again detailed the terrible state in which the unhappy colonists found themselves, and pointed to Kieft's acts as the source of all their troubles; they complained of his arrogance, and his neglect of all measures for public good, while he cared only for his own arbitrary power. It was impossible, they said, to settle the affairs of the country without a different and more popular form of government; and they asked permission for the people to elect local officers who in turn might send deputies to confer with the governor and council. If their High Mightinesses would send them a ruler empowered to encourage such a system, — "a governor with a beloved peace," — all, they believed, would yet be well.

This second appeal from New Netherland reached the College of Nineteen, while they were in the midst of the discussion of the former one, and of a great number of complaints received from other sources with regard to the suffering and unprofitable colony. The States General, when they had received the letter of 1643, had peremptorily ordered that the Company should take measures to relieve their people beyond the sea; but the bankrupt and powerless corporation, now seeking to merge itself in its great and successful fellow company of the East, could do little toward obeying the order.

Kieft's recall to Holland.

As usual, however, a definite demand had far more influence than a general complaint, however eloquent, as it suggested something that could be done at once. The immediate pur-

pose of the Eight Men was gained: Kieft's recall was determined upon, and decreed on the tenth of December. A provisional appointment of Van Dincklage, the former sheriff, as his successor, was revoked in May, in favor of Peter Stuyvesant, the commander at Curaçoa, who had come home for surgical treatment, having lost a leg in an attack on the Portuguese at their Island of St. Martin. The Chamber of Accounts, to whom the matter was referred, reported in favor of the political changes recommended by the Eight Men, and against Kieft's conduct of the Indian war, and his earlier advice that the savages be exterminated. They suggested a great number of advantageous changes in the administration of New Netherland, and for the first time, taught by hard experience, admitted that a colony could not be made successful if managed solely for the immediate and selfish ends which had hitherto been sought by the Company in America, without regard to permanence or to the popular good.

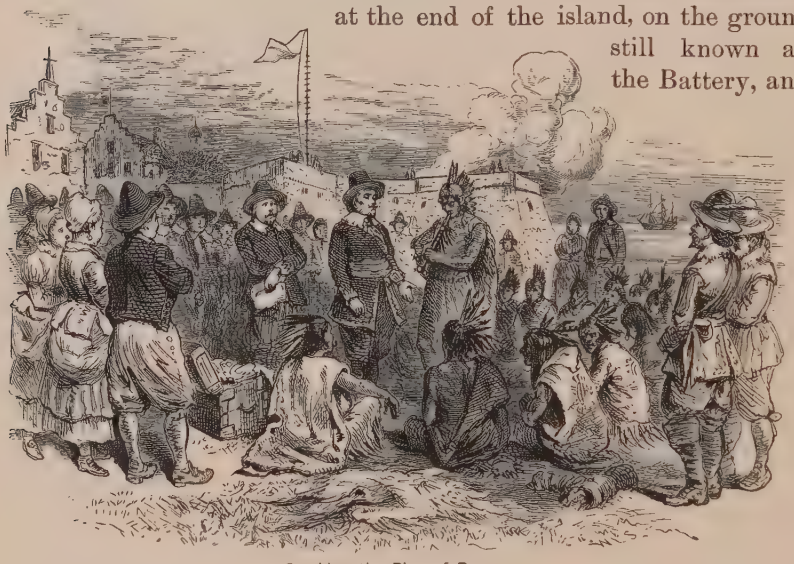
Hall of the States General.

There was a delay, nevertheless, of a year between determination and execution; but in the mean time the assurance of what was intended was enough greatly to encourage the anxious colonists at Manhattan. Kieft had a hard life now that it was known how soon he would be powerless to trouble them; and he only aroused more bitter opposition by attempting to repress by summary trials the boldness of those who now denounced him openly. A happier event, however, than even the recall of the hated director, soon rejoiced the colony, and gave promise of the better days that were believed to be in store.

With the spring of 1645, the Indians themselves began to show a wish for peace, and as early as April the colonists were glad to conclude a treaty with some of the tribes about them, Kieft willingly consenting, in the hope, perhaps, of still retrieving his

Treaties with the Indians.

reputation with the Amsterdam directors. One treaty followed another. In May the mediation of an Indian ally secured a lasting peace with the tribes along Long Island Sound; and in July, Kieft, aided by the patroon's men at Fort Orange and Rensselaerswyck, brought about a similar agreement with the Mohawks and their neighbors on the upper river. Only the tribes immediately about Manhattan remained, and with these, who also wanted quiet that they might go back to planting and trading, and escape the vengeance which Underhill's victory showed was in store for them sooner or later, negotiations were equally successful. On the 30th of August, 1645, the citizens of New Amsterdam assembled at the end of the island, on the ground still known as the Battery, and



Smoking the Pipe of Peace.

witnessed the smoking of the pipe of peace, and the conclusion of a general treaty with all the hostile tribes. On the 6th of September New Netherland held a day of thanksgiving for the ending of the long and terrible Indian war. Throughout the desolated colonies about Manhattan, proprietors and laborers began to rebuild and to cultivate again with renewed courage; but the country had received a check from which it revived but slowly.

Sixteen hundred of the savages, indeed, had been killed; but there was not a single Dutch settlement, except that at Rensselaerswyck and the military post on South River, that had not been attacked and generally destroyed. Besides a few traders there were left upon Manhattan Island scarcely a hundred people, and throughout the whole province not more than three hundred men capable of bearing arms could have been mustered.

The year and more which yet remained of Kieft's administration, was a time of petty quarrels between him and his officers and the popular representatives. The Domine Bogardus denounced the governor from the pulpit, — as he had done his predecessor, — as a vessel of wrath and a fountain of woe and trouble. Kieft retorted by having cannon fired, drums beaten, and all kinds of noisy games carried on about the church on Sunday. His officers and soldiers were by no means reluctant to give implicit obedience in a warfare of this sort, and for a time the town was kept, between the domine and the governor, in a state of unusual liveliness. Military disaster and civil misrule had brought affairs to such a pass that in the order of nature a change must come, either of reconstruction or absolute dissolution. The "beloved peace" which the new governor was to bring must have wings broad enough to stretch over army, state, and church.

Meanwhile affairs on the frontiers of New Netherland were in nearly, if not quite, as bad a state as on the island of Manhattan. The steady aggression of the New Englanders had left the Dutch but the merest nominal foothold in Connecticut and eastern Long Island; and the serious attempt that had been made in 1641–1642, to settle the question of rights and boundaries, had resulted only in the usual empty talk about an arbitration which never came. The Dutch settlement at little Fort Good Hope was more a source of amusement than apprehension to the authorities of the thriving town of Hartford, the Dutchmen listening sometimes to remonstrances and reproaches, and sometimes submitting to outrages they could not resist. Dutch control in the Connecticut Valley was gone. On the southern borders of their possessions, however, events of a more positive character had occupied the years of Kieft's unhappy rule. Fort Nassau, reoccupied a few years before, held undisputed control of the beautiful region of the South River; the old importance of the district as an Indian trading-ground had been reëstablished, and the English had ceased to molest the Dutch in this part of their territory, when about the time of Kieft's arrival at Manhattan a new nation appeared on that river. These colonies were to have a brief life, but to leave a lasting impress upon the region where they were established.

William Usselincx, of Antwerp, who had first proposed and had succeeded in establishing the Dutch West India Company, visited Sweden, in 1624, and urged upon the king the great value which the founding of colonies in America, and the trade that would spring from them, must certainly be to his kingdom and people. The wise and liberal Gustavus Adolphus was fully capable of comprehending the broad views of the Holland merchant, and entertained them warmly. Usselincx set forth the advantages of his plan in a religious, political, and

commercial aspect. He showed that the establishment of a Swedish West India Company would benefit the state, in the spread of the Christian religion; in adding to the power and splendor of the sovereign; and in the decrease of taxes, while it augmented the general commercial prosperity of the people. Reward would surely come to a state aiding the cause of Christ; the state itself would have "another eye;" by reason of the increased revenue "every industrious man would thrive;" and it would greatly tend, said Usselincx, in conclusion, "to the honor of God, to man's eternal welfare, to his majesty's service, and to the good of the kingdom." The project was accepted by the king and the Diet, and accompanied with the most favorable conditions for Usselincx himself, who was to share largely in the profits.

A Swedish West India Company formed.

Gustavus Adolphus fell at Lützen, in 1632, before the absorbing importance of his great campaigns had permitted him to take any practical steps toward the carrying out of the plan; but he had it constantly at heart, and just before his death had drawn up a proclamation in which he called the project "the jewel of his kingdom." Fortunately, it was left in worthy hands. The chancellor Oxenstiern, who appreciated its importance as fully as the king, published the proclamation, urged on the undertaking with energy and wisdom, and in December, 1634, secured the passage of a full and definite charter for the Swedish West India Company. But, as in the case of the similar Company in the Netherlands, it was several years before the corporation was ready to act.

The hope of profitable employment from this Company led to Sweden the discharged director of the New Netherland colony, Peter Minuit. He pointed out to Oxenstiern how useful his experience might be to the Swedes. When the Company was fully organized he was put in command of its first expedition.

Swedish colony under Peter Minuit. 1637.

In the autumn of 1637, Minuit set sail from Gottenburg in the *Key of Calmar*, accompanied by a tender called the *Griffin*, with about fifty emigrants. The neighborhood of the South River was the region upon which he had fixed for his settlement. The two vessels entered Delaware Bay in April, 1638, and sailed up the river as far as the "Minqua's Kill," as it was then called by the Dutch. To this stream the Swedes gave the name of their queen, Christina, — since corrupted into Christiana, — and here Minuit made a treaty with the Indian sachem of the region, buying, for a kettle and some trifling wares, all the land on the west side of the South River, from Cape Henlopen to the falls near Santickan (now Trenton), and "as much inwards from it in breadth as they might want."[1] The spot they chose for their

[1] Acrelius' *Hist. of New Sweden*, translated in *N. Y. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, New Series, vol. i., p. 409; Hudde's Report on the Swedish Colony, ib., 439.

LANDING OF THE SWEDES AT PARADISE POINT.

trading-house and fort — Fort Christina — was about two miles from the mouth of the creek, and near the site of the present town of Wilmington, Delaware.

The Swedes, leaving the winter bleakness of their own country, and coming to the beautiful banks of the South River in the freshness of the warm spring, found in the new land even more than the fulfillment of their hopes; yet these had been raised by the most glowing descriptions at home.[1] A point just above Cape Henlopen they named as they passed "Paradise Point," and as they lay at anchor in the broad stream by their newly-purchased territory, they were eager to begin a "plantation." Fort Nassau was only fifteen miles above, and it needed but little time for rumors to reach the Dutch garrison there, of the arrival of two foreign ships within the limits of New Netherland, and the mysterious movements of their passengers upon the shore. Messengers were dispatched to Minuit to ascertain his intentions; he had only come, he said, for wood and water, and would soon pursue his voyage to the West Indies. The story was distrusted from the first, and when the Swedes began to make "a small garden" near the bank — an operation which was clearly not a part of a West India voyage — their commander was compelled gradually to disclose his true purpose. The *Griffin* even made a trading voyage as far as Fort Nassau, where, though forced to put about, her captain refused to show his commission at the demand of the Dutch. But he announced that the Swedes meant also to build a fort on the river, and that their right to do so was quite as good as that of the Dutch Company.

Their arrival in the South River.

Costume of Swedes.

The people at Fort Nassau sent intelligence of the matter to Kieft at Manhattan. The director, with great promptness, brought to bear upon the Swedes a sounding proclamation, asserting the right of the West India Company to the banks of the South River, and warning Minuit, in most solemn and weighty terms, not to attempt intrusion, assuring him that the Nether-

Dismay of the Dutch, and proclamation of Kieft. May, 1638.

[1] See the *Argonautica Gustaviana*, quoted by Bancroft, vol. ii., p. 284.

lands would protect their rights "in a manner that should appear most advisable." [1]

Building of the Swedish Fort.

Minuit, himself a Dutchman, and late the director of the Company at New Amsterdam, knew the exact weight of metal which this sort of ordnance carried. He went on with the building of a fort and trading-house, and when he had finished them and had seen trade with the Indians fairly established, he placed a garrison of twenty-four men in possession, well supplied and armed, and then, without the least regard to the continued protests of the Dutch, sent the vessels home well laden, to return with farther additions to the little colony.[2] The valor and firmness displayed by Kieft in proclamation and letter were admirable, but he was careful not to send anybody to disturb the well-fortified Swedes. Nor was he less loud in his complaints to the Directors in Holland; but these passed almost unheeded, for any design of Sweden at home or abroad was not to be lightly meddled with. For more than a year all went well with the colony at Fort Christina; its trade prospered so that it did "thirty thousand florins injury" to that of New Netherland,[3] and the little plantation about the fort began to have the appearance of prosperity and permanence. It was only with the winter of 1639–40, when supplies had begun to run low, and no aid had been sent from home, that their first trials came upon the Swedish settlers. To such straits were they brought, that they at one time determined to give up their enterprise, and go to the Dutch at Manhattan to seek homes or a passage to their fatherland. But the spring brought help.

Accessions to the new colony.

This came not only from their own people, but from the Netherlands also. Those who had returned in the vessels had spread far and wide the praises of the beautiful region they had visited, its fitness for colonization, and the promise for the future to those who should be its first possessors. Recruits came with the summer of 1639, from different parts of Sweden and Finland; several shrewd Netherlanders, to whom the confused state of the colony at Manhattan was anything but attractive, gained permission to take out parties to the South River under Swedish protection. The opening of New Netherland, just at this time, to greater freedom of trade, caused some of these to change their minds, but enough persevered to make a small Dutch colony, which the Swedish government decreed must be at least four or five German miles from Fort Christina.

[1] Acrelius, as cited, p. 409; O'Callaghan, vol. i., p. 191.

[2] An ambiguous passage in a letter of Kieft, dated in July of this year, has led some writers to believe that Minuit himself went back at this time, but it is clear that he did not. Compare Acrelius, as cited, p. 410.

[3] Brodhead, vol. i., p. 319.

The new emigrants — the Dutch being under the command of one Joost de Bogaerdt, who drew a salary from the Swedish government — sailed for America late in the winter. Their arrival was hailed with delight. Abundant supplies, a great addition to their numbers, and news from home, where they had almost believed their undertaking had fallen into complete neglect, dispelled in a moment the despair of the colonists at Fort Christina. Everything took on the appearance of prosperity; the Dutch settlers, establishing themselves a little to the south of the Swedes, began to build dwellings and plant their crops in the pleasant valley, a happier contrast than they knew to their countrymen at Manhattan, whose mistaken government was at this moment bringing upon them a desolating war. The summer passed away without a check to their progress; the Indian trade on the South River passed almost entirely into their hands; their crops were good, and the fort was not molested by the New Netherlanders, Kieft having concluded to raise the siege of proclamations and treat them with neighborly civility. In the autumn a new band of colonists arrived at the fort with further supplies, tools, and conveniences, under the charge of Peter Hollaendare. Later still in the season came two or three more vessels, each crowded with passengers; while many who wished to leave Sweden had been unable to come for want of room, and were waiting for other ships to sail. The third winter at the new colony passed away without bringing the suffering that had been felt in those before it; with the next spring and summer emigrants continued to join the growing settlement. During this summer (1641) Minuit died at the fort he had founded, regretted by the Swedes, whom he had served most faithfully, and whose enterprise he had made successful where one of less experience would probably have failed. Hollaendare, a Swede, succeeded him in the governorship.

Prosperity at Fort Christina.

Early Swedish Church.

Even the presence of two claimants in the valley of the South River could not protect it long from the interference of the English, who, De Vries said long before, "thought everything belonged to them." As early as 1640 a New England captain is reported to have

bought some land on the South River from the Indians, who were often ready to sell the same lands to as many people as possible.[1] Early the next spring a number of New England colonists, under the command of Robert Cogswell, sailed from Connecticut for the South River, seeking a less rigorous climate and more fertile soil, in a region of whose beauties they had heard so much. At Manhattan, where they lay for a few days on their way, one of Kieft's proclamations was aimed point-blank at them, warning them against encroaching upon New Netherland territory. With a vague assurance that he meant only to settle upon unclaimed lands, the New Englander sailed on, and had no trouble in finding Indians ready to sell him land. The English made quick work with this, as with other settlements within Dutch limits; and before the end of the summer they had planted corn and built trading-posts on Varcken's Kill (now Salem Creek, in New Jersey), and on the Schuylkill, near its mouth. Both posts prospered, and New Haven took them under special protection, as colonies connected with the town. By the time Kieft fully realized what had been done, it was too late in the year for action.

The English on the South River.

The coming of the English was not less disagreeable to the Swedes than to the Dutch; and when, in the spring of 1642, Kieft instructed Jansen, the commissary at Fort Nassau, to expel the intruders, and to maintain on the South River "the reputation of their High Mightinesses," the people at Fort Christina gave them their energetic aid. The English for once yielded without resistance, were taken as prisoners to Manhattan, and thence despatched to their homes. Their appeals for damages, and their request that the New Haven authorities should retaliate, were alike disregarded.

The English driven from the South River.

During the spring of 1643, there arrived at Fort Christina an officer who was to play a distinguished part in the Swedish colony. Hollaendare had retired from his post as governor, and John Printz, a cavalry lieutenant in the Swedish service, was sent out to succeed him. De Vries gives a concise description of this burly officer, by saying that he was a man "of brave size," weighing somewhat more than four hundred pounds, and he "doubted not" that the Swede drank three drinks at every meal.[2]

Arrival of Governor Printz at Fort Christina.

He was evidently looked upon as a somewhat formidable person, and was endowed with a violence of temper quite in keeping with his physical proportions and his free mode of living. Two Swedish war-vessels, the *Swan* and the *Charitas*, and a merchant ship, the

[1] Brodhead, vol. i., p. 321, cites authorities for this report; its truth is by no means certain. See O'Callaghan, vol. i., p. 232.

[2] De Vries, *N. Y. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, New Series, vol. i., p. 273.

Fama, accompanied him to New Sweden, as the colony was now called; they brought out a large number of colonists; and the new administration began with something of the dignity and ceremony of an older government. Printz established himself at the island of Tenacong (the present Tinicum, about twelve miles below Philadelphia), built a fort there — the "New Gottenburg" — and a house of no mean pretensions for the time and place, which he called "Printz Hall." A part of the colonists remained at Fort Christina; the rest clustered about the new fort and the governor's mansion; and at both points prosperous farms and orchards were soon in flourishing condition. According to the instructions to Printz, amicable relations were, if possible, to be kept up with the Dutch, both at Fort Nassau and elsewhere; but he was to monopolize the Indian trade of the river as far as he could, and his fort was to be so built as to command the stream, and be able to stop all passing vessels.

Administration of Printz.

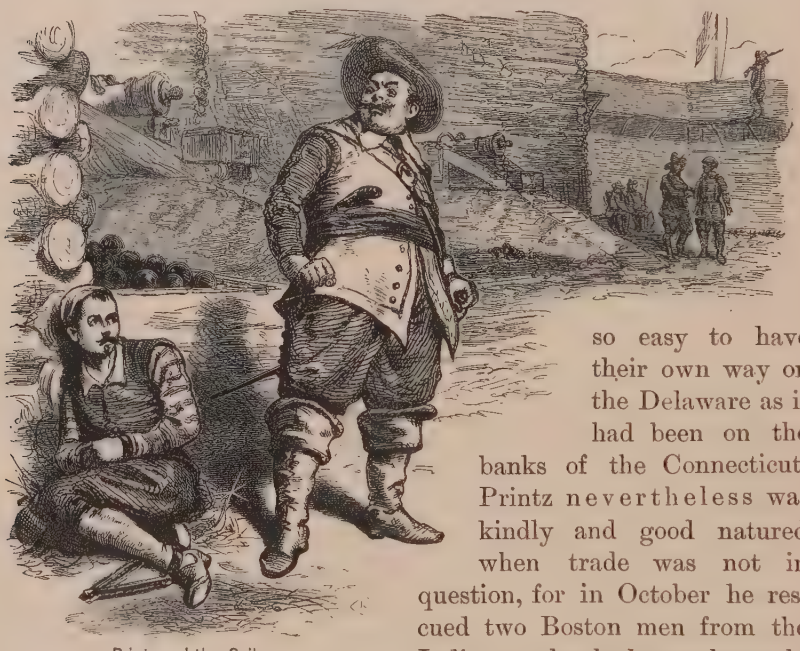
The home government had made a very large appropriation (about two million rix dollars annually) for the support of the colony, and agreed to furnish it with soldiers for protection;[1] the settlers had ample resources and were energetic and industrious; and they had chosen one of the best positions on the coast. The material prosperity of the people was unquestionable and for a pioneer colony exceptional. Their neighbors, however, found some fault with its moral condition, for De Vries records that "neither there nor in Virginia was intoxication or incontinence punished with whipping;" but this lenity does not seem to have led to any grave disorders, and probably the motley population of Manhattan would not have appeared to advantage in a comparison with the peaceful Swedes. Swedish interests on the river were at any rate cared for in a way that must have fully satisfied Printz's superiors. His fort at Tinicum compelled every vessel, of whatever nationality, to strike her colors as she passed, and no trade was permitted that did not pay due tribute.

Energetic measures of Printz.

Notwithstanding affairs were conducted in this high-handed way by the new comers, the Dutch hesitated to oppose them except by the usual protests and empty threats. Printz was not a man likely to be daunted by these. When George Lamberton, the New Haven Englishman who had sent out Cogswell's unsuccessful expedition to the South River, persisted in trading there, the Swedish governor induced him to come ashore at Tinicum, and imprisoned him and two of his crew. He tried to persuade or bribe one of the sailors to accuse the captain of inciting the Indians to attack the Swedes. When the sailor refused, Printz put him in

[1] Hazard, *Annal. Penn.*, apud Brodhead, vol. i., p. 379.

irons, and stamped up and down the fort, "a man very furious and passionate, cursing and swearing, and also reviling the English of New Haven as runagates."[1] When called upon by the New Englanders, after Lamberton's release, to give satisfaction for these "foul injuries" and "damages," he sent a letter to Massachusetts denying the whole story. This was in the autumn of 1643. When another New England vessel (a pinnace sent out from Boston), came to the Delaware in the spring of the next year, the Swedes and the Dutch at Fort Nassau united in refusing to permit her to trade in the river, and sent each a boat to prevent it. The English soon learned that it was not



Printz and the Sailor.

so easy to have their own way on the Delaware as it had been on the banks of the Connecticut. Printz nevertheless was kindly and good natured when trade was not in question, for in October he rescued two Boston men from the Indians, who had treacherously boarded an English vessel that entered the bay and killed or captured all her crew. The rescued men he sent to New Haven.

In 1645, Jan Jansen, long the commissary at the Dutch Fort Nassau, was peremptorily removed by Kieft, because of well-sustained accusations of dishonesty and incompetence, and one Andreas Hudde was appointed in his place. It is very possible that a part of Jansen's neglect of duty lay in his easy submission to the Swedes; at all events, his successor seems to have understood his obligations to protect the river-trade, as binding him to take a different course. An opportunity to make issue with the rival governor was not long wanting.

[1] Winthrop, vol. ii., p. 130, sqq.

In the summer of 1646, a New Amsterdam trading vessel, approaching the right bank of the mouth of the Schuylkill, was sharply ordered off by the Swedish officer of the post near by, and was forced to obey. The captain of the vessel appealed to Hudde; but when that officer came in person to investigate the complaint, he was commanded to "leave the territory of the queen" with as little ceremony as had been used in the first case. He retired to Fort Nassau in great indignation, and an angry interchange of messages and letters followed, during which Printz requested Hudde to define precisely the rights which the Dutch believed they had in the neighboring region. Hudde replied rather vaguely to the Swedish messengers; and Printz, who had none of the patience of a diplomat, wrote decisively to the captain of the Manhattan vessel that he must leave the river or lose ship and cargo, conveying his threat, however, in courteous language, and laying all the blame on the Fort Nassau commissary.[1] The captain wisely obeyed, and sailed away.

Disputes between Swedes and Dutch.

This dispute, however, was only the prelude to further difficulties. Later in the summer Hudde found himself prevented from going to the falls at Sankikan (Trenton), whither he had been ordered by Kieft on an exploring expedition. Printz had persuaded the Indians to stop him, making them believe that the Dutch designed to attack the tribes of that region, and build a fort upon their land. The Dutch commissary was furious but discreet, and gave up his expedition. Nor did the interference of Printz cease here. When Hudde, at Kieft's command, attempted to begin a new settlement on some land he had bought near the present site of Philadelphia, a Dutch mile or more to the north of Fort Nassau, on the west shore of the river, Printz sent a deputy to prevent it; the officer tore down the Dutch arms, and used "in an insolent and hostile manner these threatening words: 'that although it had been the colors of the Prince of Orange that were hoisted there, he would have thrown these too under his feet;' besides many bloody menaces."[2] This was followed up by a formal letter from Printz, demanding that Hudde should at once "discontinue the injuries of which he had been guilty against the Royal Majesty in Sweden" — injuries which he had committed "without showing the least respect to Her Royal Majesty's magnificence, reputation, and highness;" and the document so belabored the commissary with protests against his "gross violence" and "gross conduct," that it is plain to see the choleric Swede believed himself to be a most patient, innocent, and abused governor.

Further difficulties.

Hudde was naturally enough astonished at the tone of this despatch.

[1] Hudde's report, in *N. Y. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, New Series, vol. ii., p. 431.

[2] Hudde's report.

He returned an answer in the most exaggerated form of Dutch courtesy, to "the Noble Governor De Heer John Printz," addressing him as "Sir Governor." Yet the letter was not without firmness, and contained a great deal of excellent counsel. After protesting that he had done everything in his power to promote "a good correspondence and mutual harmony," he appealed to the Swede to do likewise. "I confide that it is your Honour's intention to act in the same manner — at least from the consideration that we who are Christians will not place ourselves as a stumbling-block or laughing-stock to those savage heathens."

The good sense and moderation of this answer were of no avail. When the sergeant by whom Hudde sent it approached the Swedish governor, who stood before the door of "Printz Hall," with several servants and others about him, the burly officer paid no heed to the messenger's courteous "good morning," but took Hudde's despatch from his hand without ceremony, and threw it unopened toward one of his attendants, telling him to "take care of it." Turning away he went to meet some Englishmen just arrived from New England, paying no further attention to the sergeant or his letter. The Dutch soldier waited patiently for a considerable time, and then humbly asked for an answer; whereupon the governor became furiously angry, and seizing the unfortunate sergeant with all the strength of his huge frame, threw him violently out of doors, afterward "taking a gun in his hand from the wall, to shoot him, as he imagined."

After this positive breach of friendly relations, nothing but hostility could exist between the Dutch and Swedes on the South River. During the short time that was left of Kieft's administration at Manhattan, petty acts of enmity and retaliation marked all the intercourse between the settlements of the two nations. "John Printz leaves nothing untried to render us suspected," wrote Hudde a little later, "as well among the savages as among the Christians — yea, often is conniving when the subjects of the Company, as well freemen as servants, when arriving at the place where he resides, are in most unreasonable manner abused, so that they are often, on returning home, bloody and bruised." The Dutch trade with the Indians had passed almost entirely out of their control; the English were kept away with an energy they would never have experienced at the hands of the Fort Nassau garrison. At the moment when Kieft gave up his misused power into the hands of his successor at Manhattan, the Swedes were in all respects the lords of the South River valley; and as the power of their rivals declined, they prospered and grew strong. Large reinforcements of settlers and sol-

Prosperity of New Sweden.

diers came out to them; convicts and malefactors, some of whom had at first been sent out as servants to the colonists, gave way to the better class, under whose control they did good work on farms and buildings;[1] the little town at Tinicum, with its manor-house and its church where the Reverend John Campanius preached on Sundays, had an appearance very different from that of the now desolated and unfortunate New Amsterdam. When New Netherland was at its lowest point of misfortune and mismanagement, New Sweden had reached a height of prosperity which was, however, to disappear in its turn in the advance of a stronger race.

[1] Thomas Campanius Holm's *Short Description*, already cited, p. 73. The statement made in the same place about the sending back of subsequent bands of convicts is, like many of this author's statements, very improbable. His translator admits a considerable mingling of fable in Holm's work, and his account is only trustworthy where confirmed by others.

CHAPTER XVIII.

VIRGINIA AND MARYLAND.

JEALOUSY OF JAMES I. OF THE VIRGINIA COMPANY. — EARL OF SOUTHAMPTON ELECTED TREASURER. — PROGRESS OF THE COLONY. — MASSACRE OF 1622. — DISSENSIONS IN THE LONDON COUNCIL. — CHARTER OF THE COMPANY TAKEN AWAY. — RAPID SUCCESSION OF GOVERNORS OF THE COLONY. — LORD BALTIMORE, AND HIS VISIT TO VIRGINIA. — CHARTER OF MARYLAND. — CECIL CALVERT'S COLONY. — ITS LANDING IN MARYLAND. — THE FIRST TOWN. — ST. MARY'S BLUFF. — PURCHASE FROM THE INDIANS. — THE FIRST CATHOLIC CHAPEL. — FRIENDLY RELATIONS WITH THE INDIANS.

WHEN the regular meeting for the election of officers of the Virginia Company was held in 1620, a message was received from the king naming four persons, one of whom he wished to be chosen its treasurer for the ensuing year. It was a despotic act, not easy to enforce, on the one hand; hard to obey, and difficult to evade on the other. Its own charter, not the royal wish, was the law for the Company.

James I. and the Virginia Company.

But James sincerely believed that the Council of the Virginia adventurers was a nursery of sedition, and, in a measure, he was unquestionably right. Among the many persons who were busy with schemes for peopling the new country, the larger number were moved, some by selfish motives, others by broad commercial and patriotic purposes. But besides these, the thinking men of the time, — those who valued religious and civil freedom ; who contended and meant to contend against tyranny at home, so long as the struggle was of any avail ; who looked to the future of England with apprehension, and were sustained by the hope that a new England might arise across the sea — all these by a common impulse engaged in some scheme of American colonization. The conviction of the king was neither a prejudice nor a mistake, but an instinct. However much it might please him to be busy about the government of a colony, he watched with jealous eyes any body of men accustomed to congregate together, lest treason against the royal prerogative should be hatched among them. The Council of the Virginia Company attended to its own affairs ; but there were men at that board whose influence, in Parliament and out of it, James dreaded, not without reason. The nominations he now made were only the beginning of more serious aggressions.

The Company was happy to effect a compromise. The king consented not to insist upon the election of one of his own candidates; the Company so far gratified his wish as to quietly drop the man whom he held to be the most obnoxious. "Choose the devil if you will," said James, "but not Sir Edwin Sandys." [1] The treasurer elected was the Earl of Southampton — a choice hardly more acceptable to James than that of Sandys himself, but quite as advantageous to the interests of the Company. For the policy which for the two previous years had been so successfully pursued, Southampton continued; nor was the active management of the affairs of the colony by Sandys lost to it; he still remained a member of the Council, and frequently acted as treasurer — always virtually the governor — by Southampton's appointment.

The Earl of Southampton elected treasurer.

So vigorous was that management that the number of colonists sent to Virginia during the years 1619, 1620, and 1621, was three thousand five hundred and seventy, more than half of the whole number sent by the Council to the colony since Newport landed the first company at Jamestown in 1607. During the same period fifty patents were granted to individuals for private plantations, and these transported at their own charges and for their own use many servants and cattle in addition to those sent on the company's account. It was not the fault of the London Council that the establishment of a more prosperous community did not follow their large expenditure of labor, of care, and of money. Had there been nothing in the character of the emigrants, a large proportion of whom were persons whose expulsion from an old country was much more desirable than their acquisition in a new, to stand in the way of the progress and prosperity of the colony, there was reason enough in the want of any diversity of industry and the enforced labor of bound servants in one direction, to check any healthy and vigorous growth. All the energies of the people continued to be devoted to the cultivation of the one great staple, tobacco, and neither the constant and earnest remonstrance of the Council in London, nor the evidence of their own short-sightedness in the constant threat of scarcity of food, and often of famine, could induce the colonists to adopt a wiser system. The colony was fourteen years old when the governor wrote to the Council in London — "as to barley, oats and the best peas there is either none, or a very small quantity of any of them in the country."

So long as the colony was in the hands of the Council their efforts to check this evil were never pretermitted, but were never completely successful. The law to regulate the planting of tobacco was made more stringent, but seems to have continued, for the

Cultivation of tobacco.

[1] Neill's *History of the Virginia Company*, note p. 185.

most part, a dead letter, if even there were any attempt to enforce it. Provision was made for the introduction of other industries, but their growth, if they had any at all, was feeble. The soil of Virginia, it was thought, was peculiarly suited to the vine; cuttings, accordingly, were procured from time to time in large quantities from France, and sent over with French vine-dressers, to attend to their cultivation. Wine, it was hoped, might be manufactured in large quantities; it was certainly begun, for in the minutes of the proceedings of the Council in London, a single pipe is spoken of as having been sent over, but which, unfortunately, soured on the passage. Mulberry trees and silk-worms were introduced, and everything done to encourage their growth. The Council were sanguine, and one of their letters enjoined the colonial government to tolerate no costly apparel except such silks as should be of their own manufacture. This early application of the principle of protection to home industries the colonial officers rather resented as an insult to the rags of the ordinary colonial wear. The silk making was no more flourishing than the manufacture of wine. Glass-works also were established, with skilled workmen from Italy. Iron-works were started. Ship-building and salt-making were encouraged. Dutch workmen were sent out to put up saw-mills; — there was not even a grist-mill in the colony till 1622.

Other industries encouraged.

The first mill.

But neither the exhortations of the Council, the diligence of the colonial authorities, nor the amount of capital employed, could bring the culture of any of these products into successful competition with the growing of tobacco, where the promise of speedy wealth, especially with those who had the means to buy the cheap labor of men bound to service for a term of years, was so much greater. Whatever the prosperity which the cultivation of this single staple brought to the colony in after times, or brought rather to a single class, it is evident that its earlier struggles were greatly prolonged by this concentration of its energies in a single direction.

Sir George Yeardley, who, with Sandys, had given to the colony, in 1619, a fresh start and a new chance of success, retired from the governorship in 1622, and was succeeded by Sir Francis Wyat. The Earl of Southampton was reëlected treasurer from year to year till the Company lost its charter. With such officers the colony would have continued slowly to improve, notwithstanding all drawbacks and mistakes, but for a sudden calamity which, in the spring of 1622, well-nigh ruined it.

The massacre of 1622.

For several years there had been almost unbroken peace with the Indians. So little fear was there of any interruption of this tranquillity that the English had heedlessly scattered themselves about the

country upon isolated farms, or in small settlements, as interest or inclination led them, neglecting all precautions of armed security, permitting the natives to come and go familiarly among them without question and without thought of danger. It proved a fatal confidence in a people who reckon dissimulation as among the virtues, and the infliction of vengeance as the noblest use of courage.

Since the death of Powhatan, his younger brother, Opechancanough, had become the most powerful chief in Virginia. His hatred of the English had never slept, though carefully hidden under the guise of friendship and submission. It was enough to keep alive his anger and his desire for vengeance that these stranger people still remained in a country to which he considered his race had an exclusive right. But he had other provocations in the memory of past wrongs, which the English had forgotten, or which they believed to be condoned for in treaties, in the interchange of many acts of good fellowship, and the long maintenance of kindly and familiar relations. His proposal and attempt to massacre the whole colony was, indeed, preceded by the recent killing of a chief by two boys whose master he had murdered; but as this brave was well known not to be a favorite of Opechancanough, though popular with the tribe, his death was the pretext rather than the cause of the fearful vengeance which fell upon the whites on the 22d of March, 1622.

There was no intimation and no suspicion of the intentions of the savages. Not one of the thousands who dispersed themselves about the country to visit the unsuspecting English with sudden death, was moved by any grateful remembrance of favors or of friendship to warn any of the intended victims of the swift calamity which was about to overtake them. On the appointed morning, everywhere, in places wide apart, the savages, sometimes idly loitering, seemingly in friendly mood, into the houses of the whites, sometimes creeping stealthily unseen and unheard into fields where men were busily at work, fell upon them with a suddenness and a vigor that gave no time for defence, or prayer, or warning. They spared neither age nor sex, but slaughtered indiscriminately men and women, parents and children, in a riot of atrocity and cruelty to which the North American Indian never so completely abandons himself, and never so fully delights in, as when his victim is utterly defenceless and entirely at his mercy. It was not enough merely to take life, sometimes even at the table where bread had just been given them to eat. With a horrid pleasure they mutilated and disfigured the bodies they had already put beyond help or harm, — wreaking their unspent rage upon the dead as a wild beast cries over and tears the creature he has just killed and seeks to find life in it that he may kill again.

Its suddenness and atrocities.

When this cruel work was finished, the savages turned to the possessions of those they had murdered. Horses, cattle, and swine were destroyed; houses and barns set on fire. Hatred and the love of vengeance made them prodigal of things which at any other time would have been most precious possessions. They left nothing pertaining to the whites that was capable of destruction.

The attack was chiefly upon those who were at a distance from Jamestown; but there, fortunately, the people were put upon their guard. The night before the massacre a converted Indian was told by his brother of the proposed extermination of the English, and was urged to do his part toward it by the murder of his master. It was the single instance so far as there is any distinct record in which the tie of blood was forgotten, and the obli-

The colonists warned.

Taking Warning to Jamestown.

gation of kindly relations from benefits received remembered. The Indian revealed to his master what was to happen on this morning. The planter, whose place was opposite Jamestown, hurried across the river before daylight, and gave warning to the authorities of the town. The people were put under arms; word was sent to all the plantations within timely reach; and the larger part of the colonists were thereby saved, for the Indians made no attack where they found they were to encounter an armed resistance. Where they did strike, however, the blow was effectual. The number killed, probably within an hour, was about three hundred and fifty.

In the inevitable hostilities which followed, the people were compelled to gather into the larger towns for mutual defence. The smaller places, like Henrico and Charles City, were abandoned; the scattered plantations were deserted; the iron-works and the glass-works, where the men had been killed, were given up; vineyards were destroyed; cultivation of land or industry of any sort was out of the question, except in the immediate vicinity of the larger bodies of population, where there were enough for constant vigilance and armed defence. Discouragement and almost despair, for a time, paralysed the unfortunate colony.

There was the more leisure for retaliation. "We must advise you," wrote the Council from London, "to root out from being any longer a people so cursed, a nation ungrateful to all benefits, and uncapable of all goodness." "A sharp revenge," they said in another letter, "upon the bloody miscreants, even to the measure that they intended against us, the rooting them out for being longer a people upon the face of the earth." The advice was not needed. "We have anticipated your desires," answered the governor and council of Virginia, "by setting upon the Indians in all places." To the Council's reproaches that they may have brought this calamity upon themselves, in some measure, by their want of watchfulness, and too much trust in the savages, they pointedly replied by reminding them in London how, from the beginning, they had been exhorted to be tender with the Indians, to win their good-will by familiar intercourse, to entertain them kindly in their homes, and induce them to become members of their families. They bettered, if that were possible, the new instruction. They destroyed the towns, the crops, the fishing-weirs of the natives; shot them, as they would shoot wild beasts, wherever they were found; tracked them with bloodhounds to their hiding-places in the forests, and trained their mastiffs to tear them to pieces.[1]

Extermination of the Indians urged.

The Company in England was in no condition to bear the panic which the news of the massacre produced. Its differences with the king, and the struggle between the two factions, led on the one side by Southampton and Sandys, on the other by the Earl of Warwick and the friends of Sir Thomas Smith, the former treasurer of the Company, were pressing hard upon it. The king's jealousy of those members of the "country party" who belonged to the Council — a jealousy nursed by Gondomar, the Spanish ambassador, whose influence over James was so important an element in the politics of the times, — the controversy in regard to the importation of tobacco, in which was involved the prosperity of the col-

Dissensions in the London Council.

[1] See minutes of the Council, in Neill's *History of the Virginia Company*.

ony, the revenue of the crown, and the good-will of Spain; the still unsettled accounts of Sir Thomas Smith, and the peculations of which he was suspected; the steady disregard of the Company, year after year, of the wishes of the king in the choice of its officers; the appeals of the Council to Parliament for protection, the only result of which was to enrage James, and to prompt him to new and more arbitrary measures; — all these for the next two years threatened the existence of the Company, and at length destroyed it.

Proclivity of the colony.

One of the measures to which the Smith faction resorted to get possession of power, was to procure the sending of a commission by the Lords of the Privy Council to Virginia to look into the affairs of the colony. The attempt was altogether a failure, for the colonists both privately and through their General Assembly vigorously protested, and supported their protest with weighty facts, against putting affairs back again into the hands from which they had been happily rescued when Sir Thomas Smith was deposed from the treasuryship. The king was only the more exasperated that he, and those who were acting in accordance with his wishes, should be thus baffled.

Dissolution of the Virginia Company.

If possession of the Company could not be gained, at least the Company itself could be destroyed. A movement was made to procure a voluntary surrender of its charter, but this was successfully resisted. The Privy Council, by order of the king, again interfered, and the officers of the Company appealed to Parliament for protection. The matter, James said, was already in the hands of his Council; the House was warned to let it alone. The case was taken to the Court of King's Bench, and on the 16th of June, 1624, the patent was declared by the chief justice to be null and void. The government of the colony was put into the hands of a commission, at the head of which was Sir Thomas Smith. Whether there was any real obscurity or not about his long unsettled accounts, they were liquidated, probably, on whichever side the balance was, by his return to power.

The decision of the court[1] was, of course, perfectly arbitrary, and no better law or reason for it could be given than would have been equally applicable to the Plymouth Company, at the head of which was the Earl of Warwick. But it suited the king to take from Southampton and Sandys a power which he was willing to leave in the hands of Warwick and Gorges. There was, however, no such complication

[1] For authorities as to this final disposition of the Charter of the Virginia Company — which differs from Stith's account of it — see Neill's *History of the Virginia Company in London*. Also notes to *The Aspinwall Papers*, vol. iv., *Mass. Hist. Soc. Col.*, Fourth Series, p. 71.

of interests — as of the tobacco question; the accounts of Smith; the unadjudicated charges against Argall — in the one case as in the other, and happily James I. was dead before the colony of Puritans at New Plymouth was thought worthy of much notice, or that of Massachusetts Bay had an existence.

Meanwhile the colony in Virginia recovered, in a measure, but very slowly, from the calamities which followed the massacre, the famine consequent upon the inability to produce a sufficient crop in the summer of 1622, and the sickness and mortality which attended the crowding of so many people into narrow quarters. They counted it as chief among the blessings of this period that the Lord delivered into their hands a great number of the In-

Slow recovery of the colony from its misfortunes.

Deserted Settlement.

dians; that they were able to destroy many of their villages and their crops; to take from them large quantities of corn which not only served to satisfy their own necessities, but the want of it starved their savage enemies. These hostilities continued almost without intermission, and the whole community lived for years in a state of perpetual panic.

The reëstablishment of industry and security, therefore, was of slow growth, and it was long before the colonists ventured to return to their plantations, or ceased to rely solely for safety upon the presence of numbers. In the progress of this gradual recovery from misfortune it was of little moment to them which faction was in the as-

cendancy in the London Council. They worked out as well as they could their own salvation, and it was years before the transfer of the colony from the control of a corporation to that of the king, made much change in their condition.

Death of James I.

James died in March, 1625, and his son had little leisure, and perhaps little inclination at the outset of his reign, to think of a distant colony which had for him none of that absorbing interest it had possessed in many respects for his father. Wyat still remained as governor for a year or more after the abrogation of the charter, and then retiring, at his own request, was succeeded by Yeardley, whose fitness for the post had been proved in former years. The colony during this period seems to have been left almost entirely under the control of its own council and general assembly, and when in 1627 Yeardley died, the former body elected Francis West, one of their own number and a brother of Lord Delaware, to succeed him. He probably retired in the course of the year, and Dr. John Potts, who was in the hardly less important post of physician to the colony, was chosen its chief magistrate in West's place.[1] The administration of Potts was put an end to, the year after his election, by the arrival of the first royal governor, Sir John Harvey, who, though a resident of Virginia, seems to have been prevented by absence in England from assuming the office earlier. He entered upon its duties under a load of unpopularity, acquired as one of James's commissioners in 1624, which, so long as his administration lasted, he did nothing to diminish.

The first royal governor.

Potts's term, however, had not expired when Lord Baltimore arrived at Jamestown from Newfoundland, where he had a colony called Ferryland. His coming opened a new chapter in Virginia history. The governor and council inquired — not, apparently, in any inhospitable mood, but with an entirely natural desire to learn — the intention of so distinguished a visitor, who, they probably knew, had not come to Virginia from mere idle curiosity. Baltimore's plan was to found a colony, having already petitioned the king to make a grant of lands to him somewhere in Virginia. But as he seems to have been disposed to remain for a time at Jamestown with his family, the government tendered to him the usual oath of supremacy and allegiance. They knew, no doubt, he was a Catholic; they felt that, in all their tribulations and misfortunes, in one thing, at least, they had been happy — to use their own words — "in the freedom of our religion which we have enjoyed, and that no Papists have been suffered to settle their abode amongst us."[2] They did

Visit of Lord Baltimore to Jamestown.

[1] Burk's *History of Virginia*, vol. ii., p. 23.

[2] See Memorial to the Lords of the Privy Council, in Neill's *English Colonization of America*, from Sainsbury's *Collection of State Papers*.

GEORGE CALVERT, LORD BALTIMORE.

(From a copy of the original portrait by Daniel Mytens.)

not mean to forego, if they could help it, so great a blessing. If this distinguished Catholic nobleman — who, should he settle among them, would bring other papists with him — objected to taking the oath, then, they may have reflected, they would be happily rid of him. Their oath he declined to take, though not unwilling to subscribe to one of his own composing, which he thought would answer the purpose quite as well. Their answer was a request that he would take shipping for England by the earliest opportunity. He complied so far as to quit the colony, but before returning to England he made a voyage of observation to Chesapeake

Baltimore declines to take the oath of allegiance and supremacy.

Scenery in the Chesapeake.

Bay, where Lady Baltimore had made a visit the year before.[1] His family he left behind him at Jamestown; and that he returned there afterward from England to take them away there is this interesting bit of evidence in the colonial records of Virginia: "Thomas Tindall to be pilloried two hours for giving my Lord Baltimore the lie and threatening to knock him down."[2]

George Calvert, created baron of Baltimore a few weeks only before the death of James I., was not a stranger to the Virginia Colony. He had been a member of the London Council; through him, as secretary of state, the wishes of the king were conveyed when he sent to that body a list of persons, one of whom he desired should be chosen treasurer in place of Sandys. As a devoted servant of his

[1] Note to *The Aspinwall Papers*. Bozman's *History of Maryland*. McSherry's *History of Maryland*. Neill, in his *English Colonization*, says, that this lady was not Lord Baltimore's wife, but gives no authority for the assertion.

[2] *Hening's Statutes*, cited by Neill.

royal master, he probably upheld with a hearty good will all the measures of the party hostile to the management of Southampton and Sandys. When in 1624 the charter was taken away from the Company, Calvert was one of the commissioners appointed to take charge of the affairs of the colony. It is not improbable that these facts were remembered against him when he appeared in Jamestown, and Governor Potts tendered to him and his companions the oath of allegiance and supremacy. A man who had been the principal secretary of state to James for the last five or six years of his life; who had done all he could to further the most despotic acts of the king; who was rightfully supposed to have been active in the efforts to bring about the marriage of Prince Charles with the Spanish infanta; who had become a Catholic, and who now proposed to plant a Catholic colony in Virginia, was not likely to be popular with the colonists.

Lord Baltimore's colony in Newfoundland.

His interest in American colonization, however, was older than his conversion to the religious faith to which he was now attached. That dated from the first settlement of Virginia. Some years before the death of James, Calvert had obtained a grant of lands in the southeastern part of Newfoundland, to which he gave the name of Avalon. The colony he there established and called Ferryland, was about twenty-five miles north of Cape Race. It was a Protestant colony, its people sent out by Calvert, till he, in 1627, as the Catholic Lord Baltimore, whose political career in England was ended, conceived the idea of making it an asylum for himself and others of his religious faith. He visited Ferryland that and the following year, taking with him, on his second voyage, his own family and forty other papists. The country did not answer his expectations. Discouraged, in a few months' residence, by the severity of the climate, the barrenness of the soil, and the sickness which carried off about one fifth of his company, he sailed for Virginia, probably in the spring of 1629.[1]

He had already written to the king to ask for a grant of land in that region. This request he continued to urge on his return to England, only with a more definite purpose. His visit to Chesapeake Bay had revealed to him a country in wonderful and charming contrast with the bleak shores of Avalon, and he asked of the king, — who was undoubtedly friendly to him, although he discouraged him from engaging in enterprises which involved a necessity of much labor and an exposure to hardship which the condition of Lord Baltimore's health did not justify, — a patent which should include all that region.

[1] Authorities differ on this point, but a comparison of events renders it most probable that the spring of 1629 was the time when Lord Baltimore first visited Virginia.

His suit was successful, though he did not live to take advantage of it.

Lord Baltimore died in April, 1632, but so far matured were all his plans, that the patent was issued in June to his son Cecilius. The father had, indeed, secured a grant more than a year before of lands lying south of James River, but the opposition to this from some of the old Virginians was so great that it was abandoned.[1] He then asked that the country northward might be given him; here, he thought, he and his Catholic brethren might plant themselves and live in peace, unmolested by their neighbors on the James. He proposed to Charles to call the colony Crescentia, assuring the king that he should have been glad to have given his name to it, but that another province was already known as Carolana. The king proposed Mariana, in honor of the queen. But this was objected to as the name of a Spanish historian. Then, said Charles, let it be *Terra Mariæ*. And Maryland — the Land of Mary — it was henceforth called.[2]

Henrietta Maria.

The Charter of Maryland gave to Cecilius, Baron of Baltimore, his heirs and assigns, as its "true and absolute lords and proprietaries," all the country lying in the irregular triangle formed by the fortieth degree of latitude, the Potomac River, and Chesapeake Bay; as well as "all that part of the peninsula or *Chersonese* lying . . . . between the ocean on the east and the bay of Chesapeake on the west, divided from the residue thereof by a right line drawn from the promontory or headland called Watkins's Point." Briefly, the limits of the Province were like those of the State to-day, save that they included the territory afterward set apart as Delaware, and extended a third of a degree farther to the north than now. Thus the region which the patent conferred was taken entirely from what was then known as Virginia; but the conditions and privileges which the Maryland grant went on to enumerate differed from any that had been given in the case of any previous American colony.

The charter of Maryland.

[1] The Duke of Norfolk had proposed a settlement on the south banks of James River in 1629, — possibly the very lands granted to Baltimore two years later, — and the colonial assembly decreed that a county should be named for him. The same year the patent to Sir Robert Heath, which included the whole coast from Albemarle Sound to St. Augustine, was granted under the name of the Province of Carolana, in honor of Charles. Neill's *English Colonization*, pp. 213, 214.

[2] Neill.

Rights of the lord-proprietor.

The Lords Baltimore then and in future were to be absolute lords of their province, in as full a sense as such power could ever be conferred; that is, "saving always the faith and allegiance and sovereign dominion" due to the king. They held their rights by fealty only, — the annual payment of "two Indian arrows of those parts," and the requirement that they should deliver a fifth of any gold or silver that might be found, being prescribed as formal considerations of their tenure. No article of the grant required them to render account of their administration to the king; none provided for the interference of the crown with the colonial government, or defined occasions for it; none even prescribed means for the investigation of abuse of the powers conferred. It was especially stated that the new province should not thenceforth be a part of the land of Virginia, or of any other colony, but should enjoy entire independence.

Political rights secured to the colonists.

But the charter was still more noteworthy in the rights which it secured to the colonists — the people. It provided that the freemen of the province should be called together to take part in framing the laws which were to govern them; but in cases of emergency, when it should not be convenient to call together such an assembly of the people, the legislative power was given to Lord Baltimore and the magistrates, provided that such laws as they might enact did not infringe upon the rights of the citizens, "in member, life, freehold, goods or chattels." Further, the liberties thus strongly secured in Maryland were open to all subjects of the English crown; no restrictions were placed on emigration to the province; and all colonists and their descendants were placed on the footing of native Englishmen. Last, but by no means least as an attraction to free settlers, — even though it was granted rather as a gift to the proprietaries than as a direct privilege to the people, — the charter added perpetual exemption from all taxation by the crown. The proprietaries and the provincial assemblies could regulate their own taxation, but the charter left this to them alone.

Clause in the charter relating to religion.

There was only one article in the charter even distantly relating to religious matters — that which gave to the proprietaries the patronages and advowsons of all churches which should be built and which must be dedicated and consecrated according to the ecclesiastical laws of England. There was no discrimination in favor of or against any sect within the limits of Christianity. Without trace of bigotry, with unprecedented guaranties of liberty to the settler, with the promise of freedom from financial burdens, the charter of Maryland might in very truth be said, as one of its paragraphs affirmed, to "eminently distinguish" the new province "above all other regions of that territory," and to so provide that the new colony

might "happily increase by a multitude of people resorting thither," and that English subjects might undertake the emigration to it "with a ready and a cheerful mind."

Cecilius Calvert, now Lord Baltimore, intended to go himself as leader of the first expedition, but being, for some reason, detained in England, he delegated the command to his younger brother Leonard; Jerome Hawley and Thomas Cornwallis, "two worthy and able gentlemen," being appointed his councillors or assistants.

Cecil Calvert.

It has been a disputed question, whether the majority of those taking part in this first voyage to Maryland were "gentlemen" or laborers, but the larger portion of the emigrants undoubtedly belonged to the latter class. The expedition, moreover, was in every sense under Roman Catholic leadership. Maryland was to be an asylum for the then persecuted Romanists, and of those who came to share in the new venture the leading men were some twenty gentlemen "of very good fashion," men of influence and often of wealth, who hoped to find a quiet resort beyond the sea. Among these adventurers, their presence and leadership lending to the voyage something of the aspect and fervor of a religious pilgrimage, were the Jesuit priests Father Andrew White and Father John Altham, two men whose earnestness, self-sacrifice, and simple piety, have compelled kindly recognition from historians of every sect and opinion. Father White became the annalist of the expedition, and from his quaint and picturesque "Narrative," written in Latin and having its description interspersed with many pious reflections and devout thanksgivings, the most vivid idea of the voyage and settlement is gained.[1]

Character of the colonists.

[1] *Relatio Itineris in Marylandiam* (Narrative of a Voyage to Maryland). The manuscript of this valuable narrative was discovered among the archives of the "Donnes professa" of the Society of Jesus in Rome, by the Rev. William McSherry, of that order, about 1832. Father McSherry at once copied it carefully, and deposited the copy in the library of the Roman Catholic College at Georgetown, whence it was afterward removed to that of Loyola College at Baltimore. It has been twice translated, — first in 1847 by Dr. N. C. Brooks (the translation which appears in Force's *Hist. Tracts*, vol. iv.). Our

Departure of the Maryland colony. 1633.

The whole number of assembled emigrants, including servants and laborers, was nearly or quite three hundred. On Friday, November 22, 1633, they sailed from Cowes, in the Isle of Wight, in a ship, *The Ark*, accompanied by a pinnace, *The Dove*, and, "and after committing the principal parts of the ship to the protection of God especially, and of His most Holy Mother, and St. Ignatius, and all the guardian angels of Maryland, they put to sea, "with a gentle east wind blowing."

Cowes in the Isle of Wight.

The voyage.

The voyage was long, for the vessels followed the circuitous southern course by the Azores and the West Indies; and at St. Christopher's and Barbadoes they made a considerable stay. The first part of the passage was full of danger; a terrible tempest on the 25th of November, separated the pinnace from the ship, nor did the smaller vessel reappear till six weeks later, when she overtook *The Ark* far on in her course, and the devout emigrants offered up a hearty thanksgiving for their reunion with the friends they had long given up for lost. Fears of pirates haunted them throughout the voyage; they narrowly escaped falling into the hands of a Spanish fleet which lay along the Cape de Verd islands; and only the timely discovery of a plot among the slaves at Barbadoes, prevented their finding that island given up to anarchy and massacre, amid which they would have

quotations are made from the later and more accurate translation, edited for the Maryland Historical Society in 1874, by the Rev. E. A. Dalrymple of Baltimore, and accompanied by the Latin text.

run some risk of being murdered for the sake of their ship and cargo. Storms were frequent, nor were they always saved from danger by monitory "sun-fish swimming with great efforts against the course of the sun," which Father White believed to be "a very sure sign of a terrible storm," and which once, at least, led them to take prompt precautions. Beset with perils as they were, the emigrants nevertheless made their voyage in safety, and at last, on February 24, 1634, they sighted Point Comfort, in Virginia.

Their reception by the Virginian governor.

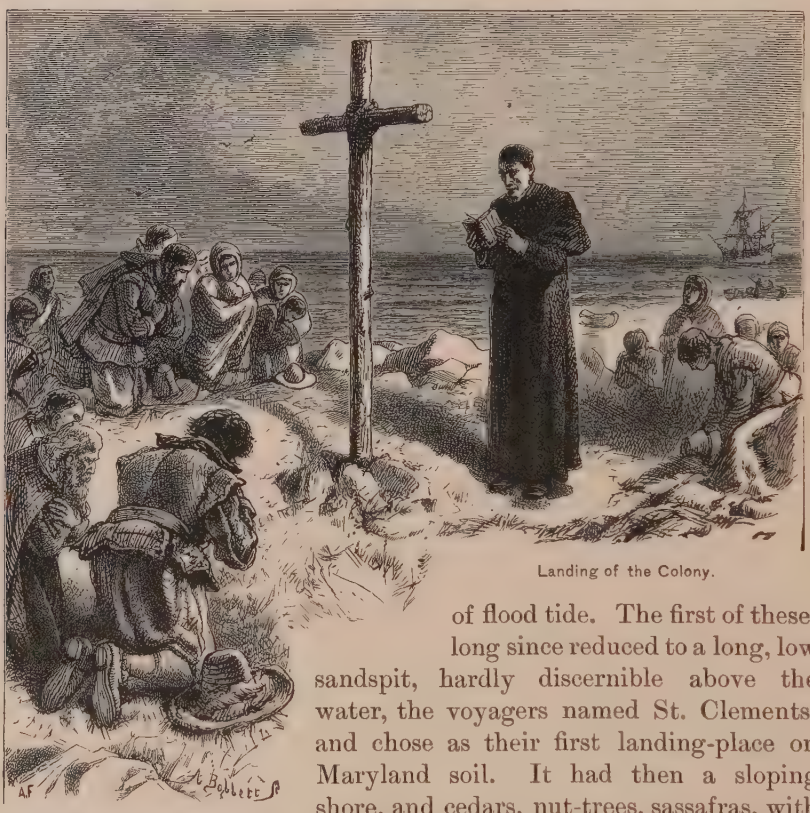
Glad as they were to be so near the end of their tedious voyage, the new-comers had some cause to fear for their reception among the colonists along the James, where the hostility excited by the granting of Lord Baltimore's patent was now at its height. But Governor Harvey, anxious to gain favor with the king, and personally friendly to Baltimore's purposes, was able to prevent any disagreeable manifestation of the popular feeling. He met the settlers, fortified as they were with royal letters to him, most hospitably, and treated them kindly during their stay of more than a week. On the third of March they again set sail, and were soon within those boundaries, on the shore of the beautiful bay, which were to mark their future home. Right gladly did they see the pleasant region that awaited them, for few emigrants to North America had been greeted by a more genial climate or more beautiful lands than these; and in the pride of possession they "began to give names to places,"[1] calling the southern point at the Potomac's mouth, now Smith Point, by the name of St. Gregory, and the northern one St. Michael's, now Point Lookout.

The entrance to the great river, as Father White described it with enthusiastic admiration, presented nearly the same appearance as in our own day. "It is not," he remarked, "disfigured with any swamps, but has firm land on each side. Fine groves of trees appear, not choked with briers or bushes and undergrowth, but growing at intervals as if planted by the hand of man, so that you can drive a four-horse carriage wherever you chose among the trees." To the right and left opened the mouths of broad estuaries, — tributary streams with low shores, behind which rose gentle hills, covered with plentiful, yet not dense forests. "Never have I beheld a larger or more beautiful river," wrote the priest; "the Thames seems a mere rivulet in comparison with it." The *Ark* and the *Dove* sailed up the broad stream, while the shores at night blazed with the camp-fires of the Indians; and the daylight revealed to the emigrants armed bands

[1] *A Relation of Maryland, together with a Map of the Country, etc.*, London, 1635. Sabin's reprint, edited by Hawks, New York, 1865. This contemporary record is second to Father White's in value as regards details. Its author is unknown.

hurrying to and fro, the tribes they believed mustering to resist their landing.

Somewhat more than thirty miles from the river's mouth lay a group of islands, called the Herons' Islands, from the great number of those birds that flocked about them. They are known now as the Blackstone Islands, and in the two centuries that have elapsed, almost all of them have been washed away, a few only rising above the level



Landing of the Colony.

of flood tide. The first of these, long since reduced to a long, low sandspit, hardly discernible above the water, the voyagers named St. Clements, and chose as their first landing-place on Maryland soil. It had then a sloping shore, and cedars, nut-trees, sassafras, with flowers and herbs, covered the four hundred acres of dry land which have now so nearly disappeared. On March 25, the "day of the Annunciation of the Most Holy Virgin Mary," — an omen which the pious emigrants did not fail to note, — they took possession of the country with solemn ceremonies. After celebrating mass upon the beach,[1] they followed their governor in reverent procession to the highest part of the island, where they planted a great cross of

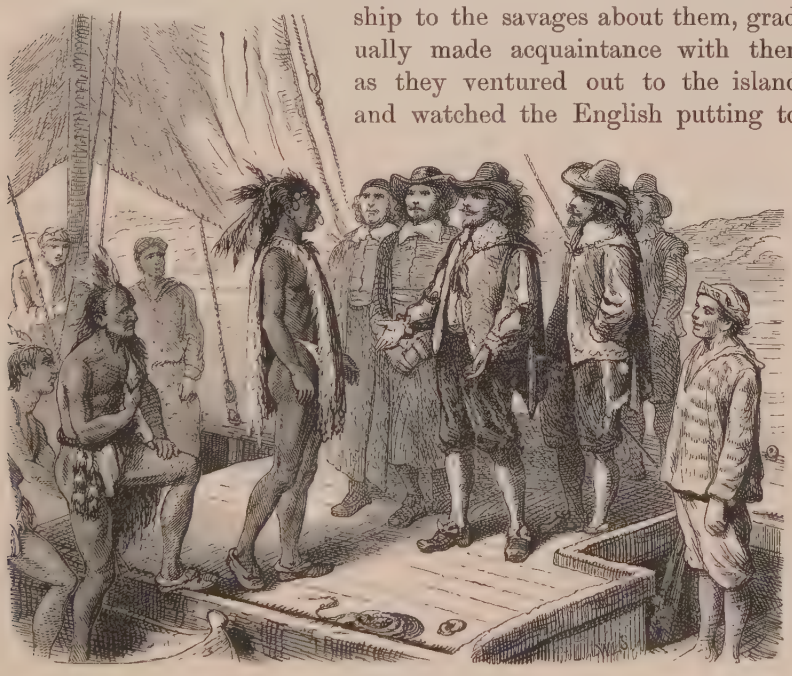
Ceremonies on landing.

[1] After speaking of the celebration of mass, Father White adds, "this had never been done before in this part of the world." He was not aware of the Jesuit mission on the banks of the Rappahanock, sixty years earlier. See p. 221 of this volume.

wood and knelt around it, while the litany was read. Then Leonard Calvert solemnly proclaimed their right to the beautiful region about them, and took possession of it "for our Saviour and for our Soveraigne Lord the King of England."

Two days were spent in explorations by the governor, who went up the river in the *Dove*, taking with him another pinnace brought from Virginia; the greater part of the colonists remaining on board the *Ark* meanwhile, as she lay at anchor in the river at St. Clement's, watched by a crowd of curious Indians upon the shore. The chief object of Calvert's excursions was to treat with the leaders of the tribes, and seek to do away with any hostility with which they might look upon the new settlement. The people left behind in the *Ark*, by signs of friendship to the savages about them, gradually made acquaintance with them as they ventured out to the island and watched the English putting to

Calvert's journey up the Potomac.



Governor Calvert and the Indian Chief.

gether a little vessel, the parts of which they had brought with them. They wondered where a tree could have grown large enough to be hollowed for the hull of the *Ark;* and were amazed at all the tools and arms of the English. Little by little they became convinced of the perfect friendliness of the strangers; nor was Calvert less successful in establishing good relations with the chiefs. At an Indian town near the mouth of Acquia Creek, where the werowance, or chief, was a

child, and his uncle Archihau held the regency, the English were gladly welcomed, and established a lasting friendship; and still further up the Potomac, at Piscataway, they had a somewhat similar, though more cautious reception. Here they found a Captain Henry Fleet, who had traded for some time among these Indians for furs, and used his influence over the chief to induce him to go on board the pinnace for an interview with Calvert. The friendliness of his bearing soon banished the suspicions of the chief and his followers, who had gathered on the shore fearing treachery; and the parley was highly successful. The definite question was put by the Governor, whether the chief "would be content that he and his people should set down in his country, in case he should find a place convenient for him;" the werowance gave the cautious but friendly answer that he "would not bid him go, neither would he bid him stay, but that he might use his own discretion."

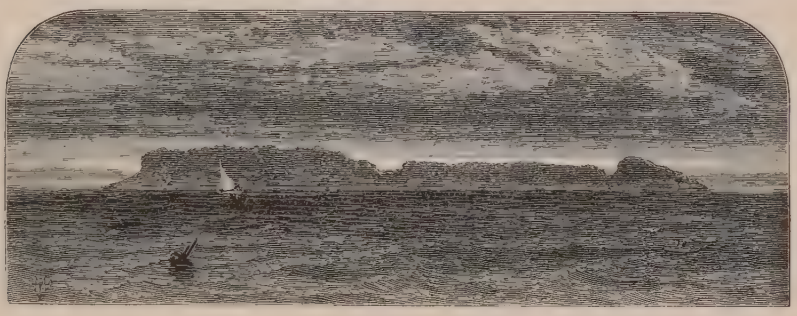
This Captain Fleet was familiar with the Potomac and the neighboring country, where he had long carried on a profitable trade in peltries. He had, at one time, been held as a prisoner for several years among the Nacostines or Anacostans, a tribe whose principal village was on the site of the present city of Washington, where their name is still preserved in a corrupted form in the island Analostan in the Potomac, and in a little post-office station, Anacostia, near the city limits. His relations with the neighboring Indians at the time of Calvert's arrival were friendly, and he was, at least, in no fear from his old enemies. He was a roving adventurer, sailing to New England, or to Jamestown, or returning to England, wherever a trade in corn or beaver offered the most inducement; but his long imprisonment among the Anacostans had made him most familiar with the resources along almost the whole course of the Potomac. He was not permitted, however, to enjoy the advantages of this trade undisputed. To conceal its source was impossible; others followed him from Jamestown, and he was at length arrested by order of the authorities there for trading without a license. Two years before he had been taken to Jamestown and put upon trial, but the difficulty seems to have been compounded by his admitting others to a share in his ventures, the profits probably being increased by the employment of larger capital.

The Anacostan Indians.

Fleet was no doubt aware that a charter had been granted to Lord Baltimore, and may have seen something of the excitement caused at Jamestown when the news was received that a Catholic colony would soon be planted in such disagreeable proximity, and in a country which the Virginians believed was rightfully theirs. He either did not share the religious prejudices of the colonists, or was ready for

other reasons to welcome the new-comers. Welcome them, at any rate, he did; became afterward one of their number as a man of some mark and influence, and when finally the colony was established, was a member of its General Assembly.[1]

Under the guidance of the man thus fortunately met with, the *Ark* and the pinnace now dropped down the river to the mouth of a stream



St. George's Island.

flowing into the Potomac, Calvert deciding not to make his first settlement so far from the sea. This stream they named the St. George; one of the "two harbors" formed at its mouth[2] received the name St. Mary's, which has become the modern name of the whole river, though a wooded island near at hand still preserves the older title. Sandy points, doubtless higher then than now, and different in form from those left by the wearing tides of two centuries, marked the entrance through which Fleet guided them toward his favorite village of Yaocomico;[3] but a little way back from the banks, the land rose in gentle undulations, and in the further distance into hills of moderate height.

The river itself was rather a series of broad bays or lakes than a stream of regular width and rapid current. Passing up through several of these, to one which they named "the bay of St. Ignatius," the settlers anchored and prepared to land. At the end of the broad harbor a low promontory extended from the eastern shore, ending in a sandy beach, the present Chancellor's Point; and on this, as we understand Father White's description, the Maryland colonists

[1] A narrative of Fleet's voyages to the Potomac was first published in Neill's *English Colonization*.

[2] Concerning the probable condition of these bays and their shores, and their difference from their present form, see the elaborate note K to White's *Narrative*, p. 107 of Dr. Dalrymple's edition.

[3] The name Yaocomico is now given to a village on the Virginia side of the Potomac, nearly opposite St. Mary's River; but this is an entirely modern transfer of the title from the site to which it properly belonged, — the territory of King Yaocomico, on the St. Mary's.

first set foot. Walking on through the woods and along the bank for a mile or more, they came upon a region whose beauty and fitness satisfied them that here was a proper site for their future town. The river-bank was higher here than it was farther down the stream, while behind it, at a distance of about a half mile from the water-side, lay a gently sloping valley, on the further side of which, again, was higher land gradually rising to the inland hills. In this valley springs were then as now abundant; and scattered through it were groves of nut trees and oaks. Here the Indians had

Site chosen for their town.

The Bluff at St. Mary's.

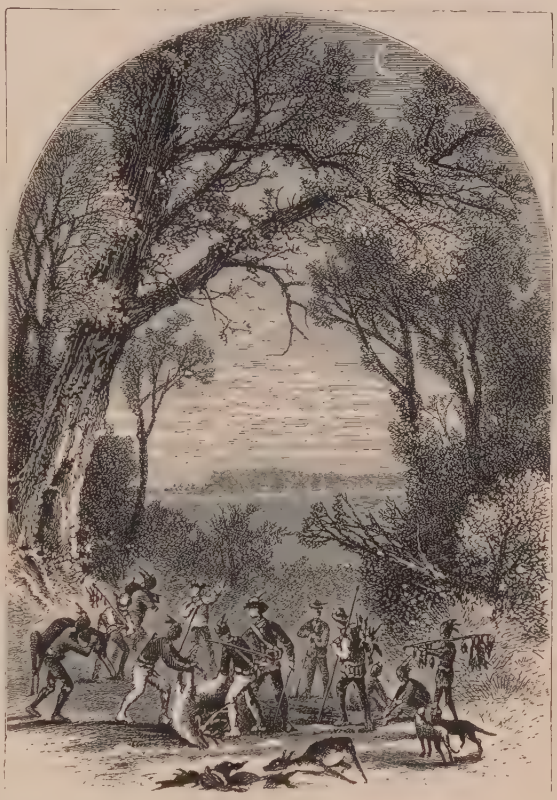
their village; and where it approached the water's edge the bank rose into a bold bluff between two broad expanses of the river, similar to those below. The soil was fertile; the neighboring woods, Father White declares, were free from dangerous animals; the place seemed well-nigh perfect for their purpose.

On the highest part of the bluff stood a mulberry tree, large enough even then to throw a broad shade about it, and to be visible for a long distance up and down the river. For more than two hundred years afterward its mass of foliage still crowned the promontory: and its decayed and blackened trunk, lying where it fell but a few years ago, yet marks the place of its growth, but nearer to the edge of the bank than it was when the settlers first stood around it, for the river has changed and reduced the sandy cape. Under this tree, according to well-authenticated tradition, Leonard Calvert made a treaty with the Indians of the village. For a certain payment in cloth, tools, and trinkets the tribe of Yaocomico consented that the strangers should share their town with them through the harvest, and then should purchase all the site, while the easily-contented savages removed their dwelling elsewhere. The fre-

The purchase of the Indian village and lands.

THE MULBERRY TREE AT ST. MARY'S POINT.

quent raids of the Susquehannahs from the north had already inclined them to this step; and they were the more glad if by so doing they could win the powerful alliance of the Englishmen. They "made mutual promises to each other, to live friendly and peaceably together, and if any injury should happen to be done on either part, that satisfaction should be made for the same." On the 27th of March the governor took possession, and named the first village of Maryland Saint Mary's. The colonists set about their building and planting at once; and the compact with the Indians was kept with scrupulous fidelity. Through the spring and early summer the whites and savages worked side by side, the Indians teaching the English to make bread and "pone" of Indian corn, or helping them in the hunt; the settlers giving them of their trinkets and tools in return.



Return from a Hunt.

Naturally, Father White and his fellow-priests made haste to fit up a temporary chapel in the Indian cabin falling to their share; but it was not long before they established themselves in a more fitting place for worship. Even before the Indians had retired, according to the terms of their agreement, the new houses which the colonists were building on every hand were ready for occupation. A little town of comparatively comfortable dwellings clustered in the valley, while nearer the river bank, and especially on the bluff, preparations were made for what were to be the public buildings of the colony. On the gradual slope from the inland hills toward the valley, and less than half a mile to the eastward of the promon-

Building of the Catholic Chapel.

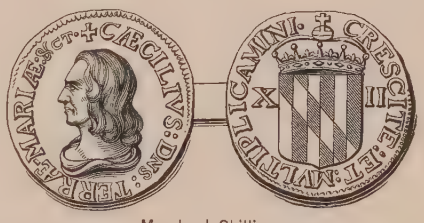
tory, the first church was built — a small building, as is shown by the still visible hollow in which its foundations rested, but decorated with all the skill that the rough tools of the colonists permitted. Over the altar was a rudely-carved representation of a mass of clouds, from which rough wooden points descending represented the tongues of flame at Pentecost. In the Roman Catholic College at Georgetown two fragments of this rude altar-piece still remain, plainly showing the simplicity and roughness of the whole.

CHAPTER XIX.

MARYLAND UNDER LEONARD CALVERT.

The Colony firmly Planted. — Hostility of the Virginians. — Dispute with Clayborne. — Engagement between Clayborne and Cornwallis. — Governor Harvey deposed and sent to England. — Meetings of the Maryland Assembly. — Trouble with the Indians. — Dissensions between Papists and Puritans. — Revolution in England. — A Parliamentary Ship seized in Maryland. — Clayborne's Recovery of Kent Island. — His Rule in Maryland. — Restoration of Baltimore. — Death of Governor Calvert. — Mistress Margaret Brent.

Before the winter set in the Maryland colonists were all comfortably sheltered in houses gathered close about the chapel. In that soft and genial climate there was no hardship in living out of doors during the summer, and their wise treatment of the natives had given them entire freedom from fear of the hostilities which they had most dreaded. Their first trouble came from their own countrymen. The indignation with which the Virginians heard of the new colony was natural enough, however unreasonable. It was not a question of room, for that the country was large enough no one could dispute; but how many it could support was a serious consideration. The Virginians were jealous of even a single man who should encroach upon the trade in peltries; that jealousy grew to open enmity when the intruders were numerous enough to absorb completely all the trade with Indians in the country about them. The advantages that must follow from an increase in the population of civilized people, the cultivation of the soil, the growth of commerce, were less immediate and obvious than the disadvantages so plainly seen and felt at once as a scarcity of beaver skins and corn, and higher prices for these Indian staples. These intruders on the Potomac, moreover, though coming under a royal charter, were settling within the domain which the Virginians had long been accustomed to consider their own, and to the loss of



Maryland Shilling.

which, by the abrogation of their charter, they were by no means reconciled.

On the other hand the Marylanders were quite secure in their rights under the patent from the king, and resented, no doubt, with some bitterness, the feeling they knew to exist against them in Jamestown because of their religion. In such a state of feeling, any encounter between the colonists would be likely to lead to trouble.

Among others who had traded within the limits of Baltimore's patent for some years past was William Clayborne, the secretary of Virginia under Governor Harvey, and a member of the Virginia Council. He had done more than trade, — which he did under royal licenses of different dates authorizing him to explore from the thirty-fourth to the forty-first degree of latitude, — he had established on Kent Island, in Chesapeake Bay, and within the limits of the Maryland grant, a small trading post, with a storehouse and a few permanent settlers whom he employed in the traffic with the Indians of that vicinity. His trade-permits were not indeed grants of territory, but it may fairly be questioned whether actual settlement in the wilderness of America was not as good title as a royal patent. At any rate, Clayborne put forward a claim to proprietorship, refused to acknowledge the government of the Maryland proprietary, and used his influence so vigorously in urging this view upon the Virginian authorities that he succeeded in gaining a majority of the council to the support of his pretensions.

Clayborne's Trading-post on Kent Island.

Just before the setting out of the colonists from England, in 1633, the planters of Virginia had presented a remonstrance to the king against the Maryland patent; but the Privy Council had only advised an amicable settlement, and had finally decided "that the Lord Baltimore should be left to his patent, and the other parties to the course of law;" while both colonies were ordered to permit entire freedom of trade between them, to harbor no fugitives one from the other, and to preserve a fitting general amity in all their relations. This reasserted conclusively the rights of Maryland; yet so far from ending the pretensions of the Virginian trader, it was followed by a long course of resistance to the new jurisdiction.

His bitter hostility to the new colonists had shown itself from the very moment of their landing in America. He had met Leonard Calvert and his emigrants at Jamestown, seeking to discourage them at the outset by stories that the Indians along the Potomac were arming to resist their coming. Their actual landing and settlement excited him to measures for which there is not a word of defence in any view of the case. He attempted to turn against the new-comers the friendly tribes with whom, on a visit soon after their arrival, Harvey found them peacefully associated. He seems to have had influence enough over Fleet at one time to induce him to persuade the Indians that the Maryland colonists were Spaniards, enemies of the Virginians, who meant to drive out the tribes about them as soon as they should be strong enough to spoil their villages and take their lands. So well did he succeed, that even in the tribe with whom they had lived at St. Mary's, jealousies and suspicious conduct had begun to alarm the colonists, who hastened to build a block house for a refuge in emergency. Yet constant and unbroken kindness proved stronger than Clayborne's efforts; gradually, the savages became convinced of the sincerity of the peaceful settlers; harmony was restored, and when the Indians withdrew from the village according to their promise, they did so with assurances of continued friendship.

But Clayborne's energy and persistency in behalf of his claims made him a truly formidable opponent. Easily evading capture by the Marylanders, whom Lord Baltimore had ordered to seize him if they could, he spent the last months of the year in restlessly urging his plans upon the influential men of Virginia, and in preparing to carry out the intention which he had announced, of maintaining his alleged rights even by the use of force. The majority of the Virginians sustained him; the assembly advised Clayborne that they knew no reason why he or they should surrender the Isle of Kent to the new province. Governor Harvey alone was on the side of the Maryland people, and for his good offices Lord Baltimore subsequently procured him a letter of thanks from the king.[1]

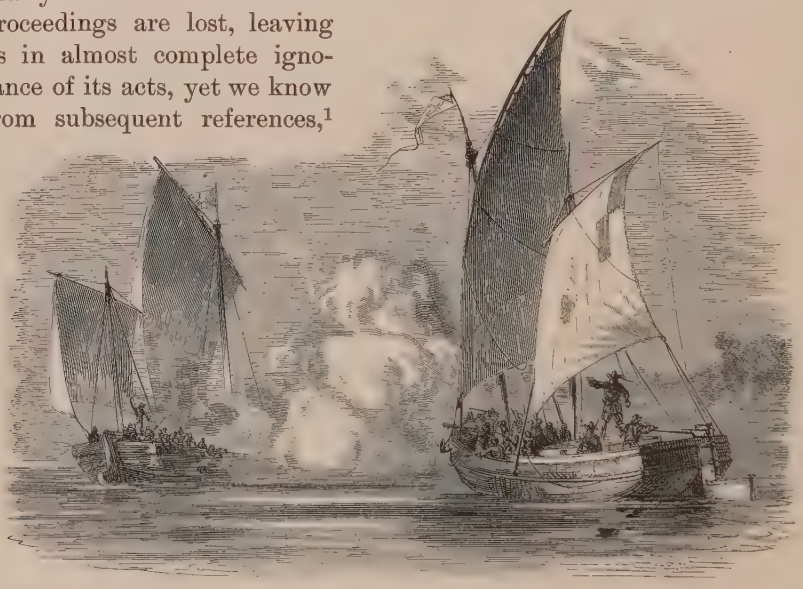
In the early spring of 1635, when Clayborne despatched a small vessel, the *Long Tail*, determined to carry out his usual trading voyage in spite of resistance, there were few in Virginia disposed to hinder him. But the Marylanders were prepared, having sent out two armed pinnaces under their commissioner or councillor, Cornwallis, to watch for any illegal traders within the charter boundaries. They seized the *Long Tail* on the 23d of April; and when Clayborne sent an armed boat under the command of one Ratcliff Warren to recapture her or seize any

Fight between armed boats of Clayborne and the Maryland colony.

[1] Letter to Windebank, quoted in Neill's *English Colonization of America*, p. 242.

Maryland vessels he might encounter, Cornwallis met her with one of his pinnaces in the harbor of Wighcomoco on May 10th, and took her after a fight in which Warren and two men of the Virginians were killed, with one of Cornwallis's own crew. The chief of the surviving Virginians seem to have been held by the Maryland officers for trial; the captured boat to have been carried to St. Mary's.

This open conflict between the two colonies (for Clayborne was so generally sustained as to give it virtually that importance), caused the most intense excitement, especially when it was followed by a demand on the part of Maryland. The first Assembly of that province had been convened just before the attack upon Clayborne, and though nearly all the records of its proceedings are lost, leaving us in almost complete ignorance of its acts, yet we know from subsequent references,[1]



Fight between Clayborne and Cornwallis.

that it decreed "that offenders, in all murders and felonies, shall suffer the same pains and forfeitures as for the same crimes in England." In the eyes of the Maryland authorities Clayborne's act was a felony; and they sent messengers to Governor Harvey, requiring that he should deliver up to them the man who according to their understanding of the matter, had rebelled against the terms of the king's charter, and had used force against their government. Harvey, it is true, did not venture to comply with this demand, but he insisted that Clayborne should go to England to justify himself before the home government.

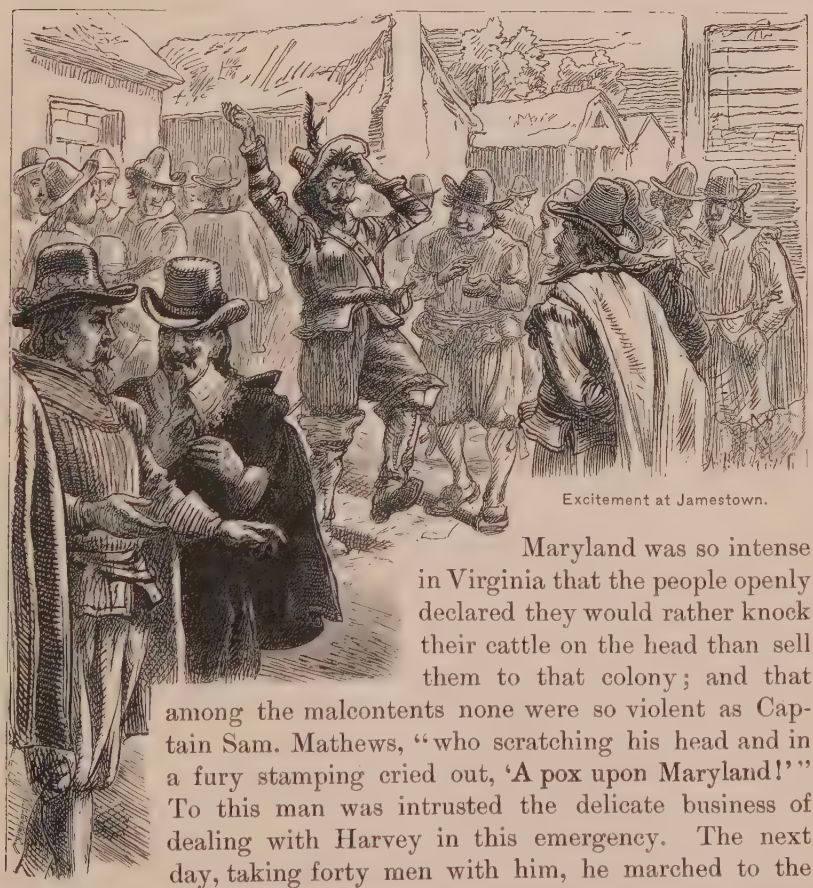
The Virginia governor had from various causes become exceedingly

[1] Chalmers *Annals*. See Bozman, vol. ii., p. 34, and note.

unpopular, and this support on his part of the Marylanders led to absolute revolution. The news of the seizure of Clayborne's vessel and the killing of his men was received at Jamestown with the utmost indignation. The people insisted that Harvey should at once demand the surrender of the captured pinnace, the recognition of Clayborne's claim to Kent's Island, and that he should add his protest to that of the colonists generally against the patent of Baltimore and the conduct of his people. Harvey refused with a firmness creditable to his courage if not to his judgment. Affairs came at once to a crisis; a public meeting was called to meet at the house of William Barrene, the speaker of the Assembly. There was the utmost excitement, but the utmost unanimity. Some months before, Harvey had written to England that the feeling against

Excitement at Jamestown.

Gov. Harvey deposed.



Excitement at Jamestown.

Maryland was so intense in Virginia that the people openly declared they would rather knock their cattle on the head than sell them to that colony; and that among the malcontents none were so violent as Captain Sam. Mathews, "who scratching his head and in a fury stamping cried out, 'A pox upon Maryland!'" To this man was intrusted the delicate business of dealing with Harvey in this emergency. The next day, taking forty men with him, he marched to the governor's house. This being surrounded, to prevent escape, a member of the council, John Uty, entered and arrested Harvey on a charge

of treason. A few days later the General Assembly met and elected John West as governor and sent Harvey to England for trial. Clayborne went also to England to get the redress which Virginia, however good her will was, was powerless to give him, but was discouraged by Charles declaring that the act of the Virginians, in arresting and sending home a governor, was an intolerable assumption of sovereignty; that Harvey should go back though it were only for a day.[1]

Some years of peace and prosperity followed in Maryland. From time to time the colony was reinforced by the accession of new emigrants. So large had been the yield from their corn, even during the first season's planting, that they had sent a thousand bushels to New England "to provide them some salt-fish, and other commodities which they wanted;" their cattle and poultry, brought from Virginia, had increased "to a great stock, sufficient to serve the colonie very plentifully."

The settlement had assumed much more of the aspect of a town than any other English colony had gained in so short a time after its foundation. It had been built from the beginning with no war or disturbance to interrupt its progress, or to make its people fear for its permanence. Bricks and other materials had been brought from England in large quantities, and substantial dwellings had almost immediately succeeded to the Indian cabins. Private buildings of course came first; and the earlier assemblies of the province seem to have met at a manor belonging to Governor Calvert, called St. John's, and situated farther inland. But the commanding bluff, overlooking all the neighborhood, was sure, sooner or later, to become the site of the capitol of the colony; and after the lapse of several years a government building or state-house was erected there, in the form of an irregular cross, some fifty feet in length and more than thirty across the shorter arms.[2] It stood but a short distance — a little more than thirty yards — in the rear of the mulberry tree, and the rough cruciform hollow where its foundations were laid may still be seen, filled with a dense undergrowth of weeds and bushes, that spring here and there from the fragments of broken masonry. On the mulberry tree before it, probably then the only large tree upon the bluff, were nailed the proclamations of Calvert and his successors, the notices of punishments and fines, the inventories of

St. John's manor.

[1] Neill.

[2] It is impossible to fix with certainty the exact date of the building of the state-house, or of any of the other principal buildings; but they belonged, at all events, to the earliest part of the history of the settlement. To Dr. Brome, the present owner of St. Mary's Manor, a large estate covering the site and whole neighborhood of old St. Mary's, who has carefully preserved many local traditions, we are indebted for many interesting facts relating to the early settlers.

debtors whose goods were to be sold, and all notices calling for the public attention. Even of late years, curious relic-hunters have dug from the decaying trunk the rude nails which thus held the forgotten state papers of two centuries ago.

The top of the bluff, according to tradition, must once have formed a broad square before the state-house doors, where the people assembled, and the little force mustered which was detailed for defence; where punishments were inflicted, and proclamations read before being posted. But the ceaseless wear of the river has crumbled away a great part of the point, and only a small space now lies between the building-site and the water. A church, built in the last century, stands a little farther back, and the churchyard extends over all that is left of the plateau; the ground where the Maryland Pilgrims were called together, is occupied by the graves of their descendants.

In the valley, still further up the inland slope than the Jesuit fathers' church, stood the principal private house,[1] owned by Calvert or one of the leaders in the colony, a well-built structure indeed for a new settlement, for its walls were partly standing within the memory of men now living. In the middle, two stout chimneys gave outlet for vast fire-places in the large rooms which formed the ground floor and basement, the latter paved with square red tiles. The house was of red brick, ornamented here and there with black; its general shape was square; and about it, giving a fortress-like look to the place, rose a stout brick wall with but few openings. Near by was a sudden hollow in the level of the field, from the bottom of which a spring gave the settlement its purest water. Still farther inland lay a little ravine, where the first burial-ground of the colony was made, and the Jesuit fathers piously planted the black cross at the head of every Christian grave.

The Governor's House.

It was not only at St. Mary's, however, that the rapidly increasing colony began to take on this appearance of prosperity. Up and down the east bank of the river were farms and plantations; and even the opposite shore began to be taken up. In 1635, Lord Baltimore seems to have established certain terms for the granting of land to settlers: a thousand acres, "erected into a Manor," but subject to a quitrent of a pound a year, to every man who should transport to the colony five able men properly provided; a hundred acres, subject to a quitrent of two shillings, for every man who should pay his own transportation, and the same for each servant

Land grants made to settlers.

[1] Local traditions agree in calling this site, on which even men of middle age remember the ruins, "the Governor's House" It is not improbable, however, that it may have been the brick house built by Cornwallis in 1640, which is especially noticed in the records because of its superiority to its neighbors. It was very possibly occupied by later governors on this account.

he should bring, if their number were less than five; for every married man a hundred acres each for himself and his wife, and fifty for each child — all subject to a quitrent of a shilling for every fifty acres. In 1636, while these conditions were retained for all future emigrants, still further grants were made to those who had taken part in the original voyage in 1633, and even slight additions to the lands of all who had settled in the colony before the end of 1635; so that the pioneers of the province became a favored class, especially as those who held manors were permitted the feudal privileges of holding courts-leet and courts-baron. The conditions differed, however, in one very essential point, from the feudal element introduced by the Dutch into New Netherlands, the smaller land-holders having as absolute a title from the government as the larger; the estate of each was held in fee simple, to the owner and his heirs forever; there was no opportunity for the abuses of the feudal class of tenures.

By the end of 1637, the region about St. Mary's is referred to in documents as the "county" of that name; while enough colonists had settled over on the west bank of St. George's (St. Mary's) River to entitle them to form one of the "hundreds" into which the county had been divided. Several mills had been built both at St. Mary's and on out-lying farms; the crops had been successful year after year, and the cattle and poultry brought from Virginia had increased so as to give the whole colony a plentiful supply.

Difference between the people and the lord proprietor.

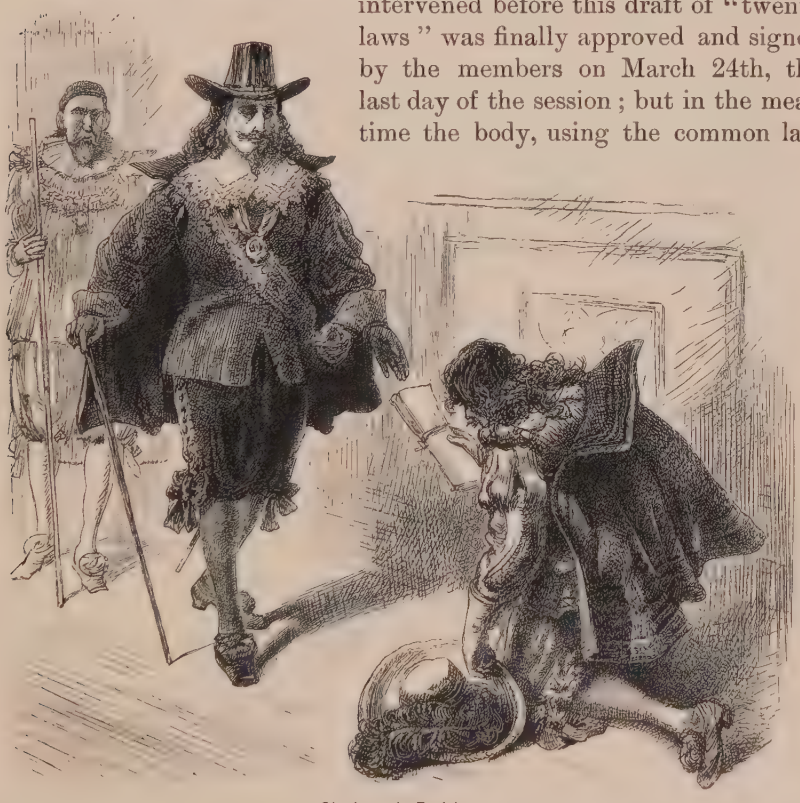
The inhabitants had now become so numerous that a more complete code of laws was necessary for their government. The Assembly of 1635 had proposed a series of regulations for the colony, but they were not acceptable to the proprietary, who refused his assent to them. Two years later Lord Baltimore sent out suggestions for enactments in place of those he had thus rejected; and to consider these suggestions the second Assembly of the province was summoned to meet on the 25th of January, 1638.

The freemen duly came together on that day, some appearing in person, nearly as many by proxy; but they manifested anything but that passive acquiescence which had been expected in the proposals of their ruler. When these were "put to the question, whether they should be received as laws or not,"[1] only Leonard Calvert and John Lewger, with the twelve proxies they held, voted for them; against them there were "thirty-seven voices." Lord Baltimore's proposals have not been preserved, but it is probable that this resistance to his will was rather to the construction of the charter that should limit to the proprietary the right of initiating laws, than a dislike for any

[1] Transcription from the original record of Assembly Proceedings, 1637–58, in Bozman, vol. ii., p. 55.

special provision.[1] This belief seems sustained by the recorded fact, that when the Assembly immediately afterward proposed "to agree upon some laws till [they] could hear from England again," the President (Calvert) denied "any such power to be in the house;" a decision which was warmly contested, and finally overruled, committees being appointed to prepare a draft to be submitted to Lord Baltimore.

Long delays followed, and several adjournments of the Assembly intervened before this draft of "twenty laws" was finally approved and signed by the members on March 24th, the last day of the session; but in the mean time the body, using the common law



Clayborne's Petition.

of England and the English methods of procedure in default of a code of its own, busied itself with matters quite as pressing. An inquiry was ordered into the fight between the pinnaces, three years before at Wighcomoco. The result of this was the acquittal of all the Marylanders, the formal indictment of Clayborne, and a bill of attainder passed against him; while Thomas Smith, next in rank after Ratcliff

[1] This reasonable belief is adopted by Grahame, Bacon, MacSherry, Bozman, Bancroft and others; but taken in conjunction with other acts and circumstances of the time, needs no authority to justify it.

Warren on the Virginian vessel, was brought to the bar, tried, and sentenced to be hanged, without benefit of clergy.[1]

Clayborne's intrigues in England.

Clayborne himself, meanwhile, busily at work in England, had come near to turning the tables on his Maryland antagonists. On his arrival he had presented to the king a petition, setting forth his "wrongs and injuries," citing the licenses under which he had acted in making his settlement on Kent Island, and pleading his cause with such address, that he very nearly gained not only the end he had first sought, but an enormous grant besides. The king, to whom he had held out hopes of a direct gain from the rents he would pay for what he should receive, favored him, though not in any very definite way; but the lords commissioners for plantations finally decided sharply against him, declaring "that the lands in question absolutely belonged to Lord Baltimore, and that no plantation, or trade with the Indians, ought to be allowed within the limits of his patent, without his permission. And that with regard to violences complained of, no cause for any relief appeared, but that both parties should be left to the ordinary course of justice."[2] Clayborne went back to Virginia, his immediate end defeated, but his purpose as positive as ever; and for a longer time than before, though he struggled against the restraints upon him, he was compelled to leave his enemies in peace.

Clayborne defeated.

The triumph of the Assembly.

The Maryland Assembly of 1638 was not more fortunate than that of three years before, in securing the assent of Lord Baltimore to the code of laws which it proposed; but it won a much greater victory in gaining at least a qualified acknowledgment of the principle at issue. For the proprietary, immediately after receiving the report of the session at St. Mary's, wrote a letter to his brother the governor, in which, while reserving his right of dissent, he virtually yielded to the freemen the right for which they had contended. That the letter was thus interpreted is evident, from the fact that the next Assembly regarded the question as settled in their favor, and did not again discuss it.

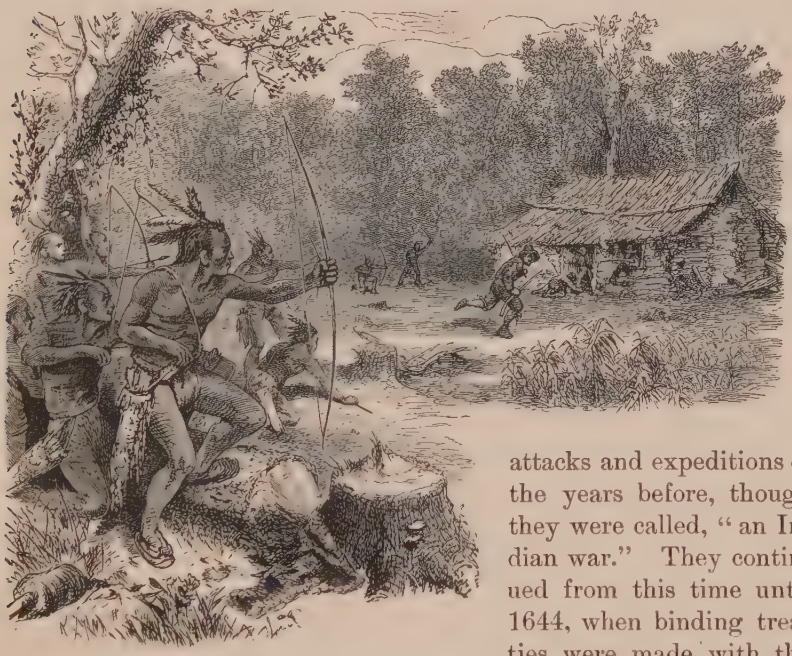
The colony was ere long disturbed by the enmity of the Susquehannah Indians, who, jealous, perhaps, of the favor shown to other tribes, attacked scattered parties of colonists, and the outlying plantations. These hostilities, however, assumed no very formidable aspect, until 1642. Bands of the provincial militia were then carefully organized,

[1] "Then did the prisoner demand his clergy; but it was answered by the President that clergy could not be allowed in his crime, and if it might, yet now it was demanded too late after judgment." *Assembly Proceedings, etc.*

[2] Report of the Lords Commissioners, etc., quoted by Hazard, *Collections*, i. p. 130; by Bozman, ii., note xi., p. 584; by MacSherry, p. 46, and elsewhere, with slight variations. Comments by Bozman, ii. 587.

and occasionally sent out to make retaliation; but the Assembly of July, in the year just named, — there had been others in 1640, 1641, and March, 1642, but their acts were of little moment, — was the first which appeared actually to recognize a state of warfare as existing; and in September, the governor formally proclaimed "that the Susquihanowes, Wicomeses and Nanticoque Indians are enemies of this province, and as such are to be reputed and proceeded against by all persons." Even then the fighting seems to have differed little from the occasional

Slight disturbance from Indians.



Indian Attack on an Outlying Plantation.

attacks and expeditions of the years before, though they were called, "an Indian war." They continued from this time until 1644, when binding treaties were made with the hostile tribes. All that the colonists suffered from these hostilities, however, was the annoyance and danger inevitable anywhere in the neighborhood of savages, rather than such a devastating and terrible calamity as almost always attended a war with the Indians in most of the colonies. Even at the height of the hostile feeling, no such universal measures of defence or of retaliation were necessary, as had been called for in the early days of Virginia, Massachusetts, and New Netherland.

The first really serious shock to the tranquillity of Maryland came from within the State itself. The earnest, yet unusually tolerant Roman Catholics, under whose leadership the settlement had been begun, no longer ruled, when it was a few years old, over an harmonious

people agreeing alike in politics and in religion. As Maryland had grown and prospered, the privileges of its generous land-grants and liberal charter had been shared with men of all shades of conviction.

Religious toleration of the colony.

There had been Protestants and even Puritans in the colony from its very foundation, though at first they were very few. The toleration with which they had been treated and the pains taken to protect them in their rights were from the beginning remarkable. In 1638, for instance, it is recorded that the Catholic governor and council severely fined an overseer for speaking abusively of a book of sermons by an English Puritan ("the silver-tongued Smith," a preacher of much note), which certain of his subordinates were reading; and similar examples of an impartial spirit appear elsewhere in the early annals. Protestants had been members of the Assembly and members of the council; nor does there seem to be any indication of disagreement, in the first few years, between them and their fellows on public questions. But as time went on, and its advantages were better understood, Maryland became a very asylum for the persecuted of other provinces. Puritans who had been harshly treated in Virginia removed across the Maryland line, gladly accepting so near a refuge; and to those in Massachusetts who should be persecuted for any independent opinions, Calvert sent a special invitation to make their homes under his government. The self-interest of the proprietary, and a desire to hurry on the growth of the colony, doubtless had much to do with this; yet it is impossible not to acknowledge the broad spirit of such a course; it would have been wise statesmanship had it not been a little beyond the appreciation of many who profited by it.

Differences between the two parties were inevitable, and these widened into an impassable breach as the conflict between king and Parliament grew more and more intense in England, and the growing power of the Parliament at home stimulated its adherents through all the colonies.

Effect of the Revolution in England on Maryland.

The outbreak of hostilities in England, in 1642, hastened the crisis of these discontents. Lord Baltimore was a supporter of the king, though he seems to have tried, and at first with more success than many others, to keep on fair terms with the Parliament also; and this especially in matters relating to his American grant, for the very existence of which he had cause to fear in case of the Parliament's victory. As the power of that body appeared more formidable, the greatest care was needed in the government of the province itself, lest the complaints of the discontented Puritans should grow loud enough to attract parliamentary attention to the colony's affairs; — attention which would be fatal to the pro-

prietor, if the English Commons should think fit to interfere in favor of their Maryland adherents, and support them in an attempt to gain control. It was necessary to conciliate, and probably for this purpose the proprietary wrote particularly in 1642, that "no ecclesiastic in the province ought to expect, nor is Lord Baltimore, nor any of his officers, although they are Roman Catholics, obliged in conscience to allow to such ecclesiastics any more or other privileges . . . . than is allowed by his majesty or officers to like persons in England."[1] This and similar declarations may have produced an effect at home; but in the province itself the parties were too strongly divided to admit of concession or compromise. Puzzled by the various and contradictory demands of the time, Leonard Calvert sailed for England in April, 1643, to consult in person with his brother, leaving Giles Brent, a councillor, to govern as his deputy.

Clayborne's opportunity for retaliation.

While affairs were thus confused, Clayborne, quiet for a while, and holding a life-appointment as treasurer of Virginia, which he had obtained by favoring the king when hostilities first broke out, seized his opportunity of retaliation against Maryland by stirring up the parliamentary faction in Maryland to a rebellion against the government of Baltimore. His designs were aided by an unforeseen event. In 1643, the king, then at Oxford, commissioned Lord Baltimore, through his colonial officers, to seize any ships from London or belonging to the parliament party, on which his people might be able to lay hands. About the beginning of the next year such a seizure was actually made by order of Calvert's deputy, Brent, the vessel of one Richard Ingle being captured on its arrival at St. Mary's, though its commander escaped and made his way to England. Brent issued a proclamation requiring him to appear and answer a charge of treason; and endeavored to exact from the captured crew an oath against Parliament, and a promise to take the ship to Bristol, which the king then held.

Seizure of a Parliamentary vessel.

Clayborne regains possession of Kent Island.

Amid the intense excitement which followed this step, Clayborne took advantage of the always hostile disposition of the people of the Isle of Kent. He seems to have had no difficulty in again possessing himself of that disputed region. When Calvert returned in 1644 he found the province in a state of anarchy, the factions almost at open war, the Puritan party in unconcealed rebellion against his government, and the old and dreaded enemy of the colony in possession of his claims within her borders. Moreover, he had hardly reached Maryland when Ingle arrived from England in the ship *Reformation*, commanded by him under a letter of marque from the Parliament, — prepared to venture again, as his petition to

[1] Neill's *Terra Mariæ*, p. 107.

that body declared he had done before, "his life and fortune in . . . . assisting the well-affected Protestants against the tyrannical government." All the parliament party in the province rose to the aid of him and of Clayborne; and the governor and council, with the chief of their supporters, were driven from the colony and forced to take refuge in Virginia. Captain Edward Hill, a Virginian, was made governor; but the control of the conquered province was virtually in the hands of the two leaders of the insurrection.

Their position, however, was not strong enough to be a comfortable one. History and tradition alike speak of their rule as turbulent, though all but its mere outline is unrecorded. The Catholics, among whom their bitterest opponents were of course to be found, still formed a considerable part of the population; and the hope which they doubtless nourished of a speedy restoration of the proprietary, was fostered by the oppressive acts of Clayborne's government. It is probable, though it cannot

Turbulent rule in the formerly peaceful province.

Chancellor's Point from St. Inigoe's.

be fully decided by the scanty evidence tradition furnishes, that the Catholic priests, long so powerful a class at St. Mary's, withdrew at this time from the town, and established the Jesuit mission farther from the stormy centre of affairs, where interference, if not confiscation of their lands, was daily to be feared.

At the lower end of the bay of St. Ignatius (of whose name St. Inigoe is an old and once common corruption), was a bluff much like that at St. Mary's, though lower and less picturesque. From it, looking to the north across the bay, could be seen the point of first landing (Chancellor's Point); and to the south the view extended to the mouth of St. Mary's River. It was a commanding site; and on it, though whether before or just after this period is not certain, Governor Calvert erected a fort which effectually guarded the approach to the town above. Near or within the fort stood a mill, and about it a few scattered buildings. No ruins of fort or houses remain, save a few

scattered bricks and hewn stones ; but several cannon, perhaps placed on the ramparts in the time of Calvert himself, have been drawn from the river, where the washing away of the sandy bluff had left them.

It is to this point that the Jesuits perhaps removed their chief station during Clayborne's usurpation. They are found there but a few years later ; and from the time of these events St. Inigoe's and not St. Mary's appears as their headquarters. Here they built a chapel on a site still pointed out; and a new churchyard, to which the Catholic dead of the colony seem to have been carried after this change, still makes green a broad field of wheat near by. A Jesuit mission is still kept up at St. Inigoe's, and the traditions of the place make the present chapel the third in order from that of the early settlers.

Jesuit mission at St. Inigoe's.

Church near the Site of the First Jesuit Chapel.

The rule of Clayborne's governor and his supporters was, however, to be of short duration. During the winter following his flight, Calvert collected his adherents on the Virginia border, and though his force was small, he so skilfully surprised St. Mary's in April, while Clayborne was at Kent Island and Ingle probably in England,[1] that he captured the place with but little resistance or bloodshed,[2] and was reinstated in the governorship as suddenly as he had been displaced. A period of disorder and partial anarchy followed, which left the colony at Calvert's return, exhausted and impoverished ; even the malcontents doubtless were glad to be again under the quieter government of the proprietary. The victorious governor's first care seems to have been to go in person to Kent Island, attend to its complete subjection, and put over it a deputy of his own appointment, one Robert Vaughan, a Protestant. Clayborne

The proprietary government reinstated.

[1] Neill, *Terra Mariæ*, p. 112.

[2] It is evident that there was some fighting, at least, from the expressions in a subsequent correspondence between Governor Greene and Sir Wm. Berkeley, quoted at length by Bozman, vol. ii., note lvii., pp. 637, 899.

appears to have escaped to Virginia, and Ingle to have remained in England, where three years later he preferred charges before the Parliament against Lord Baltimore's administration of Maryland affairs, but without any definite result. All but these two and their immediate followers doubtless acquiesced quietly enough in the rule of the apparently lenient Calvert, for no records of attempted punishment appear in connection with the governor's return, and three years later an act of general amnesty was passed. Only one person connected with the matter adopted a course that calls for special mention. Captain Hill, who had acted as governor while Calvert was deposed, had the audacity, some time after the restoration of peace, to claim a salary and other compensation for his services in the office, on the ground that he had occupied it as Calvert's representative, the council having power to nominate such a one in case of the governor's absence. In a long "petition" he contradicted himself by calling Calvert's return an "invasion," represented himself as still entitled to his office, and put together a strange tissue of absurdities which were promptly rejected by the governor's successor; for the correspondence did not take place until death had put a sudden end to Calvert's long and able rule.

Death of Governor Calvert.

The governor died on the ninth of June, 1647, after an illness that seems to have seized him on his return from the Isle of Kent. "Lying upon his death-bed, yet in perfect memory," he appointed Thomas Green, one of his council, to be his successor, and Mistress Margaret Brent, an unmarried sister of that Giles Brent who had once acted as his deputy, to be his administratrix.[1] It is possible, as has been suggested in comments on this appointment,[2] that the Brent family were related to the Calverts; at all events, they stood around the dying governor's bed when his last wishes were expressed; and Mistress Brent subsequently proved herself worthy of the trust reposed in her, if not by her judgment, at least by her remarkable strength of will and almost masculine energy and understanding in business.

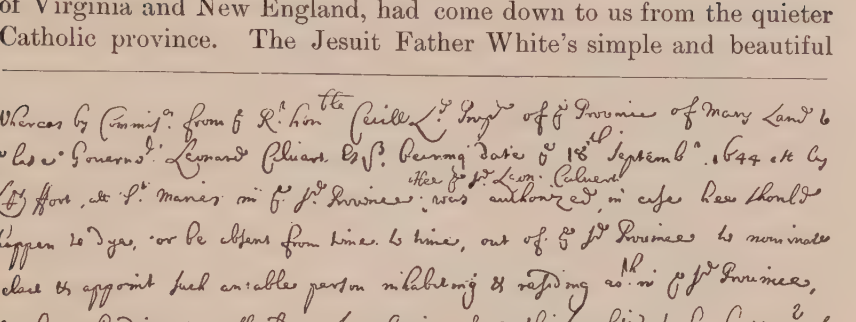
Dearth of early Maryland authorities.

With Calvert's administration ends that earliest period of Maryland's history, which the loss of records and the absence of personal narratives render somewhat more dim and vague than the busy beginnings of its sister colonies. The great outlines of its growth remain, but we must fill them out by inference rather than by knowledge. Nothing of that abundance of picturesque detail, of quaintly told personal experience, of description of the everyday life of the settlers, which gives its vividness to the early history

[1] Kilty's *Landholder's Assistant*, p. 104, in Bozman, vol. ii., p. 315; and Neill's *Terra Mariæ*, 112, and 113 note.

[2] Bozman, vol. ii., p. 307, note.

of Virginia and New England, had come down to us from the quieter Catholic province. The Jesuit Father White's simple and beautiful



Fac-simile of MS. Records.[1]

[1] For many years the MS. records of Maryland, to which Bozman and others writing in the early part of this century appear to have had access, have been lost. In December, 1875, a box of old papers, supposed to be worthless, was to be sold from the record office at Annapolis, when, on a careful examination of its contents, a portion of the MS. covering a considerable period subsequent to Calvert's death was discovered, in an almost complete state of preservation. Without disclosing any new facts of moment, it bears witness to the correctness of Bozman's transcripts. In the text a fac-simile is given of a part of the page bearing Clerk Bretton's record of Calvert's death-bed appointment of Green. It runs as follows: —

Whereas by Commis^{on} from y^{e} R^{t} Hon^{ble} Cecill, L^{d} Propr of y^{e} Province of Mary Land to y^{e} late Gouerno^{r} Leonard Caluart Esq^{re} bearing date y^{e} 18th Septemb^{r} 1644 att his Lps [Lordship's] Fort att S^{t} Maries in y^{e} s^{d} Province Hee y^{e} s^{d} Leon. Calvert was authorized, in case hee should happen to dye, or be absent from time to time, out of y^{e} s^{d} Province to nominate elect & appoint such an able person inhabiting & residing wthin y^{e} s^{d} Province (as he on his discretion should make choice of, & thinke fitt) to be Governo^{r} of y^{e} s^{d} Province. These are therefore to publish & declare to all those whom it may concerne y^{t} y^{e} s^{d} Leon. Calvert did by word of mouth on the Ninth day of June 1647 (lying uppon his death bed, yett in perfect memory) nominate & appoint Thomas Greene Esq^{r} one of y^{e} Counsell of this Province, to be Governo^{r} of y^{e} same, wth all y^{e} same authority & power of governm^{t} as he y^{e} s^{d} Leonard Calvert was authorized by his Lps Commis^{n} to conferre uppon him. As by y^{e} oaths of Mr^{s} Margaret & Mary Brent, Francis Ankesill & James Linsey (who were all then present wth him att y^{e} same time) is averred to be true.

Teste me Willm Bretton, Clk.

journal throws a pleasant light upon the settlement's earliest days; but the story of his own and his companions' journeys among the Indians along the Potomac, of their pious devotion and endurance, their hardships and bloodless victories, hardly belongs to the annals of the State itself, but rather to the history of that remarkable priesthood whose adventures read like passages of a romance.

Enough remains of the annals of Lord Baltimore's colony, however, to show most plainly those distinctive features which separated its founders sharply from all the other strongly-marked types from which the varying races of the future nation sprang. Here were men trained in a different school from New Englanders or Virginians; men with a singular mixture of religious enthusiasm, culture, practical shrewdness, and liberal statesmanship; far enough in advance of their age to take warning from the errors of others, and while they founded a province in which were mingled feudal and popular, despotic and constitutional institutions, to administer it with such prudence that it grew strong and gained permanence more quickly and tranquilly than any of its predecessors.

Shawmut.

CHAPTER XX.

MASSACHUSETTS BAY.

Fresh Emigration to Massachusetts. — A New Charter. — Arrival of Higginson and Skelton. — The First Church at Salem. — The Case of John and Samuel Browne. — They are ordered back to England by Endicott. — The Council's Rebuke. — Proposed Transfer of the Government of the Colony to New England. — Probable Motives of the Council in Procuring the Patent. — The Cambridge Conference. — Winthrop chosen Governor. — Departure for New England. — His Farewell Address to English Churchmen. — Oldham and Brereton's Patents. — Settlements in and about Boston. — Old Settlers about the Bay. — The Coming of Roger Williams.

In June, 1629, three vessels entered the harbor of Salem, followed a few days later by three others. They carried, besides their crews, four hundred and six men, women, and children, one hundred and forty head of cattle, forty goats, a large stock of provisions, of tools, of arms, of all things necessary to plant a a colony.[1] No enterprise so well appointed as this at the start had heretofore been sent to North America.

Arrival of new colonists at Salem.

With the exception of the Plymouth people, all the colonies hitherto had been commercial adventures, managed in an office in London. Indeed, Plymouth even was not without this purely trading purpose,

[1] This is Prince's statement — in the *Chronology* — on the authority of the colonial records, and according to the warrant of the lord treasurer, for the transportation. Dudley, in his letter to the Countess of Lincoln (vol. ii. Force's *Historical Tracts* and Young's *Chronicles*), says, "about 300 people;" Francis Higginson, in his *New England's Plantation*, says, "we brought with us about two hundred passengers," but he refers doubtless to the first three ships only.

which, however necessary to its making a beginning, was not its impelling motive, while the shrewd men who governed there soon saw that it must be rendered subsidiary to the interests of the colonists themselves, who were men and not machinery. In Virginia, already for twenty years, the experiment — presently to be repeated in Maryland — of founding a commonwealth upon the labor of bondsmen and the production of one great staple of trade, had proved to be successful, so far as it was successful at all, only in spite of its inherent viciousness. New Netherland was a great Dutch trading-post, where patroons took the place of tobacco-planters; Dutch boors served instead of servants for a term of years, sometimes taken from the English jails, or scraped together from the most wretched of the English poor. Just so far as this trading spirit was subordinated to some higher purpose; just so far as men were held higher than merchandise and the poor man's chance as of greater value than the rich man's opportunity, there these early colonies struck deepest root, and became the soonest strong and prosperous.

Character and causes of the new Puritan emigration.

Charles I. had been king only about four years, but there were already signs in England, significant enough to those who were wise, of coming trouble. Influences and events were gradually preparing men for a stormy future, and the number of those who sought to escape from it was rapidly increasing. These persons were not like the Pilgrims, bound together as with hooks of steel, by years of exile and poverty, but they, nevertheless were Puritans, earnest Protestants against the corruptions and formalities of the established church; some even Non-conformists; and all turning their faces wistfully toward the new land, where perhaps distance and obscurity might secure to them religious and political freedom — at least would take them out of the thick of the evils which they knew could not be escaped much longer at home.

The Massachusetts Bay Company.

The movement, begun at Dorchester by the Rev. Mr. White, with no more ambitious purpose than to plant a colony of fishermen at Cape Ann; growing then to the larger project under Endicott with a grant of lands from the Plymouth Company, had assumed other proportions under a royal patent. The new corporation was styled "The Governor and Company of the Massachusetts Bay in New England."[1]

Of this company Matthew Cradock,[2] a London merchant, was the

[1] By Massachusetts Bay was understood, at that time, what is now called Boston Harbor, from Nahant to Point Alderton. *Winthrop's History of New England*, by James Savage, vol. i., p. 27.

[2] Endicott's wife was a cousin of Cradock's. The exposure and hardships of the first winter were a sore affliction to Endicott's people, and among those who died, it is supposed, was Mrs. Endicott. Dr. Fuller, the physician at New Plymouth, was sent by Gov-

FAC-SIMILE FROM SMITH'S GENERAL HISTORY.

governor in England. These six ships — one was the *Mayflower*, which, nine years before, had carried the Pilgrims to Plymouth — arriving in June, at Salem, with this well-appointed colony, were sent out by the new company. The grant made by its patent was from the Merrimack to the Charles River. Endicott was confirmed by the directors in London as the governor of the colony already planted at Salem. "The propagating of the Gospel," he was told in the first letter of instructions, "is the thing we do profess above all to be our aim in settling this Plantation." Certainly to no more zealous hands than Endicott's could such a work be entrusted. There was neither weakness nor hesitation in his method of propagandism, and none who stood in his way need expect mercy.

John Endicott made Governor.

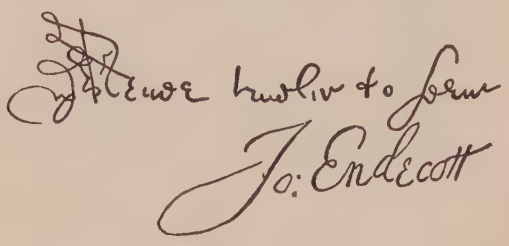
Endicott.

He was to be aided, his instructions told him, by "a plentiful provision of godly ministers." There were four in the fleet, three of whom were appointed to be members of the Council. The fourth, the Reverend Ralph Smith, was rather permitted to go than encouraged, as it was found that there was a "difference in judgment in some things" between him and the other ministers. What that difference was they do not choose to say, but it was only that Smith was a pronounced Separatist in England, and the others were not till they were on the other side of the ocean. "Unless he will be conformable to our government," was the order of the letter of instructions, "suffer him not to remain within the limits of our grant." Mr. Smith was clearly not needed, and, whether sent thither or not, we next hear of him living with his family, in destitution apparently, at Nantasket. Some of the Plymouth people found him there, and moved with pity, took him home with them, and for several years he was their minister. If there was any fault in the Rev. Mr. Smith it was probably an excess of stupidity, for in zeal he seems to have made himself in no way offensive. He is not heard of again for several years, when "partly by his own willingness, as thinking it too heavy a burden, and partly at the desire, and by the persuasion of others," — says the truthful Bradford, but with more

ernor Bradford to minister to the Salem people in their distress The scurrilous Morton of Merry Mount, who spared nobody, calls Fuller "Dr. Noddy," who, he says, "did a great cure for Captain Littleworth [Endicott]. He cured him of a disease called a wife."

of euphemism than he often used, — he resigned his place of minister.

Apparently it was not Mr. Smith's doctrines, but his acting up to them by separation, that made the London Council cautious. And caution was no doubt, wise, for Archbishop Laud was watchful, and Charles easily offended. There was no hesitation, however, when once the colonists were in their new home, in showing how they construed the Council's advice to propagate the gospel. The State was to rest on the Church, and the church they chose to establish was not the Church of England. "Touching your judgment of the outward form of God's worship," — Endicott wrote to Governor Bradford, a month before the arrival of the ministers, who were to be of his council, and with whom came the instructions from London — "it is, as far as I can yet gather, no other than is warranted by the evidence of truth, and the same which I have professed and maintained ever since the Lord in mercy revealed Himself unto me."[1] When the ministers arrived he and they acted in accordance with this avowal.



Signature of Endicott.

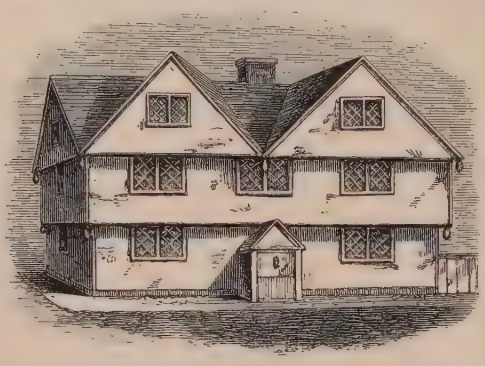
Two of them, Messrs. Skelton and Higginson, were not Separatists, but, for the distinction was carefully preserved, Non-Conformists. The third, Mr. Bright, was neither, but still a Conformist. Before six weeks had passed the religious character of the colony was determined; a day of fasting and prayer was held; Skelton was chosen pastor and Higginson teacher; the Plymouth Church was invited to send delegates to the installation, and Bradford and some others "gave them the right hand of fellowship, wishing all prosperity, and a blessed success to such good beginnings." A Confession of Faith and Covenant, according to the Holy Scriptures — one article of which was upon the Duty and Power of Magistrates in matters of Religion — was adopted; the book of Common Prayer was discarded; the rite of baptism and the Lord's Supper were administered without the ceremonies prescribed in the ritual; admission to the church was regulated in accordance with the judgment of the elders, and the life and conversation of men were subjects of discipline. They were neither Separatists nor Anabaptists, they said; it was not the Church of England, nor its ordinances that they abandoned, but its corruptions and disorders; and being now where they had their liberty.

Religion and politics in the new colony.

[1] Bradford's *History of Plymouth Plantation*, p. 265.

they neither could nor would submit to them because "they judged the imposition of those things to be sinful corruptions in the word of God."[1]

This was the understanding of Endicott and his friends as to the best and true method of "propagating the Gospel" in the new plantation. The London Council was wary and slow; the colonists were free, and the archbishop's arm was not long enough to reach across the Atlantic.



The Old Planter's House.[2]

To these proceedings the Rev. Mr. Bright gave no countenance. He quietly withdrew to Charlestown; but there also the mother church was without a shelter, and in the course of the year he returned to England. This silent protest seems to have satisfied his sense of duty. But there were others of a more aggressive, if not a more earnest spirit.

Dissent and protest of John and Samuel Browne.

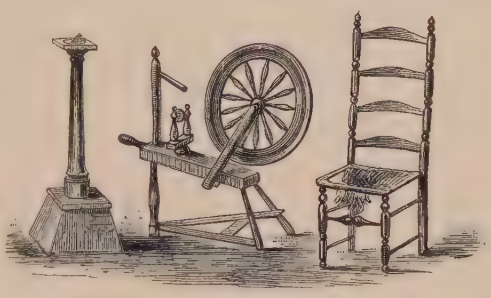
These were two brothers, John and Samuel Browne, the first a lawyer, the other a merchant, "men of estates and men of parts and port," says Morton. Both were appointed in London to be members of the council of thirteen to assist Endicott in the government of the colony, and both were commended to his consideration and confidence by Cradock. They belonged to and believed in the Church of England, and would have nothing to do with this "Reformed Congregation," created by the governor and the two clergymen. Nor was theirs merely a negative protest; calling about them the few whose views and feelings were in sympathy with their own, they held separate meetings and worshipped God according to the ritual. But the liberty which the Salem Nonconformists loved for themselves was not broad enough to include toleration for others. Endicott summoned the Brownes before him. Their course was a "disturbance" to the peace of the colony, and they were put upon their defence.

[1] Morton's *Memorial*, where the fullest account is given of the incidents attending the formation of the first church in Salem.

[2] The old Planter's House was originally built at Cape Ann by the Dorchester people. One Richard Brackenbury testifies in 1680 that the London Company having bought out the Dorchester Company, sent a party to Cape Ann to pull down the house and remove it to Salem for Endicott's use. It was accordingly removed to Salem. In 1792 it was altered, but the above cut shows it as originally built.

Their defence was an accusation. The ministers, they said, had departed from the order of the Church of England; they could hardly have failed to remind them that in the formation of the Company and in the procuring of the charter from the king, there was no open assertion — whatever secret purpose there may have been — that there was to be such departure; much less that those should be proscribed who still held to the rites and ordained form of worship of the Established Church. The logic of the situation was on their side. Those who for conscience' sake had suffered from intolerance, should have too much conscience to be intolerant of others. Did freedom to worship God mean that those who fled from a persecuting church should straightway form themselves into a church that persecuted?

The ministers answered as best they could. They met rather than made accusations, and denied that they were Separatists or Anabaptists; they were Non-conformists only because the prayer-book and the ceremonies were of man and not of God, and covered sinful corruption in the Church. They had suffered much and had fled from persecution; and it was plain that thereafter they and the Church could not dwell together. That the liberty they had contended for and gained was a liberty cherished for themselves and not for others was clear enough. That evidently was their limitation; the gain was one too precious to be imperilled by being shared. They only remembered that they had escaped from a persecuting church, and for its visible signs among them they had no toleration, though those signs were in innocent hands. The practical dealing with the question they left to Endicott, who was stronger than logic. He told the Brownes "that New England was no place for such as they,"[1] and sent them back to England with the returning fleet.



Endicott's Sun Dial and other Colonial Relics.

The Brownes sent back to England.

The first six weeks had determined the policy and the history of the Massachusetts Bay Colony. "There are lately arrived here," wrote the Company to the ministers in October, "being sent from the governor, Mr. Endicott, as men factious and evil conditioned, John and Samuel Browne, being brothers; who, since their arrival have raised rumors, (as we hear) of divers scandalous and intemperate speeches

[1] Morton's *Memorial*.

passed from one or both of you in your public sermons or prayers in New England as also of some innovations attempted by you." Exhorting them, then, to clear themselves, if innocent, of these charges, or to repent if otherwise, as the Council must "disallow any such passages," they add "we are tender of the least aspersion, which either directly or obliquely, may be cast upon the state here."[1] And in a letter to the governor they are still more cautious, but explicit. "Yet for that we do consider," they write, "that you are in a government newly founded, and want that assistance which the weight of such a business doth require, we may have leave to think that it is possible some undigested counsels have too suddenly been put in execution, which may have ill construction with the State here, and make us obnoxious to the adversary. Let it therefore seem good unto you to be very sparing in introducing any laws or commands which may render yourself or us distasteful to the State here to which (as we ought) we must and will have an obsequious eye."[2] It was clearly to the suddenness and rashness of the thing, and the influence it might have upon the Company's fortunes, rather than to the thing itself, that the Council in London objected. The letters were signed by men, — Winthrop and others, — who were later the leading men in Massachusetts. It was not the last time they and the impetuous Endicott disagreed. With him, if anything was to be done it was well to do it quickly.

Of the Brownes we hear little more. Their case was referred to a committee, — and slept there. "Though they breathed out threatenings," says Morton, "both against the Governor and the ministers there, yet the Lord so disposed of all that there was no further inconvenience followed upon it." They had played their part in fixing the character of the Massachusetts Bay Colony. There was no remedy for the proceedings of Endicott and the ministers.

There could have been no backward step, even had there been the disposition; but there was none. Cautious as the Company were not to offend the state, they had a definite aim and purpose, and the expulsion of the Brownes was directly in the line of it. They meant that the control of the colony should be transferred from England to America; that it should be governed, not by a council in London, under the watchful and jealous eyes of the church and the court, but by its own members, within its own house. In the same month that Endicott and the ministers were gathering the people together under a new confession of faith and covenant, into a visible Reformed Con-

[1] The Company's Letter to the Ministers. Young's *Chronicles of Massachusetts*, p. 287 *et seq.*

[2] The Company's letter to Gov. Endicott, in Young, pp. 290, 291.

gregation, Mr. Cradock submitted to the London Council a proposition for this transfer of government. It would be, it was said, for the advantage of the colony, and an inducement to persons of worth and position to transport themselves and their families thither.[1] When first proposed in July, the members were asked to consider the matter privately, — "to carry this business secretly, that the same be not divulged," — lest the design should be interfered with. It was a serious question whether, under the patent, any such removal of the control of the Company would be legal; but there was no question at all that a precarious asylum only was opened to those who aimed to escape the growing despotism at home, unless that asylum could be relieved in some degree from the fear of interference.

The government transferred to the colony.

Seal of Massachusetts Bay Company.

The subject was carefully considered; eminent lawyers were consulted upon the legality of such a step, who pronounced in its favor; and in the course of a few weeks it was decided by general consent that the change be made. A partial control in regard to trade was to remain with the Council in London, but the exclusive government of persons was to go with those who should be in authority in the colony itself.

That a company should thus voluntarily strip itself of power has sometimes been considered as difficult of explanation; but there is nothing remarkable about it if the fact was that they only possessed themselves of that power to make precisely this disposition of it. The men engaged in this enterprise were men who had a common sympathy in their way of thinking upon politics and religion, and some of them also certain personal relations. It was natural, in the circumstances of the times, that they should be drawn together by a common purpose, to secure somewhere an asylum for those who could no longer submit to the oppression to which they were subjected both in church and state, which was rapidly growing intolerable. To obtain a patent for lands in America on any such plea would, of course, have been impossible; but to procure such a grant from the king on the usual plea, of planting colonies and opening new sources of trade, was neither a suspicious nor a difficult thing to do. Within five months, however, of the time of securing the patent, the real object seems to make itself manifest. The proposition is presented to the

[1] See Records of the Governor and Company of the Massachusetts Bay, in Young's *Chronicles*.

Council to put the essential government of the colony in the hands of the colonists, but with the exhortation to its members to keep the matter quiet. When the action of Endicott and the ministers in regard to the Brownes was known in London, those zealous persons were rebuked, not for the formation of a reformed church, nor for the expulsion of those who were obnoxious to the new establishment, but for want of prudence lest the state should be alarmed and offended.

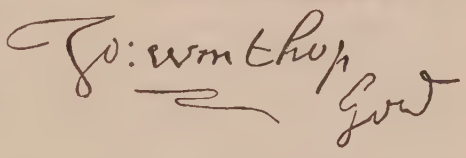
Meanwhile the plans of the Council were pushed to a conclusion, and in October the necessary change was made in the board of officers which invested the government of the colony in its resident members. That the precedent thus established was in after years followed even with the royal sanction, and without raising the doubts which had troubled the Council of Massachusetts Bay, is no evidence that their apprehensions then of being interfered with were not well founded. Happily they were permitted to carry out their plan without molestation, and they planted the seed of a vigorous republic instead of a feeble and dependent commercial colony.

John Winthrop made governor.

A reorganization of the court was required by the change now resolved upon, and accordingly a new governor, and some new councillors were elected. This governor was John Winthrop. It is noteworthy that two days after Cradock had made his proposition to the Council in August, a meeting of twelve gentlemen was held at Cambridge, all of whom pledged themselves to the prosecution of this work of a plantation in New England, and to go thither with their families, within six months, provided that before another month had passed, "the whole government, together with the patent for the said plantation, be first, by an order of court, legally transferred and established to remain with us and others which shall inhabit upon the said plantation." Six of the men who signed this agreement already belonged to the Council, and were re-chosen upon the new board; and as the pledge at Cambridge and the proposition at London were made within two days of each other, there was, without doubt, a common understanding in Conference and Council. An accession was gained of material strength, for some of the new men were men of wealth and position; the moral gain was still greater, for all of them were of that class whose discontent with the condition of affairs in England was so great that they preferred exile to submission.

John Winthrop, now in his forty-third year, was a man of good social position, by profession a lawyer, as his father and grandfather had been before him, with a yearly income of £700, which in the money value of our time would be about $18,000. It was a hard thing, no doubt, for a man of his gentle culture to dispose of his

estate, to sacrifice all the associations clinging to an English home of several generations, and to accept in exchange the rough hardships of pioneer life in the wilderness. At a farewell dinner which his friends gave him on the eve of his departure, he essayed to speak, but a sudden access of tenderness broke down his self-control, and tears were the last tribute he paid to his country. Not that the fibre of his character lacked firmness, but underneath a stern devotion to his sense of duty was the tenderness of a woman. In his last letter to his wife he reminded her of every recurring Monday and Friday, for at a fixed hour on those days they had engaged to commune with heaven, and with each other in spirit, in mutual prayer.



The winter of 1629–30 was spent in active preparation. On the 30th of March, four ships of a fleet of eleven were at Yarmouth waiting for a wind. The admiral ship of the fleet was the *Arbella*,[1] on board which was Winthrop. Here he and some of his associates drew up a farewell address, which they called "The Humble Request of His Majesty's Loyal Subjects, the Governor and the Company late gone to New England; to the Rest of the Brethren in and of the Church of England." "We beseech you," said the address, "by the mercies of the Lord Jesus, to consider us as your brethren, standing in very great need of your help [that is, their prayers and blessings], and earnestly imploring it." They esteemed it, they said, "our honor to call the Church of England, from whence we rise, our dear mother; and can-

Winthrop's farewell address.

[1] The ship's name was the *Eagle*, but was changed to *Arbella*, in compliment to Lady Arbella Johnson, a daughter of the Earl of Lincoln, and the wife of Isaac Johnson, one of the Council. Both he and his wife were on board the vessel. The Lady Arbella died a few weeks after their arrival at Salem, and her husband soon after followed her. Mather, in the *Magnalia*, says: —

" . . . . . He try'd
To live without her, lik'd it not, and dy'd."

The lines have since been a favorite epitaph in New England burial-grounds, altered to suit circumstances, in the case of bereaved husbands or wives, where one has not long survived the death of the other.

not part from our native country, where she specially resideth, without much sadness of heart and many tears in our eyes, ever acknowledging that such hope and part as we have obtained in the common salvation, we have received in her bosom and sucked it from her breasts. We leave it not therefore as loathing that milk wherewith we were nourished there, but blessing God for the parentage and education as members of the same body, shall always rejoice in her good, and unfeignedly grieve for any sorrow that shall ever betide her, and while we have breath sincerely desire and endeavour the continuance and abundance of her welfare, with the enlargement of her bounds in the kingdom of Christ Jesus." They entreated that they should not be forgotten in the prayers of ministers and of brethren, even of those who through want of intelligence of their course could not so well conceive of their way as they could desire. And they deprecated any want of charity toward them from any false report of their intentions, or from the disaffection or indiscretion of some who were of them, or rather among them ;[1] — an allusion, perhaps, to the gathering of the Church, the year before, at Salem, and the summary proceedings of Endicott in the case of the Brownes.

No doubt they were sincere in these protestations of their love to the mother church, of their tender memory of her as she once was, of their devotion to her as they thought she ought to be ; but they were not quite frank, if in the allusion to "disaffection or indiscretion of some of us, or rather among us," they referred to the church at Salem, whose example they were about to follow in complete unconformity to the Episcopal ceremonial.

Higginson's farewell to England.

Equally sincere was Higginson when, hardly a year before, as the shores of England grew dim and shadowy upon the horizon, he called his children and other passengers to the stern of the ship to take their last look of the land of their birth, and exclaimed: "We will not say as the Separatists were wont to say at their leaving of England, 'Farewell, Babylon! Farewell, Rome!' but we will say, Farewell, dear England! Farewell the Church of God in England, and all Christian friends there! We do not go to New England as Separatists from the Church of England; though we cannot but separate from the corruptions in it, but we go to practise the positive part of church reformation and propagate the gospel in America." [2] Yet hardly had they a roof over their heads in Salem ere it was made a penal offence to read the Episcopal service in public. Every league of the Atlantic gave vigor and courage

[1] Mather's *Magnalia*, Young's *Chronicles of Massachusetts*, where "The Request," is given in full.

[2] Mather's *Magnalia*, vol. i., p. 362.

to his spiritual mind as to his material body. He soon cast off the habits, the indulgences, and the garments of an invalid, and with equal readiness dropped his timid non-conformity and his weak protestations, and put on a frank and manly separatism. "A sip of New England's air," he said, "is better than a whole draught of Old England's ale." The new atmosphere was as good for him in church matters as in everything else.

Nor was it otherwise with Winthrop and his people. Within one or two years' time, writes Mather, there were seven churches in the neighborhood of Boston, all of them "golden candlesticks;" all of them mindful of what "the spirit in the Scripture said unto them;" thoroughly weaned from, if not loathing the "breasts" of that "dear mother," the English Church; caring little now for that nice distinction between the Church invisible and pure, and the Church visible and corrupt.

The *Arbella* arrived at Salem on the 12th of June, 1630. The condition of things was not encouraging. During the winter just passed eighty people had died, which must have been nearly a fourth of the whole number. Their provisions were nearly exhausted, and but for this reinforcement, still greater suffering would inevitably have followed. It seemed impossible for any of the early colonies to escape these initiative disasters, notwithstanding the precautions which experience taught them. No better fortune was to attend these new-comers. In the course of the summer seventeen ships arrived — among them the faithful *Mayflower* — bringing altogether about a thousand persons. Some of them had made long passages, and the scurvy broke out among the passengers. Much sickness prevailed in all the settlements during the following year, due more probably to want of proper shelter than any other cause.

Arrival of the colonists under Winthrop. June 12, 1630, O. S.

These settlements were to be made at different places, but Charlestown was a sort of starting-point for most of them, that being the one plantation belonging to the company inside of the Bay. This beginning was made there a year or two before by three brothers named Sprague, who went from Salem. One of the immediate duties urged upon Endicott, after the Company obtained its charter, was the speedy occupation of some point within the bay between Nahant and Point Alderton. The patent which Captain Robert Gorges had received from the Plymouth Company had descended to his brother John, and he had sold to a Sir William Brereton and John Oldham — the acquaintance of the latter we have already made at Plymouth — all the country from Charles River to Nahant and twenty miles inland. The grant made by the Plymouth Company to the Massachusetts Company, and the royal patent to the

Settlement of Charlestown.

Massachusetts Bay Company, included all this region. Neither Brereton nor Oldham were disposed to yield their claims, and had failed to come to any agreement with the Council of the Massachusetts Bay Company, in regard to them. The question was a frequent subject at the meetings of the Council in London, and Cradock — who spoke of Oldham as a man obstinate and violent in his opinions — wrote to Endicott to send "forty or fifty persons to Massachusetts Bay to inhabit there . . . . with all speed . . . . whereby the better to strengthen our possession there against all or any that shall intrude upon us." This

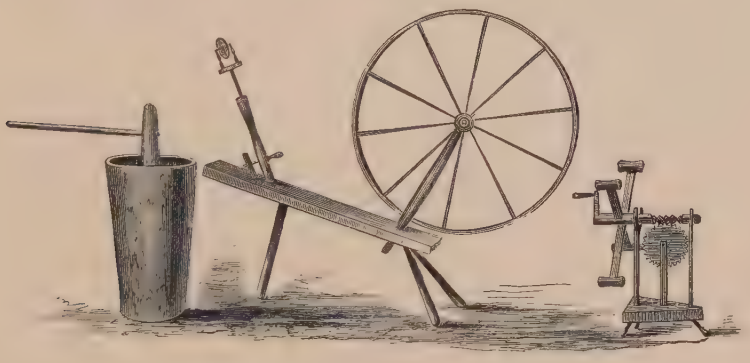
Colonial Furniture.

was aimed at the rival claimants, Brereton and Oldham, whose title the Company believed, would not hold good in law against their own, but was coupled with a caution not to molest such other Englishmen as had there planted, and who were willing to live under the government of the new Company.

Some of these we have spoken of in a previous chapter — Maverick, on Noddle's Island, now East Boston; Thompson, on Thomp-

son's Island; Blaxton, or Blackstone, living at this time near the foot of what is now Boston Common, but who removed some years later to the banks of the river since known by his name — the Blackstone — in the southwestern part of the State of Massachusetts. There was one man, also, Thomas Walford, a blacksmith, living at Charlestown, then called Mishawan, by the Indians, meaning Great Spring. Thither, where the Spragues had gone before, about a hundred of those who came with Higginson in 1629, went in obedience to the injunction of the company to strengthen their possession. There on the 17th of June stood John Winthrop, the first governor of Massachusetts, on the hill that on another 17th of June, nearly a century and a half later, was to be made more memorable.

Old settlers on Boston Bay.



Colonial Relics.

One of the first of the fleet to arrive was the *Mary & John*, whose captain, either misunderstanding his instructions, or over-anxious to return, landed his one hundred and forty passengers at Nantasket. Among these were John Wareham, and John Maverick, clergymen; Roger Ludlow, and Edward Rossiter, men of substance and position. As they could not remain where they had been landed, against their will, several of their number, with an old planter for interpreter, took a boat, and loading it with goods went in search of a place that should better answer their purpose. They touched first at Charlestown, and were there advised to proceed up the river. This they did till the water shoaled near the place where the United States Arsenal at Watertown now stands. A number of Indians in the neighborhood alarmed this little band, but when the old planter requested them not to approach the camp that night, they considerately abstained. On the next day they sent one of their number with a bass, as token of amity and welcome. The English sent a man with a biscuit, and in this economical fashion the intercourse began. The In-

dians "supplied us with bass, exchanging a bass for a bisket-cake, and were very friendly unto us." These fish no longer run in that river, but the Charles was then a natural fish-way as far up as the first rapids, near which the Indians had erected a basket-weir.

Here the explorers remained but a few days, for hearing that there was at Mattapan a neck of land with good pasturage, where they might fence in their cattle, the whole company were taken to that place. They gave to it the name of Dorchester, perhaps in honor of the Rev. John White, of Dorchester, England, who seems to have had a special interest in this company. They had held a day of fasting at Plymouth before sailing, and Mr. White was there with them, advising, sympathising, and preaching. They suffered many privations through the first winter at Dorchester, eking out their scanty stores with corn bought from the Indians, subsisting sometimes upon shell-fish, which even the women went out to dig upon the mud-flats off the neck.[1]

Settlement at Dorchester Neck.

The *Mary and John* arrived in May. From that time to October the ships were dropping in, one after another, through the summer, their passengers scattering about Boston Bay at various points. Some went up the Mystic; some up the Charles; beginnings of towns were made at Medford, Watertown, Cambridge, Roxbury, Lynn, and elsewhere, and the "golden candlesticks" were gradually lighted. Some moved within a few weeks from Charlestown to Shawmut Point, the first party being one of young people — a ship's boat-load — who landed about where the Charlestown bridge now crosses the river. Boston was actually begun in a frolic. Anne Pollard, a lively young girl, was the first person, amid some pleasant contention, to spring ashore — the first white woman who ever stepped upon that spot.[2]

Other towns begun.

Shawmut was first called Trimountain, not because of the three highest hills that overtopped the peninsula, but because of three eminences that then crowned one of them, Beacon Hill, where the State House now stands.

The water at Charlestown, in spite of its name — Mishawan, Great Spring — seems not to have been good, and Blackstone invited Winthrop and his people to pitch their tents by his fountain of sweet waters, which welled up somewhere at the bottom of the present Common.[3] The settlement was fairly begun before the first of September, and on the 7th of that month

Settlement at Boston.

[1] *Memoir of Robert Clap.* Young's *Chronicles*, chap. xviii. The place was called Dorchester Neck, till early in the present century, when it was annexed to Boston, and has ever since been called South Boston.

[2] *Old Landmarks of Boston*, by S. G. Drake.

[3] Ibid.

it was ordered at a court held at Charlestown, that the place should be called Boston, from the old home of many of these people in Lincolnshire, England.

Blackstone claimed to own the whole peninsula, as he was the first white man who had ever occupied it. But title of occupation was held not to be good against title by grant from the king of England. The Company, however, was not disposed to deal ungenerously with him, and before he pushed out again into the wilderness, annoyed by too crowded a population, they allowed him about one sixth of the territory, and afterward bought it of him for thirty pounds. Blackstone was an Episcopalian in faith, as well as a man "of a particular humor." He would not accept fellowship in the church of the Puritans, frankly saying: "I came from England because I did not like the lord-bishops; but I can't join with you, because I would not be under the lord-brethren." [1] Walford, the blacksmith, on the other side of the Charles, was swept away in a more summary fashion by the advancing wave of civilization. In less than a year, it is recorded that he was fined by the court, and banished with his wife beyond the limits of the patent.[2] He was too free in his talk.

Old Houses, Boston, England.

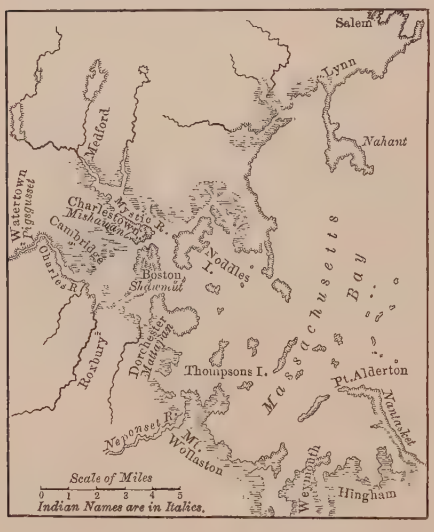
In February, 1631, was a notable arrival. Sickness and want were at that time universal; even the governor's stores were almost exhausted; others of smaller means were on the scantiest allowance, and a day of fasting and prayer — the fasting an easy duty — was proclaimed. But before the day arrived, the ship *Lion*, commanded by the good Captain William Peirce, who so often appeared at precisely the right moment both at Plymouth and Boston, was reported at Nantasket. She was deeply laden with provisions, and the day of humiliation and supplication was changed to one of thanksgiving and praise, for the people felt that, like the children of Israel, they were the chosen of the Lord, and that he had sent them succor. Possibly the fervor of the thanksgiving would have been moderated could they have foreseen what else the ship brought them in the person of Roger Williams, who, with his newly married wife, was a passenger on board the *Lion*.

Arrival of Roger Williams.

[1] Lyford's *Plain Dealing*. Mather's *Magnalia*.

[2] See Young's *Chronicles*, note, p. 374, for various authorities.

Winthrop boarded the ship in the lower harbor, anxious about the quality and quantity of her cargo, of so much importance to the hungry colonists. The interview between him and Williams was probably cordial, although the latter, while travelling the same road as the Puritans, had travelled faster and further; and the course he had taken in his short career — he was not much over thirty — in regard to the Established Church, was a rebuke to the cautious prudence shown by Winthrop and his associates before they left England. It is not likely, however, that it occurred to the governor, when they first met, that here in New England, where both were alike separated from the old order of things, any difference could divide them. Among the passengers of the *Lion*, the governor says, was Mr. Williams, "a godly minister."



But they were, nevertheless, speedily and completely divided in their public relations, if not in their private friendship. Williams was at first so well received in Boston, that he was unanimously elected, according to his own statement, the teacher of the church. But the call was refused because, he says, "I durst not officiate to an unseparated people, as upon examination and conference I found them to be."[1] That a controversy arose between him and the church at Boston, and that he refused to join it, because as Winthrop says, "they would not make a public declaration of their repentance for having communion with the churches of Eng-

[*Signature of Roger Williams*]

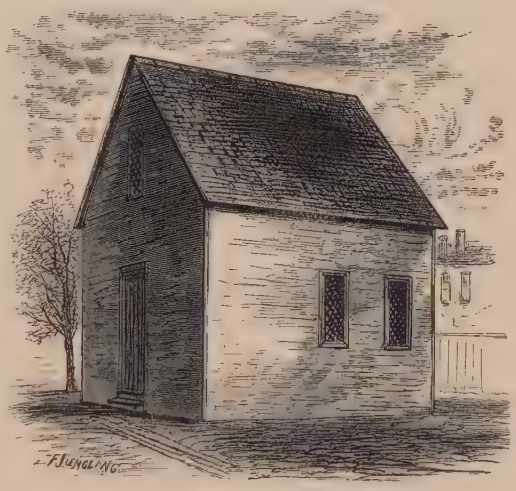
Controversy with the church of Boston.

[1] A MS. letter of Williams to the younger Cotton, in possession of the Massachusetts Historical Society, and quoted by Palfrey, vol. i., p. 406, note, is the authority for this statement. The assertion of the writer that he was elected teacher of the Boston church is a sufficient and clear explanation of how the position of that church — hitherto unexplained — came to be a subject of controversy between it and Williams. As Dr. Palfrey says, it is hard to suppose that Williams's memory had failed him when he wrote the letter, and extraordinary that the fact is not mentioned in any record of the time. But as the fact of the controversy is given without any clue as to how it arose, and as Williams's statement supplies a rational origin for that controversy, the positive evidence of his correctness is greater than the negative evidence of his being mistaken.

land," [1] is noticed by contemporary writers. But this was not the only offence of the recusant minister. He declared that the civil magistrate had no right to punish a breach of the Sabbath, or any offence that was a breach of the first four commandments of the decalogue. The difficulty was insuperable. The church in Boston was clearly no place for a man avowing such doctrines, whether as teacher or member. In a few weeks he removed to Salem.

Whether it was the church in Boston that refused to accept Mr. Williams, or Mr. Williams who refused to accept the church, the State now stepped in to bring the young clergyman into due subjection. The Salem church called him as its teacher, Mr. Higginson having died about six months before. When Winthrop heard of this, the subject was brought up in a court held at Boston, and Endicott was written to, that "they marvelled they [at Salem] would choose him without advising with the council," and requesting that the church should proceed no further till there had been some conference.[2] The church paid no heed to this admonition, and Williams was settled as the minister. It was only for a few months, however; the council gave no peace to the church till the offender was driven out from among them to find a refuge at Plymouth, where, as the assistant of the Rev. Mr. Smith, he remained for the next two years.

Williams settled at Salem.



First Church in Salem.

Removal to Plymouth.

He was now where the council of Massachusetts Bay could not reach him, and among a people to many of whom his doctrines and ministrations were acceptable. Independent as he was as a thinker, and fearless in avowing his convictions when occasion called for it, he does not seem to have entered upon his career in New England by thrusting forward either them or himself offensively. The worst doctrine he was accused of promulgating while at Plymouth was that the country on which the English had intruded belonged to those they found there, and, that the pretended title of James I. was mere usur-

[1] Savage's *Winthrop*, vol. i., p. 53.

[2] Savage's *Winthrop*.

pation. Some novelties of doctrine seem, at last, to have shocked the good elder Brewster, but Bradford speaks of him in terms of high commendation. But, for a time, his ministrations were entirely without offence. Winthrop and Mr. Wilson, the Boston minister, were at Plymouth in the course of the next year — walking thither from Weymouth — partook of the sacrament on the Lord's day with Mr. Williams, and afterward discussed some question propounded by him, according to the custom of that church ; — an amicable and godly discussion, apparently, Mr. Williams refraining from using the opportunity to advance any of his heretical views, either civil or religious. For a while, evidently, he ceased to be a troubler in Israel.

Enforcement of law.

Meanwhile no time was lost in bringing the settlers in their several communities under the regulation of both civil and ecclesiastical polity. Meetings of the court were frequent, and stringent laws were passed and applied with rigor. Thus, one man was fined ten pounds, in September, for selling a gun to an Indian, and it was decreed that not even corn should be sold to the natives without leave. Sir Richard Saltonstall, an assistant, and a man of mark, was fined for whipping two persons when no other assistant was present, as the law prescribed in such cases. An irreverent sportsman was whipped for fowling on Sunday ; a hungry one for stealing a loaf of bread. The first quack in the colony was fined five pounds for pretending to cure the scurvy with a worthless water, for which he charged an exorbitant price, and he was warned against any such practice in future.[1] This austere virtue is now lost, even in Massachusetts. Malicious reflections upon the government and the church at Salem cost an offender his ears. The man who got drunk was held to be disorderly and fined for a breach of the peace. Adultery was punished with death. There was no lack of watchfulness over the morals and the manners, as well as the safety of the colonists. Even the ex-governor, Endicott, was fined forty shillings in a case of assault and battery on one goodman Dexter. In a letter to Winthrop he acknowledged that he was wrong in such violence, as unbecoming in a justice of the peace. But in reply to Dexter's threat that, if he could not get justice he would "try it out at blows," Endicott said, that if that were lawful and "he, Dexter, were a fit man for me to deal with, you should not hear me complain ;" then adding piously and penitently, though the natural Adam was evidently very strong within him, "I hope the Lord hath brought me off from that course."

But more important than all other enactments was one passed at the first General Court for elections in the spring of 1631, by which it was declared that no man should be admitted to the body politic

[1] Mass. Col. Rec., cited in Palfrey's *History of New England*, vol. i., pp. 321 *et seq.*

who was not a member of some church within its limits. Nothing could so clearly show the character of the people. The test of citizenship was piety; and the test of piety was membership in the Reformed Church. No surer way could have been devised of excluding all but Puritans, and Puritans of a certain way of thinking, from any share in the government of the colony. But these people had fled from ecclesiastical tyranny at home, and they believed that their only safety lay in a close ecclesiastical corporation of their own, a body corporate in which the adversary could gain no foothold either in the church or in the state. Narrow and illiberal as the policy is, when tried by the standard of later times, it was meant to be a peaceful solution of the problem of that age, the working out of which soon cost England a revolution and the king his head.

Condition of citizenship.

These men had come into the wilderness to build up a theocracy, and made no pretensions of securing liberty for anybody but themselves. They were quite as intolerant of opinions that were not their own as the most inexorable persecutor that ever "peppered" a Puritan. The question is even not yet quite settled in all minds whether intolerance is more lovely and safe in the hands of men who only mean to use it to the glory of God, than in the hands of men who plainly persecute the righteous for unrighteous ends. The line where disinterested devotion fades into worldly motives and the indulgence of the most selfish passions, is so exceedingly fine and so easily passed, that they must needs be much more than common men who can be trusted with intolerance only as a divine attribute.

CHAPTER XXI.

NEW ENGLAND COLONIES.

Laws, Ecclesiastical and Political. — John Eliot's Work among the Indians. — John Cotton arrives in Boston. — The Red Cross in the King's Banner. — Persecution and Banishment of Roger Williams. — The first Settlement of Rhode Island. — Settlers from Plymouth on the Connecticut River. — John Winthrop, Jr., first Governor of Connecticut. — Hooker's Emigration to Hartford. — Anne Hutchinson and her Doctrines. — Murder of John Oldham. — Beginning of the Pequod War.

The accounts that went home for the first year or two from Massachusetts Bay were discouraging, and for a while more returned to England than joined the colony. Yet the progress was steady in spite of all discouragements and hardships; the settlements grew into towns; the towns grew into a consolidated commonwealth. Local affairs soon came to be entrusted to a few select men from a community, though any freeman who chose could assist at their deliberations. The system — which for convenience' sake, as numbers increased, took the place of a meeting of all the freemen, when any question arose, such as the making of roads, or the division of lands — begun in one place soon extended to others, till in the course of four or five years town-governments were recognized as the established order. The next step was natural and easy; representatives were sent to the General Court, first to consult with the assistants, and to regulate taxation; next to enact laws, and to take part in the general management of the colony. Step by step the colony grew into a commonwealth — a government of the people.

Gradual progress of the colony.

There was no interference with them from the home government. Men of some influence who had been in the country and left it, voluntarily or involuntarily, from various motives, sometimes good and sometimes bad, united to break down the colony. They were so far listened to that the king and the Privy Council looked into the matter, but found nothing which was considered worthy of reprehension. It was considered, apparently, that there was nothing dangerous in Puritanism when so far away; and it is not at all unlikely that Charles felt a generous interest in the first colony established under a patent signed by his

Ineffectual attempt in England to injure the colony.

own hand, and in a country to which he had given a name. There was controversy between them and Sir Ferdinando Gorges and others about patents; the Brownes did not readily forget the first cause of complaint they had against Endicott, and the church at Salem. Morton remembered the prostrate May-pole at Merry Mount, and the stocks in Boston, a mysterious Sir Christopher Gardiner — who travelled about the country among the Indians, having with him a pretty young woman, confessedly not his wife, and who was suspected of being a Catholic, with sinister designs on the Western Hemisphere — railed at the tyranny of Winthrop, who had dismissed him without ceremony from Massachusetts; but all these united, with any others who had, or thought they had grievances, availed nothing in England to provoke interference. The colony was happily left to its own devices.

Influence of the clergy.

There the most potent influence was the clergy. Though ministers were debarred from holding civil offices, they nevertheless, in large measure through the church controlled the State. The franchise of citizenship could only belong to the church-member; but church-membership was under the control of the ministers. This ecclesiastical government suited the Puritans of Massachusetts and was of their own creation; but the influence of the bishops in England, though exercised in a different way, was never more potent than that of the minister of the parish in New England, who continued for a century and a half to be looked up to by his parishioners with almost as much reverence as is rendered to the Pope, long after the rule of the bishops had ceased to exist.

The "Apostle" Eliot.

Not all of them, however, cared for political influence, or were most devoted even to theological questions. Chief among those who had other aims was the Rev. John Eliot of Roxbury, who was made the pastor of its first church, in 1632. His life was largely devoted to converting the Indians to Christianity, and to that end he studied their language with great assiduity.[1] Some years later, when he had mastered their difficult tongue, he preached his first sermon to a small company of Indians, in a wigwam at Nonantum near Watertown. The presence of Waban, an Indian chief, suggested the text, which was from Ezekiel xxxvii. 9, 10: "Then said he unto them, Prophesy unto the wind;" — Waban, the chief's name, meaning wind. The sermon was effectual, and Waban became a Christian. A sect grew up, among whom he was a man

The Praying Indians.

[1] Elliot's *Indian Bible* — a few copies of which are still in existence and sell at almost fabulous sums, though in a now unknown tongue — was published in 1663. *The Psalms in Metre*, the first book published in America — 1640 — was composed partly by him and partly by his colleague, Weld, and by Richard Mather.

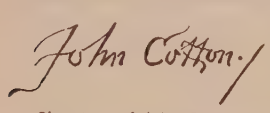
of influence, called the "Praying Indians," and who became so obnoxious to the unconverted savage that, at a later period in time of war, it was necessary to place them upon an island in the harbor, for protection, although their own town, Natick — "the place of hills" — was well fortified.[1]

But Eliot's heroic work was beset with monstrous difficulties. The Indian's ethical condition was derived from the exigencies of the wilderness, and seldom rose above them into a nobler behavior. This spiritual condition was limited to a vague reference to an overruling Manito, a decided belief in *Hobomock*, the Evil Spirit, and an unfaltering trust in the medicine-man. Into this structure of natural theology he soon learned to infuse a love of rum so strong that it confused his perception of the white man's religion, as it well might do. When the Bible and the puncheon came over to him in the same ship, the remark of one of their chiefs was not irrelevant: "Let me see that your religion makes you better than us and then we may try it." This keen appreciation of the difference between the Englishman's preaching and his practice; the love of fighting which can hardly be assuaged in the breast of an Indian; the thirst for the new liquors; the reluctance to form settled towns and to labor, were formidable obstacles in Eliot's way; while the lukewarmness of the colonists, who thought the converts were poor for Christians and spoiled for Indians, constantly dogged his manly and courageous steps as he went to and fro with incessant ministering of religious truths and inculcation of the arts of civilization to the people whose darkness he so commiserated.

Difficulties in Eliot's way.

There were other clergymen not less identified, though in a different way, with the infancy of the Commonwealth. In 1633 large additions were made to the colony, and among them came John Cotton, Thomas Hooker, and Samuel Stone. Hooker and Stone went to Newtown as pastor and teacher; Cotton remained in Boston as teacher over the church of which Wilson was pastor. The Rev. William Phillips of Watertown had already labored to mould the churches into that form of Congregationalism which afterwards prevailed, but the work was completed by Cotton. He had, it is said, "such an insinuating and melting way in his preaching, that he would usually carry his very adversary captive after the triumphant chariot of his rhetoric;" and such was

Arrival of Cotton, Hooker, and Stone.



Signature of John Cotton.

[1] Some of the converts were made magistrates and constables in the towns of Praying Indians. Here is a warrant addressed to a constable: "1. I, Hidondi. 2. You, Peter Waterman. 3. Jeremy Wicket. 4. Quick you take him. 5. Fast you hold him. 6. Straight you bring him. 7. Before me, Hidondi." *The New England History*, by Charles W. Elliot, vol. i., p. 326.

his authority "that whatever he delivered in the pulpit was soon put into an order of court, if of a civil, or set up as a practice in the church, if of an ecclesiastical concernment."[1] He was an able and a learned man, already distinguished before coming to New England, as rector of St. Botolph's church in Boston, Lincolnshire, where his non-conforming opinions were too boldly and ably expressed to escape the notice of the authorities. The hostile attention of Laud, the archbishop of Canterbury, was directed toward him, and he was suspected of an intention to emigrate so soon as an attempt should be made to deal with him for non-conformity. He and Hooker were closely watched. Cotton lay concealed in London for some time, and they only got out of the kingdom by the feint of embarking at the Isle of Wight and going on board in the Downs.

St. Botolph's Church, Boston, Eng.

Within a month of these arrivals, Roger Williams returned from Plymouth to Salem, and returned not to peace but to much tribulation. Some controversy had at length arisen between him and the church at Plymouth, his views savoring, Elder Brewster thought, of Anabaptism; he falling, Bradford said, "into strange opinions, and from opinions to practice." Some were desirous of retaining him, but he asked a dismission, and they let him go with a warning to the church at Salem, some of the Plymouth people, however, going with him.

Roger Williams returns to Salem.

But the church at Salem would heed no warning, and welcomed him back. For months he exercised his gift "by way of prophecy," — a desultory preacher without special charge. But he prophesied so much to the satisfaction of the Salem people, that when Mr. Skelton died the next summer, Williams was called to his place. He was, no doubt, watched narrowly, even before his settlement; but for a while his utterances were so void of offence, that the governor and assistants took up for consideration the treatise he had written while in

[1] Hubbard's *History*, pp. 175, 182.

Plymouth in relation to the Indian title to the country. The offender was notified to appear at the next General Court for censure.[1] He appeared accordingly, and made due submission, asserting that the treatise was written for the private satisfaction of the governor and others at Plymouth, and that there would have been an end of it had not Mr. Winthrop sent to him for a copy. The anxiety to find cause of complaint against him must have been great, when a private manuscript written outside of the jurisdiction of Massachusetts, and thus obtained, could be made the pretext of an accusation against the writer. Indeed the governor and council seem to have become a little ashamed of it, for they were gracious enough subsequently to pass the matter over, after consultation with Mr. Wilson and Mr. Cotton, and on consideration that the Indian essay was obscure in meaning, that Mr. Williams had disavowed any evil intent in writing it, and had taken the oath of allegiance.

He is called before the council.

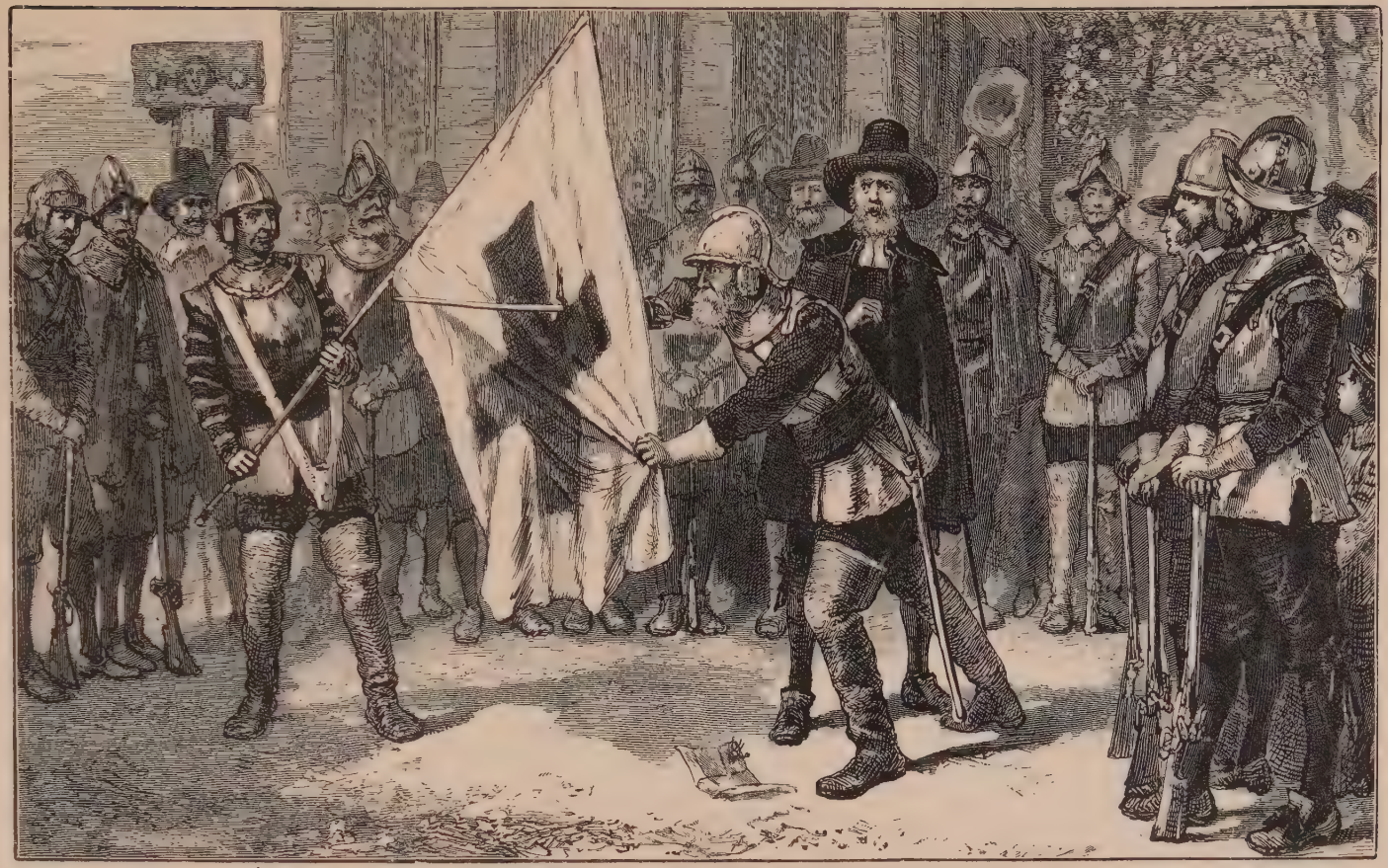
But offences were sure to come. It was impossible for Mr. Williams to keep quiet; equally impossible, for the Council to let him alone. As a sort of preliminary of what was to come the colony was presently in a buzz, for he had persuaded the women of Salem that modesty required they should go veiled in public. Here was heresy. Cotton hastened to Salem to refute it, and his "insinuating and melting way" brought down every veil in the parish between the Sunday services. It was an exhaustive discourse, if we may trust Hubbard's report of it, and proved to the women of Salem that the Scriptural reasons were not applicable in their case; for many were wives and not virgins; none were like Tamar; and none needed like Ruth, to hold up her veil before Boaz for a measure of barley. Not a woman's face was hidden on Sunday afternoon after this morning's discourse. It was a great triumph over Roger Williams, and so pleased was Mr. Cotton with his success, that he carried the subject into the "Boston Lecture." But here Endicott met him in fierce debate, and so hot did it grow that the governor interfered to put an end to it.[2]

The question of veils at Salem.

Williams had no more devoted follower than Endicott, whose zeal was of the kind that out-runs discretion. At home and abroad he was, for a time, ready to uphold his pastor at any cost, and would, no doubt, had not the governor stopped him, have maintained against Cotton, rather than admit that there was any defect in the doctrine

[1] Savage's *Winthrop*, vol. i., p. 122.

[2] Such sermons, however, were not uncommon. Eliot and Chauncy, President of Harvard College, preached long and learned discourses on Wigs. *Life of Williams*, Sparks's *Biography*, vol. xiv. All the magistrates in 1649, signed a solemn protest against men wearing long hair, and commended the subject to the attention of the ministers. Hutchinson's *History*.



ENDICOTT CUTTING THE CROSS FROM THE KING'S BANNER.

in regard to veils, that every woman in Boston was like Tamar and should hide her face. The Council of Massachusetts were far more tender of him than of the minister, though he did not always escape punishment.

His zeal, and the influence of his pastor's teaching were made manifest in an act of more moment than whether the women should go uncovered. The preaching of Williams was of the searching kind and the application of his principles of undefiled religion, knew no limit. There was in him no fear of principalities or powers; for the Church of England he had only abhorrence; for those who reverenced her, rebuke if not denunciation. He looked everywhere for the signs of anti-Christ, and at any relic of superstition he pointed an unswerving finger. In the red cross of St. George he saw only a remnant of Popery, not an ensign of victory. This fervid flame of pure spiritual doctrine caught up Endicott and he blazed into fury. When next the flag of England fluttered over him in the streets of Salem he seized its folds and cut out the cross in which his pastor saw an emblem of submission to Rome. Some of the soldiers refused to follow the mutilated colors; the grave offence demanded the attention of the General Court; he was rebuked for indiscretion, and dismissed for a time from his seat as an assistant at the Council. It was only because all were persuaded that the act was done out of tenderness of conscience and not out of an evil mind that he was visited with no heavier penalty[1]; and, besides, there were a good many people who sympathized with the act itself.

Endicott cuts out the Cross.

But Williams had not long been settled, against the expostulations if not the direct order of the Council, when the people of Salem asked that a tract of land at Marblehead be granted them. The court refused. So palpable and flagrant an act of injustice stirred the church to further resistance; the other churches where the magistrates were members, were written to and urged to admonish them for this gross intolerance toward Salem. There was no other way of appealing to public opinion, and public opinion was the only influence that could be brought to bear upon the magistrates. The appeal was useless; the clergy made no response, and of their position, no doubt the magistrates were quite assured beforehand. The protest led to fresh penalties; the Salem deputies were deprived of their seats in the court; Endicott, as chief and of the most importance, was imprisoned until a satisfactory apology was made for such a spirit of insubordination. It was a complete establishment of the civil authority. Williams asked his people to separate from these subservient churches.

Salem asks a grant of land and is refused.

An appeal to the other churches punished.

[1] Hubbard.

But his own church was already subdued, and the request was refused. Salem and Endicott submitted at last to a power inexorable and too strong for them, and the pastor was left helpless and at the mercy of the court.

And the court was without mercy, as Williams was without any spirit of compromise. He was summoned to Boston to answer for his dangerous heresies, and he appeared, well knowing that there was hardly a magistrate or a minister in the little commonwealth that had not prejudged him. The accusations against him convey an inadequate notion of how serious an offence his doctrines were among the Puritans. He was charged with maintaining that the magistrate should not punish a breach of the first four commandments, except where the result was a breach of the peace; that he should not tender an oath to an unregenerate man, and that no one should pray with such a person, though he be one's nearest relative; and that thanks should not be given either after meat or after the sacrament.[1] But out of these propositions he deduced the plain doctrine, that the magistrate had no right to meddle with any man's conscience or religious opinions, and that the state exceeded its just power when it assumed to have jurisdiction over any other relations of the citizen than those of person and property. He meant this, and magistrates and ministers understood that he meant it, and in a community where no man was a citizen except he was a church-member, and no man was a church-member except with the minister's permission, such doctrine was dangerous and intolerable.

The accusations against Williams.

But he was not to be moved. Cotton and Hooker went to Salem to labor with him, and he withstood them. The court had him up for trial — had him up, that is, for a public polemical debate. They failed to convict him of error, as he failed to convict them of injustice. He was sent back to Salem with permission to take time to repent, and a warning to prepare for sentence at the next meeting of the General Court, unless ready then to bring forth fruits meet for repentance.

His trial and sentence.

The fruits were not forthcoming. He was stiff-necked and would not bend, and sentence of banishment was pronounced upon him. He "hath broached and divulged" said the act, "divers new and dangerous opinions against the authority of magistrates; as also writ letters of defamation, both of the magistrates and churches here;" and therefore he was ordered to depart out of that jurisdiction within six weeks and not return without license from the court. To this sentence there was only one dissenting voice.[2]

[1] Savage's *Winthrop*. Hubbard. Mather's *Magnalia*.
[2] Savage's *Winthrop*.

There was more than one dissenting voice however, outside of the General Court, and especially in Salem. A staunch minority stood by the persecuted minister, and no doubt there was some clamor everywhere. Perhaps for this reason notice was given him that he might remain till spring. Williams accepted the clemency and went on preaching, but preached precisely as he had done before. He abated not one jot of his dangerous opinions; gave full measure of his doctrines of Christian democracy. When the church was closed against him by the timid or the prudent, he called together in his own house such as would listen to him, and quietly but firmly testified to the truth as it was in him.

The magistrates were exasperated and summoned him again before them. They had heard he intended to plant a colony on Narragansett Bay, "from whence," says Winthrop, "the infection would easily spread into these churches, the people being many of them much taken with the apprehension of his godliness." He refused to appear again before the court, but alleged ill health as a reason. It was, no doubt, a good and sufficient excuse, but he may, perhaps, have felt also that it was not worth while to be tried a second time for the same offence. At any rate the court was not satisfied, and Captain Underhill was sent at once to Salem in a shallop with orders to take him and put him on board a ship about to sail for England. When Underhill arrived he was gone; some kind friends had given him information of the proposed arrest, and he fled alone out into the night and the wilderness.

Roger Williams's House. Salem.

Attempted arrest of Williams.

Winthrop was not, this year, the governor of Massachusetts, and may have felt that release from official duty permitted the indulgence of a feeling of personal friendship and sympathy. In a letter written thirty-five years afterward, Williams says, "that ever honored governor, Mr. Winthrop, privately wrote to me to steer my course to the Narragansett Bay and Indians for many high and heavenly and public ends, encouraging me from the freeness of place from any English claims or patents." [1] To Narragansett Bay, accordingly, he steered

[1] Letter from Roger Williams to Major Mason, *Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, vol. i., Fourth Series. The letters of Williams to Winthrop during the years immediately succeeding his

his course, "though in winter snow which I feel yet," he adds, parenthetically, for it was in January.

But he was not without friends in the wilderness into which he threw himself. His essay on the rights of the Indian to the soil, — which had been construed into an attack upon the patent and upon the king, and made matter of accusation against him — was not merely an idle, abstract argument with him, but a living truth. His belief in their rights was wider and more earnest than the belief of those about him, though they were not disposed to be unjust to the natives. But to him they were a people to be tenderly used and gently led out of the darkness of Heathenism, and the intercourse he had had with them, while living in Plymouth, was infused with this feeling, and had led to the most kindly relations.

The flight of Williams.

Roger Williams building his House.

Massasoit, the old friend of the Pilgrims, was his friend also, and with him the wanderer at last found rest at Mount Hope.

The chief gave him land on the Seekonk River, and there in the

banishment (see *Rhode Island Hist. Soc.*, vol. i., Appendix, *Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, vol. ii., Third Series, and vol. vi., Fourth Series) show the existence of cordial and even affectionate relations between them.

early spring he began to build himself a house.[1] Here five persons from Salem joined him, but they all soon removed to the other side of the river by the advice of Governor Winslow, of Plymouth. He wrote to Williams that he and his party were within the bounds of the Plymouth grant, and it was best to avoid all possibility of dispute by moving a few miles farther west. The advice was wise and fortunate. Dropping down the Seekonk River in a canoe, and round into the broad harbor below, they landed at the foot of a hill whose seeming advantages attracted them. In following the advice of Winthrop and Winslow, Williams thought he was led by a divine guidance, and therefore, and — to use his own words — "for many other Providences of the most holy and only wise," he called the place Providence. Here, in June, 1636, the exile and his five companions planted the seed of another New England State.

Williams settles at Providence.

This, however, was not the first offshoot from the parent colonies that had taken root along the southern shores of New England. As early as 1631, Wahginnacut, a Sagamore from "the river Quonchtacut, which lies West of Naragancet," had visited Boston and offered the Governor inducements, in a promised tribute of corn and beaver-skins, to send some Englishmen to settle in his country, which he said was fruitful. The proposition was refused, as the chief, it was thought, only wanted English aid in a war in which he was then engaged with the Pequots; but the suggestion did not fall upon deaf ears. The Dutch from New Netherland had already penetrated the Connecticut valley, and had purchased lands of the Indians on the banks of the river. In 1633, the Commissary, Van Curler, had begun to build the Fort Good Hope, — now Hartford — on the tract thus bought, and the Dutch West India Company claimed the whole valley as theirs, by right of possession and purchase.

Settlements in the valley of the Connecticut.

Fort Good Hope built.

Friendly relations had been established between the Dutch and the Plymouth people, and these learned from the former something of the rich trade and fertile soil they had found on the Fresh — or Connecticut — River. It was welcome intelligence to the Pilgrims, whose trading-post on the Penobscot had already been robbed by the French, and who, probably, had little hope of much more profitable trade in that quarter. Overtures were made by Bradford and Winslow to Winthrop to anticipate the Dutch in their proposed occupation at Fort Good Hope. But the government at Boston "thought not fit to meddle with it," as the neighborhood of a large body of Indians and

[1] The spot is now known as "Manton's Cove," a short distance above a bridge in a bend of the river, directly eastward of Providence. Gammell's *Life of Roger Williams*, in Sparks's *American Biography*.

the shallowness of the river made it a poor place for a plantation.

The Pilgrims on the Connecticut.

The Plymouth people were not discouraged by this refusal, but in the autumn of 1633 sent William Holmes round by sea to the Connecticut, having on board his vessel the frame of a house already prepared for building. The Dutch threatened to fire upon them as they passed by Fort Good Hope, but Holmes showed his commission from the Governor of Plymouth, and insisted that he must obey orders, and going on, put up his house upon the site of the

Site of Fort Good Hope.

present town of Windsor, about six miles above the Dutch fort.[1] Governor Van Twiller the next year sent troops from New Amsterdam — who, however, were not employed — to oust the intruders upon the territory which, he claimed, not without reason, belonged to the West India Company. But the sturdy Pilgrims, under Holmes, held their own, and entered into successful trade with the Indians.

The Newtown people ask leave to remove to the Connecticut.

This firm footing on the Connecticut was made, when the next spring a petition was presented to the General Assembly of Massachusetts Bay from the people of Newtown, asking that they might be permitted "to look out either for enlargement or removal." The ministers Hooker and Stone were at the head of this movement, but, though the petition was at first granted, when the intention was avowed of going to the Connecticut, it met with warm opposition. In the autumn the subject again came up for discussion in the General Court, when it was urged, that so large an emigration would be a great injury to the colony; the emigrants themselves would be exposed to great dangers both from the Indians and

[1] Trumbull's *History of Connecticut.*

the Dutch; it was doubtful if the king would assent to a company settling upon lands to which they had no patent, and there was no good reason for removing so far, when there was ample room within the limits of the Company's patent which they might occupy. On the main question a majority of the deputies from the towns were in favor of granting permission to the petitioners to remove to the Connecticut; but a majority of the assistants voted against it.

Conflict of power in the General Court.

Thereupon arose an important conflict as to the rights of these two classes of representatives — whether the assistants who represented the magistracy, though smaller in number, should not outweigh by their vote the larger number of deputies who represented the people. Neither party was disposed to yield, and a day of fasting and prayer was appointed to get light upon the subject, aided by a sermon from Mr. John Cotton. The result was at least peace for the present, though the question as to the conflicting claim of assistants and representatives remained undetermined, and the Newtown people, before Mr. Cotton's sermon was preached, consented to accept an enlargement of their borders.

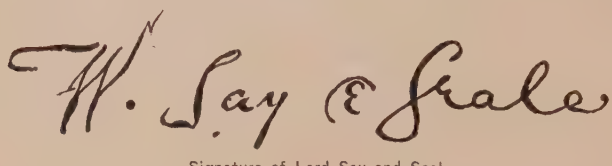
Emigration to the Connecticut.

The wish to remove to the rich lands of the Connecticut Valley was not confined to the church at Newtown. Others of Watertown, Dorchester, and Roxbury, were equally uneasy, and as no permission could be obtained to go beyond the limits of the Massachusetts patent, a good many resolved to go without. A few men from Watertown began the settlement of Wethersfield in the winter of 1635, and more of their townsmen followed them in the spring; others went from Dorchester and settled themselves about the Plymouth people at Windsor in the summer of that year. In November, a still larger party, gathered probably from various places, started for the new country. It was composed of whole families, men, women, and children, and they took with them their horses, cattle, and swine. It was a perilous journey through the woods at that season, and winter was upon them before it was over. The river was frozen by the middle of the month, and the vessels which were bringing their household goods and provisions were unable to get to them. Two of these were wrecked on the way. The emigrants were put to almost the extreme of suffering, and seventy of them, going down the river, in the hope of meeting with their own vessels, were happily rescued by another, and carried back to Massachusetts, miserable and repentant. Those who went to Windsor were complained of by the Plymouth people for intruding on their lands.

These irregular attempts at settlement, more or less successful, were followed by one which laid the foundation of a stable colony. In the

autumn of this year, John Winthrop, a son of Governor Winthrop of Massachusetts, came out from England, bringing with him a commission to be governor of Connecticut, under the patent of Lord Say and Seal, Lord Brook and others, which covered that region of country. He brought with him men, ordnance, and ammunition, and had orders to erect a fort at the mouth of the river. Hearing that the Dutch had despatched a vessel on the same errand, he immediately sent a small vessel from Boston with twenty men to take possession, and when the Dutchman arrived a battery of two cannon confronted him, which was enough to prevent his landing. When the Dutch purchased the country three years before, of the Indians, they had affixed to a tree

John Winthrop, the younger.



Signature of Lord Say and Seal.

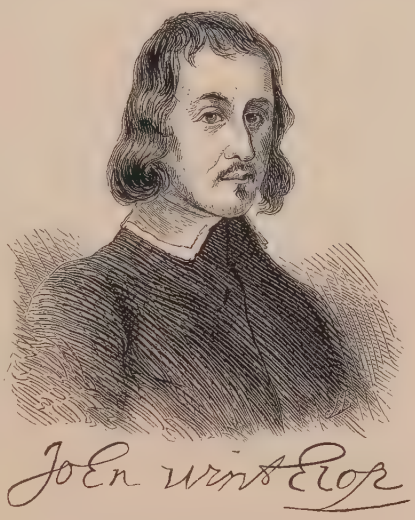
Tearing down the Dutch Arms.

at Kievit's Hook the arms of the State's General in token of possession. The Englishmen contemptuously tore down this shield, and carved a grinning face in its stead.[1] The place was named Saybrook, in honor of the Lords Say and Brook, the patentees, a strong fort was soon built, and the only evidence left in the valley of the presence of the Dutch was the feeble post of Fort Good Hope.

[1] Brodhead's *History of New York.*

Between the English settlers at Hartford, Wethersfield, and Windsor and the new governor, it was easy to come to an amicable arrangement. And others soon followed from Massachusetts. The Newtown people, notwithstanding "they had been carried captive after the triumphant chariot of Mr. Cotton's rhetoric," and had accepted the offer of more lands which the General Court had offered them; and notwithstanding the painful experience of some of those who had sought there new homes, still longed for the fresh fields and green meadows of the Connecticut. "Two such eminent stars, such as were Mr. Cotton and Mr. Hooker," says Hubbard, "both of the same magnitude, though of differing influence, could not well continue in one and the same orb." It is not impossible that there may have been some jealousy between two such eminent men in a small community, where there was no influence so potent as that of the clergyman, and where of two the most distinguished only one could be first. Whether Hooker had any such feeling or not, the chief reason he gave for desiring a removal was that it was already too crowded in Massachusetts, and that the policy of the Company in planting settlements so near each other was a mistake.

The Hooker emigration.

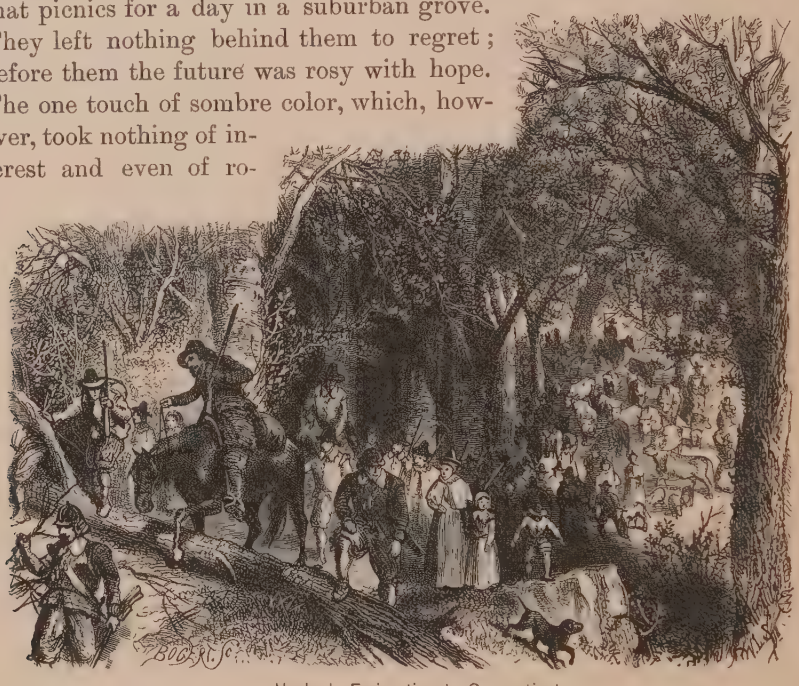


John Winthrop, the younger.

The accession of members to the colony during the year 1635, no doubt helped to strengthen this conviction, for there came, that year, about three thousand persons from England. Some must go farther into the interior, and the Newtown people resumed their determination. They disposed of their houses and lands to a body of newcomers, and prepared for removal.

In June, 1636, the whole church of Newtown, numbering about a hundred, with Hooker and Stone, the ministers, at their head, started on their journey. They were about ten days in the woods, travelling in that time something less than a hundred miles. They drove before them a hundred and sixty cattle; wagons carried the old and feeble; these and tents were a sufficient shelter at night. The forest was beautiful with the abundant flowers of June and with the tender foliage of the young summer; the woods were vocal with the music of birds,

in that month always in clearest and fullest song; the rains of spring had passed; the heats of the later season had not come; and so, without hardship, almost without fatigue, the emigrants traversed the wilderness, as happy, in their ten days' journey, as a modern church-party that picnics for a day in a suburban grove. They left nothing behind them to regret; before them the future was rosy with hope. The one touch of sombre color, which, however, took nothing of interest and even of romance from the scene, was the figure of Mrs. Hooker, who, feeble from illness, was carried in a litter.



Hooker's Emigration to Connecticut.

Hartford was the end of this pleasant journey; then so named in honor of the Rev. Mr. Stone, who was a native of Hartford in England. Wethersfield, and Windsor also, received their names this summer, as sufficient numbers followed in the path of the Newtown people, to make them worthy of special designation; and higher up the river, Pynchon, one of the earliest of the planters, and a member of the original Council in London, began a settlement, with a few others, which soon came to be called Springfield. At the end of the year there were about eight hundred people in the valley of the Connecticut, which, though governed at first by commissioners from Massachusetts, was soon an established autonomy.

Towns named in Connecticut.

But this swarming of the hive was by no means the most agitating experience of Massachusetts during this period. A theological dis-

pensation was visited upon it which shook its very soul, and it is not impossible that the interest raised by this was so absorbing that the authorities saw with indifference, or did not notice at all, that the people were leaving the colony with as little hesitation as if no permission had ever been asked, and refused of the General Court.

In 1634 there arrived a Mrs. Ann Hutchinson from Atford, near Boston, England. With her came her husband, a rather insignificant person, and her brother-in-law, the Rev. John Wheelwright. John Cotton, who came over the year before, was her favorite among all the ministers in England, and she seems to have followed him to this country, for she declared that no church in England suited her. She was a woman of superior intelligence, bright, witty, good at a fencing match of tongues, versed in Scripture and theological literature, never so happy as when descanting on her views. Her temper was resolute ; she ruled her weak husband, and had a taste for ruling ; to be an influential centre of opinion was her ambition, which she took no trouble to conceal. Moreover she was skilful in sickness, and knew how to treat the travails and troubles of her sex. She soon became highly popular, only Winthrop, Wilson, and a few others did not admire her. John Cotton, of course, was her adherent. So also was Sir Henry Vane, who was governor for one of the three years of his residence in the colony and during the continuance of this controversy ; a Puritan of the Puritans, and delighting in theological subtleties, he warmly supported Mrs. Hutchinson. The views which she maintained were of the kind called Antinomian ; that is, the Law was not a school-master to bring men to Christ, the Person of the Holy Ghost dwells in a justified person and becomes his justification ; no sanctification can help to testify to a man that he is justified, or of him, because it may be assumed. The clergy objected that as the Holy Ghost was the Third Person of the Trinity he could not be indwelling. But she declared that made no difficulty. They disliked the distinction which she and her brother-in-law strenuously maintained between a covenant of grace and a covenant of works, and she offended by rallying them for their austerity.

Arrival of Mrs. Hutchinson.

Mrs. Hutchinson's adherents.

Henry Vane.

It was her custom to hold lectures twice a week, to which the

women flocked, from eighty to one hundred attending to hear her repeat from memory the sermons she heard, and comment upon them with piquancy. She had Scripture for these novel gatherings of women, for Titus says that the aged women may teach the young ones. "Come along with me," says a writer of the period, "I 'll bring you to a woman that preaches better Gospell than any of your black-coats that have been at the Ninnyversity, a woman of an other kind of spirit, who hath had many revelations of things to come, and for my part I had rather hear such a one that speaks from the meere motion of the spirit, without any study at all, then any of your learned Scollers, although they may be fuller of Scripture."

Mrs. Hutchinson's lectures.

Only four or five members of the Boston Church held out against her; the country churches were mainly opposed to her teachings. The feeling began to grow bitter when Mrs. Hutchinson obtrusively left the meeting-house whenever Wilson rose to speak. Winthrop and Wilson succeeded with difficulty in preventing the election of Wheelwright to an associate place with the teacher and pastor. Their success was provoking and increased the alienations among old friends and fellow-workers. When people began to call each other hard names, to brand this one as under a covenant of works, and that one as superior, being under grace, the General Court took up the matter as becoming dangerous to the State. Wheelwright was pronounced guilty of sedition and contempt because he employed the occasion of a general Fast to preach a discourse in which he called persons living in a covenant of works Anti-Christs and stirred up the people against them. The sentence proved so unpopular, even Winthrop signing a petition against it, that the court went out of Boston and held its sittings at Newtown.

Her success in Boston.

Interference of the General Court.

In May, 1637, the confusion was at its height. At the General Court a quarrel arose upon the presentation of a petition from Boston. The Court would not allow it to be read till after the usual election of magistrates. Vane resisted, and refused with his supporters to take part; but Winthrop, who was deputy, persisted in voting, and the election resulted in restoring Winthrop and Dudley to power: Endicott was made a magistrate for life; but all the adherents of Mrs. Hutchinson were left out. The excitement in Newtown was intense, and people came into violent collision. "In the height of the fray, Wilson climbed a tree and made a speech, the meeting being held in the open air."[1] Winthrop was coldly received in Boston and subjected to studied insults.

A synod of ministers and magistrates which was held in August at Newtown, and condemned the opinions of Mrs. Hutchinson and Wheel-

[1] Hutchinson.

wright did not pacify dissension. The two parties were irreconcilable. Now the General Court began to deal with the principal offenders: some were disfranchised, Wheelwright was banished, and eventually went to the Piscataqua. Mrs. Hutchinson was brought to trial for not discontinuing her meetings at the order of the late synod. It is probable that the agitations of the years had affected her temper and somewhat impaired her judg-

Mrs. Hutchinson and Wheelwright brought to trial.

Trial of Mrs. Hutchinson.

ment. She was intemperate enough to claim to be inspired, and that it had been revealed to her that she would come to New England to be

persecuted, but that God would ruin the colony for her sake. She narrowly escaped procuring the verification of her own prediction, for her quarrel of opinion rent the State when it divided the churches. So intense was the feeling aroused against her, that it was believed the Almighty testified His disapprobation of her heresies by producing monstrous births among women who had accepted her teachings; and even she herself was suspected of having been the subject of such a dispensation. The Court banished her, but considerately left her to stay out the bitter winter at a private house. Powder and arms were carried out of Boston, and the principal disaffected persons, to the number of seventy-six, were summoned to surrender their arms, which they did. Mrs. Hutchinson then removed to Rhode Island, and afterward to New York, where, as has already been told in a previous chapter, she was killed some years after by the Indians.[1]

Her banishment.

One of the reasons which the General Court of Massachusetts had given for not acceding to the requests for permission to remove to the Connecticut Valley was the danger from the Indians. It was no doubt sincere, and it certainly was not without reason. The Indians were far more numerous in that part of the country than along the sea-coast, where the epidemic of years before had more than decimated them. They saw with jealousy and fear the whites intruding upon their territory. With the Dutch hitherto they had kept upon good terms, for the Dutch were traders only, and not settlers upon the Connecticut. But the English were evidently coming with another purpose than mere traffic, and the Indians were alarmed accordingly.

Aggressions were begun, continued, and grew more frequent. What the Indians did we know; what was done to them we do not know. Sometimes they robbed the whites, and sometimes they murdered them; plunder, no doubt, was often their object; quite as often, perhaps, revenge. When, in 1634, they went on board the schooner of a Captain Stone, somewhere near Fort Good Hope, and murdered all hands, it was probably because there was much they wanted to steal on board the vessel, just in from the West Indies. But when, two years later, Captain Oldham met the same fate at their hands, it is not in the least improbable that there may have been some provocation which led to the deed.

Indian hostilities.

John Oldham had been in New England from the first settlement of Plymouth. After his ignominious expulsion from that colony, we hear of his apparent restoration to favor among that people; of his attempts to found colonies of his own in Maine and Boston harbor, so far, at least, as to procure patents to that end; of his trading along the coast; of his disputing with the Council

Character of John Oldham.

[1] See p. 457.

of the Massachusetts Bay Company their title to the lands which they held under the hand and seal of the king. Restless, energetic, always engaged in some enterprise, he certainly was; and there is no evidence that there was anything more amiss in him than belongs almost inevitably to a man of violent temper, removed in a great degree from the restraints of civilization, leading a life of adventure, associating and trading with the Indians till he had acquired, perhaps, as such men are apt to do, something of the habits and almost the nature of an Indian.

In 1636 he was trading in a vessel of his own, along the Connecticut River. What encounter there may have been between him and the Indians, that led to the final catastrophe, is not known — whether his vessel was boarded by them merely for plunder, or whether some aggression on his part provoked retaliation. But off Block Island, a Massachusetts fisherman, John Gallop, descried the vessel drifting

Recapture of Oldham's Vessel.

helplessly out to sea, crowded with Indians who could handle neither helm nor sail. Gallop, who had only one man and two boys with him, without hesitation attacked the vessel and then boarded her, assaulting the Indians with such weapons as he had at hand. It must have been a gallant naval battle, for the brave fisherman and his brave

companions drove the Indians before them, some diving into the hold for safety, some throwing themselves into the sea, till none were left upon the vessel but the dying and the dead. Upon the deck lay the body of Oldham, still bleeding from recent wounds where he had fallen with his crew in defence of his vessel.

Beginning of the first Indian War.

This death of Oldham was the signal for war. The government of Massachusetts Bay, the people who had already come, and the people who were coming into the Connecticut valley, saw that peace with the Pequots was no longer to be purchased by attempts at conciliation. Immediate measures were taken to punish this outrage; the Indians put themselves both on the defensive and the offensive, and the colonies of New England were for the first time engaged in serious war.

TABLE OF DATES.

499. Chinese claim to American discovery.
860. Iceland discovered by Naddod, the Northman.
985. America seen by Bjarni Herjulfson.
1000. Leif, son of Eric the Red, discovers America.
1002. Thorvald the Northman; voyage to America.
1004. Thorvald's second voyage.
1005. Voyage of Thorstein of Ericsfiord.
1007. Expedition of Thorfinn Karlsefne; sails for America.
Birth of Snorri, first European child born on this continent.
1011. Colony of Freydis, daughter of Eric the Red.
1170. Alleged discovery of America by the Welsh.
1380. Voyage of Nicolo Zeno, a Venetian.
1467. Christopher Columbus sails to Iceland.
1477. Reputed voyage of John of Rolno.
1483. Columbus leaves Portugal for Genoa.
1484. Alleged voyage of Alonzo Sanchez.
1488. Alleged voyage of Cousin of Dieppe.
1492. First voyage of Columbus; Discovery of West Indies.
1497. John and Sebastian Cabot discover North America.
1498. Third voyage of Columbus; he discovers the continent of South America.
Second voyage of Sebastian Cabot.
1499. First voyage of Amerigo Vespucci.
1500. Gaspar Cortereal goes to Labrador.
1501. Second voyage of Amerigo Vespucci.
1502. Voyage of Miguel Cortereal.
1504. Amerigo Vespucci's narrative published.
1506. Death of Christopher Columbus.
John Denys of Honfleur explores the Gulf of St. Lawrence.
1507. America named.
1512. Discovery of Florida by Juan Ponce de Leon.
1513. Pacific Ocean discovered by Vasco Nuñez de Balboa.
1516. Voyage of Diego Miruelo to Florida.
1517. Hernando de Cordova visits Florida.
1518. John de Grijalva goes to Florida.
Colony of Baron de Leri on Sable Island.
1519. Francis de Garay explores the Gulf of Mexico.
1520. Lucas Vasquez De Ayllon's expedition to coasts of South Carolina.
1521. Death of Juan Ponce de Leon.
1522. A ship of Magellan's Expedition sails around the world.

1524. Council of Badajos held to settle claims of Spain and Portugal to America.
First French expedition to America under Giovanni da Verrazano.
1525. Stephen Gomez sails along the Atlantic coast.
1527. Expedition of John Rut sails from England.
1528. Pamphilo de Narvaez lands in Florida.
1534. Jacques Cartier of France sails to the Gulf of St. Lawrence.
1535. Second voyage of Jacques Cartier.
1536. Voyage from London commanded by Captain Hore.
1539. Fernando De Soto lands in Florida.
1540. Jean Francois de la Roque, Seigneur de Roberval, secures a patent from Francis I.
1541. Jacques Cartier sails on a third voyage.
The Mississippi River discovered.
1542. Death of Fernando de Soto.
Voyage of Roberval.
1543. Return of De Soto's Expedition.
1553. Expedition of Sir Hugh Willoughby.
1555. Death of Jacques Cartier.
Huguenot Colony in Brazil.
1559. Expedition of Don Tristan de Luna.
1562. Admiral Coligny's first colony sent to Florida under John Ribault.
1564. Second Expedition of Coligny under René de Laudonnière.
1565. Second arrival of Ribault in Florida.
Massacre of Ribault and his companions by Pedro Menendez.
1565. Founding of St. Augustine.
1568. Attack of Dominique de Gourgues on the Spanish forts.
1570. Colony of Pedro Menendez landed on the Potomac.
1574. Death of Pedro Menendez.
1576. First voyage of Martin Frobisher in search of a Northwest passage; discovers straits since called by his name.
1577. Second voyage of Martin Frobisher.
1578. Third voyage of Martin Frobisher.
Sir Humphrey Gilbert receives his first charter for American discovery.
1579. The Union of Utrecht formed.
1581. The Republic of the United Netherlands established.
1583. Sir Humphrey Gilbert sails on his American voyage.
1584. Sir Walter Raleigh receives his first patent.
Sir Walter Raleigh's first expedition under Amadas and Barlow.
1585. Raleigh's second expedition under Sir Richard Greenville.
1585–6–7. Voyages of John Davis in search of a Northwest passage.
1586. Sir Francis Drake attacks St. Augustine, Florida.
Sir Francis Drake succors Raleigh's colonists in Virginia.
1587. Raleigh's colony under Mr. John White.
Birth of Virginia Dare.
1590. White's second arrival in Virginia.
1594. Willem Barentz explores Nova Zembla.
1598. Marquis de la Roche secures a patent from Henry IV. of France.
1602. Voyage of Samuel Mace to Virginia.
Captain Bartholomew Gosnold begins a settlement on Elizabeth [Cuttyhunk] Island.

Dutch East India Company formed.

1603. **First voyage of Samuel Champlain to America.**

Martin Pring explores coast of Maine.

Voyage and death of Bartholomew Gilbert.

1604. **French patent of Acadia granted to De Monts.**

De Monts and Champlain establish a colony in the present limits of Maine.

1605. Voyage of George Weymouth to the coasts of Maine.

1606. **Patent granted to the Virginia Companies.**

First permanent colony of English set sail for America.

1607. **First permanent settlement of Virginia at Jamestown.**

Colony sent to Maine by Chief Justice Popham.

Henry Hudson attempts the Northeast passage.

1608. **Founding of Quebec by Samuel de Champlain.**

1609. **Second Charter granted to the Virginia Company.**

The Discovery of Lake Champlain.

Voyage of Henry Hudson to America. Discovery of the river named for him.

1610. Arrival of Lord de la Warre in Virginia.

1611. Sir Thomas Dale, Governor of Virginia.

1612. Third charter granted to the Virginia Company.

1613. Settlement of Jesuits on Mount Desert Island.

1613–14. Captain Samuel Argall breaks up the French settlements in Maine and Acadia.

1614. **The New Netherland Company receives its charter.**

Captain John Smith explores New England.

Expedition sent by Ferdinando Gorges and Earl of Southampton.

1615. Adriaen Block explores Long Island Sound.

1618. Expiration of the first New Netherland charter.

Ferdinando Gorges sends Captain Rocroft to New England.

1619. First cargo of slaves brought to Jamestown.

First legislative assembly of Virginia meets in Jamestown.

1620. **The Pilgrims sail from Delft Haven.**

New charter of the Plymouth Company.

1621. **The Pilgrims settle at Plymouth.**

Nova Scotia granted to Sir William Alexander.

The Dutch West India Company incorporated.

John Peirce's first patent from the Plymouth Company.

1622. The Dutch West India Company takes formal possession of New Netherland.

Weston's colony established at Wessagusset.

The Massacre in Virginia, under Opechancanough.

1623. The Laconia Grant to Gorges and Mason.

Settlement of New Hampshire at Portsmouth and Dover.

Robert Gorges made Governor-general under the Plymouth Company.

John Pierce's second patent.

The Lyford and Oldham difficulty at Plymouth.

1625. **Permanent settlements in Maine begun under Aldworth and Eldridge.**

1629. **The Massachusetts Bay Company founded.**

Issue of the Charter of Privileges and Exemptions by the Dutch West India Company.

Lord Baltimore visits Jamestown.

1630. **Settlement of Boston and neighboring towns.**

John Winthrop, Governor of Massachusetts Bay.

Oldham and Vines found Biddeford and Saco in Maine.

Kiliaen van Rensselaer buys Rensselaerswyck.

Godyn and Blommaert buy land on the Delaware. Pauw buys Pavonia.

1631. Gorges and Mason divide the Laconia grant.

New Hampshire named by Mason.

Arrival of Roger Williams at Boston.

Swaanendael founded by Heyes for De Vries.

1632. **Maryland granted to Lord Baltimore.**

Dutch traders on the Connecticut.

1633. The Dutch buy lands on the Schuylkill and on the Connecticut. Fort Good Hope founded.

Plymouth trading-house on the Connecticut.

1634. **Settlement of Maryland.**

Charter granted to the Swedish West India Company.

1635. **Permanent settlement of Connecticut by emigrants from Massachusetts Bay.**

The Plymouth Company resign their Patent.

Hostilities between Maryland and Virginia.

1636. **Providence founded by Roger Williams.**

1637. Climax of the dissensions excited at Boston by Anne Hutchinson.

Swedish colonists sail from Gottenburg for America.

1638. New Netherland opened to general trade and settlement.

The Swedes settle in Delaware at Minqua's Kill (near Wilmington).

1639. De Vries colonizes Staten Island.

1641. The Raritan Indians destroy De Vries's settlement on Staten Island.

Hollaendare, Governor of the Swedes.

1642. Hostilities between the Maryland settlers and the Susquehannah Indians.

1643. Massacre of Indians at Pavonia by the Dutch. Indian war.

Murder of Anne Hutchinson by the Indians.

John Printz, Governor of the Swedish Colony.

1644. Underhill's expedition, in the service of the Dutch, against the Connecticut Indians.

Clayborne and Ingle's insurrection in Maryland.

1647. Death of Leonard Calvert.